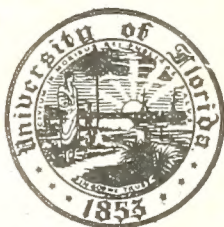


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THIRD SERIES.

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“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1890.

THE MONASTIC SCHOOL OF ROSS.

THE monastic school of Ross, more commonly called Ross Ailithir, was one of the most celebrated in the South of Ireland. Its founder was St. Fachtna the patron of the diocese of Ross, who is commonly identified with St. Fachtna, the founder and patron of the diocese of Kilmore. This is, indeed, highly probable, seeing that both dioceses celebrate the feasts of their respective patrons on the same day, the 14th of August, and besides, both belonged to the same princely race of the Corca Laighde.

The territory of Corca Laighde, which takes its name from the ruling tribe, was conterminous with the diocese of Ross, of which, as we said, St. Fachtna, was founder and first bishop. It extended in ancient times along the south-western coast of Cork from Courtmacsherry Bay to Dursey Head, and included besides East and West Carberry, the modern baronies of Beare and Bantry towards the western margin, as well as the baronies of Ibane and Barryroe on its eastern borders. Afterwards, however, this territory was greatly contracted by hostile incursions, especially by the inroads of the O'Sullivans on the west, of the O'Mahonys on the east, and thus the territory of Corca Laighde was reduced so as to include only West and a small portion of East Carberry. The race called the Corca Laighde derived their name from Lugaidh Laighe of the line of Ith, uncle of Milesius, who flourished in the second century of the Christian era. The

mother of the celebrated St. Ciaran of Saighre belonged to this family. Her name was Liaghain, latinized Liadania, and she was married to an Ossorian prince called Luighneadh, of which marriage St. Ciaran was born at the residence of his mother's family, called Fintraigh, in Cape Clear Island, about the middle of the fifth century. St. Fachtna was born also in the same territory at a place called Tulachteann,¹ in sight of the southern sea, but as he died young—about forty-six years of age—late in the sixth century, he cannot have been born for many years after St. Ciaran. He is sometimes called Mac Mongach, either from the name of his father, or because he was born with much hair on his head—*mongach*, i.e. hairy.

Like Brendan and Cuimin of Clonfert, he was nurtured under the care of St. Ita, the Bridget of Munster, and received from that wise and gentle virgin those lessons of piety that afterwards produced such abundant fruit. The whole of his family, however, must have been trained in virtue at home, for we are told that no less than seven of his brothers were enrolled in the catalogue of the Irish saints. After leaving Ita's care he went to the famous seminary of St. Finnbarr, at Lough Eiriche, near Cork, where so many of the holy men of the sixth century received their early training. The name Fachtna (i.e. *facundus*, the eloquent), is expressly mentioned in the *Life of St. Garra*n (26th March) amongst those who crowded to that domicile of all virtue and of all wisdom.

Leaving St. Barry's academy, Fachtna founded for himself the monastery of Molana, in the little island of Dairinis, near Youghal, towards the mouth of the Blackwater. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to his native territory, and founded on a promontory between two pleasant bays of the southern ocean the celebrated establishment now called Ross Carberry, but recently known as Ross Ailithir, from the number of pilgrim students who crowded its halls, not only from all parts of Ireland, but from all parts of Europe. It was admirably situated as a retreat for the holy and the wise, on a gentle

¹ *Acta SS.*, page 471.

eminence rising from the sea, in the midst of green fields, looking down on the glancing waters of the rushing tides, and smiling under the light of ever-genial skies. Here Fachtna "the good and wise," though still young in years founded, what is called in the *Life of St. Mochoemoc*, "*magnum studium scholarium*," a great college not only for the study of sacred Scripture, but also for the cultivation of all the liberal arts.

Amongst other distinguished teachers who helped to make the school of Ross famous was St. Brendan, the navigator, who later on founded the sees both of Ardfert and Clonfert. Usher tells us, quoting from an old document, that about the year 540 A.D., Brendan was engaged for some time in teaching the liberal arts at Ross Ailithir during the lifetime too of its holy founder. Fachtna and Brendan were intimate friends, for both were nurtured by the holy virgin Ita of Killeedy, and no doubt loved each other with the deep and abiding affection of foster brothers. It is only natural, therefore, that Brendan should go to visit St. Fachtna at Ross, and aid him with the influence of his name and character in starting and organising the new school.

It was at this period that an unforeseen misfortune happened to Fachtna, which to one engaged, as he was, would become a double misfortune. By some accident he became entirely blind, so that he could neither read nor see anything. In this affliction the saint had recourse to God, and was directed by an angel to apply to Nessa, the sister of St. Ita, and then about to become the mother of that child of promise St. Mochoemoc, through whom he would obtain his eyesight. Fachtna did so, and miraculously recovered his eyesight.

It seems St. Fachtna must have acquired great fame as a preacher, and no doubt too as a teacher of eloquence, for the surname of "*Facundus*," which is sometimes used instead of his own name, was given to him. He was, it appears, clothed with the episcopal dignity, and thus became founder of the diocese of Ross, which, not however without mutations, has continued down to our own times, and still ranks amongst the independent Sees of Ireland. The

saint died at the early age of forty-six, and was buried in his own Cathedral Church of Ross. The holy work, however, in which he was engaged, was continued by his successors, and for many centuries Ross continued to be a great school whose halls were crowded by students from every land. St. Cuimin of Connor, describes Fachtna as the "generous and steadfast, who loved to address assembled crowds, and never spoke aught that was base and displeasing to God" in allusion to his sanctity and eloquence.

His immediate successor was Conall, whose succession to Fachtna in the monastery and see of Ross was foretold by St. Ciaran of Saighre.¹ Mention is also made of St. Finchad of Ross-ailithir, who seems to have been a fellow pupil² of the founder at the great school of Finnbarr in Cork. These two saints were probably tribes-men of St. Fachtna, for we are told that he was succeeded in his See by twenty-seven bishops of his own tribe, whose jurisdiction was conterminous with the chief of the clann over the territory of Corca-laighde.

"Seven and twenty bishops nobly
Occupied Ross of the fertile fields,
From Fachtna the eloquent, the renowned,
To the well-ordered Episcopate of Dongalach."

The names are unfortunately not given in our annals in this as well as in many other instances where a succession of bishops with well-defined jurisdiction was undoubtedly preserved. O'Flaherty puts the same statement in hexameters—

"Dongalus a Fachtna ter nonus episcopus extat
Lugadia de gente, dedit cui Rossia mitram."

Which another poet translates in this fashion :—

"Hail happy Ross, who could produce thrice nine
All mitred sages of Lugadia's line,
From Fachtna crowned with everlasting praise
Down to the date of Dongal's pious days."

During the ninth century we find frequent mention of the "abbots" of Ross-ailithir in the *Four Masters*, and we are

¹ *Acta SS.* page 471.

² See *Acta SS.* page 607, *Life of St. Talmach.*

told that it was burned by the Danes, in 840, along with the greater part of Munster. In the tenth and eleventh centuries we find reference is made, not to the "bishops" or "abbots," but to the "airchinnech" of Ross-ailithir; and it is quite possible that during this disturbed period laymen took possession of the abbacy with this title, having ecclesiastics under them to perform the spiritual functions. Once only we find reference to a "bishop," in 1085, when the death of Neachtain Mac Neachtain, the distinguished Bishop of Ross-ailithir is recorded.

But whether it was bishop, abbot, or airchinnech, who held the spiritual sway of the monastery, and its adjacent territory, the school continued to flourish even during those centuries most unpropitious to the cultivation of learning. In 866, or according to the *Chronicon Scotorum* in 868, we are told of the death of Feargus, scribe and anchorite of Ross-ailithir, showing that the work of copying manuscripts was still continued in its schools. But we have still and more striking evidence during the tenth century of the literary work done at Ross-ailithir, for a manual of ancient geography, written by one of these lecturers in the Irish language, is happily still preserved in the *Book of Leinster*.

The author of this most interesting treatise, as we know from the same authority, was Mac Cosse, who was *Ferlegind*, that is a reader, or lecturer of Ross-ailithir. A passage in the *Annals of Innisfallen* enables us to identify him, and his history furnishes a striking example of the vicissitudes of those disturbed times:—

"The son of Imar left Waterford and [there followed] the destruction of Ross of the Pilgrims by the foreigners, and the taking prisoner of the Felegind *i.e.* Mac Cosse-de-brain, and his ransoming by Brian at Scatterry Island."¹

This entry enables us to fix the probable date of this geographical poem of MacCosse, which seems to have been the manual of classical geography made use of in Ross-ailithir, and hence so full of interest for the student of the history of

¹ See the Paper by the Rev. Thomas Olden (in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Jan., 1884), who gives the text and a translation of this geographical poem of MacCosse.

our ancient schools. This Imar was king of the Danes of Limerick, but in 968 the Danes of Limerick were completely defeated by Mahoun and his younger brother Brian Boru. Imar made his escape to Wales, but after a year or two returned again, first, it would seem, to Waterford; issuing thence he harried all the coasts and islands of the South, and finally returned to Limerick with a large fleet and army. But he deemed Scatterry Island a more secure stronghold, and having fortified it he made that island his head-quarters, and no doubt kept his prisoners there also. Scatterry itself was captured from the Danes by Brian, a little later on in 976, and there Imar was slain: so that it was in the interval between 970-976 that MacCosse was kept a prisoner at Scatterry Island, and ransomed by the generosity of Brian, who always loved learning and learned men.

This poem consists of one hundred and thirty-six lines, giving a general account of the geography of the ancient world, and was, no doubt, first got by rote by the students, and then more fully explained by the lecturer to his pupils. This tenth century is generally regarded as the darkest of the dark ages: yet, we have no doubt that, whoever reads over this poem will be surprised at the extent and variety of geographical knowledge communicated to the pupils of Ross-ailthir in that darkened age, when the Danish ships, too, were roaming round the coasts of Ireland. It is not merely that the position of the various countries is stated with much accuracy, but we have, as we should now say, an account of their *fauna* and *flora*—their natural productions, as well as their physical features. The writer, too, seems to be acquainted not merely with the principal Latin authors, but also with the writings of at least some of the Grecian authorities.

In the opening stanza he describes the five zones: "two frigid of bright aspect,"—alluding, no doubt, to their snowy wastes and wintry skies, lit up by the aurora borealis—and then two temperate around the fiery zone, which stretches about the middle of the world. There are three continents, Europe, Africa, and Asia; the latter founded by the Asian Queen, and much the larger, because she unduly trespassed on the territories of her neighbours. Adam's paradise is in

the far East, beyond the Indus, surrounded by a wall of fire. India "great and proud," is bounded on the west by that river, on the north by the hills of Hindoo Coosh. That country is famous "for its magnets, and its diamonds, its pearls, its gold dust, and its carbuncles." There are to be found the fierce one-horned beast, and the mighty elephant—it is a land where "soft and balmy breezes blow," and two harvests ripen within the year. In like manner he describes the other countries of Asia; the *mare rubrum* "swift and strong," and Egypt, by the banks of Nile, the most fertile of all lands. He even tells us of the burning fires of the Alaunian land, alluding to the petroleum springs around the Caspian. He names all the provinces of Asia Minor—"little Asia," he calls it—and says most accurately, that it was bounded on the west by the Propontus and the Ægean sea. In like manner he describes Africa, and derives its name from Apher, a son of Abraham and Keturah, showing that he was familiar with the Greek of the Antiquities of Josephus.¹ He then goes through the various countries of Europe, giving their names, and chief cities. The principal rivers, too, are named, and their courses fixed, when he says that—

"Three streams issue from the Alps westward, and across Europe they appear

The Rhine in the north-west, the Loire, and the River Rhone."

Finally, he comes to Ireland, which, in loving language, he proclaims to be

"A pleasant and joyous land, wealth abounding; the land of the sons of Milesius; a land of branching stems; the most fertile land that is under the sun."

So ends this most interesting manual of geography, written by an Irish scholar, in the Irish tongue, and taught to the students of Ross-ailithir, whilst the Danish pirates were roaming round our seas, and ruling with strong hand in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick.

Of the subsequent fortune of Ross-ailithir we know little. In 1127 the fleet of Toirdhealbach O'Connor sailed to Ross-ailithir, and despoiled Desmond, as the *Chronicon Scotorum*

¹ Book I., c. xv.

informs us—for it was not the Dane alone that our schools and churches had to fear—often, far too often, the spoiler was some rival chieftain, whose churches and monasteries were sure to be spoiled very soon in their turn. Then came the greatest of all the devastators—the Anglo-Normans, who laid waste Corca Laighde under FitzStephen, a few years after Bishop O'Carbhair went to his rest in 1168. Since that period the school has disappeared, but the see of Ross still holds its ground, after having gone through some strange vicissitudes of union and separation from the neighbouring dioceses of Cloyne and Cork.

✠ J. HEALY.

RATIONALISTS AND MIRACLES.¹

LET us first of all understand the term rationalist. A rationalist is one who refuses to believe anything except upon the testimony of his reason and natural faculties. According to him no doctrine can command our assent, as revealed or inspired by God, because no such doctrine has been confirmed by assured miracles. “No miracles!” is their watchword. “If miracles can be proved,” says one of the most approved oracles, “our method is a detestable one, and my book is nothing but a tissue of falsehood.”

The conclusions drawn from these principles, with regard to the New Testament, are evident. Not only does Scripture contain no true miracle, but, properly speaking, there is in Scripture, no inspired Book. “Inspiration,” says the same writer, “implying a miracle cannot be maintained.” The Bible is no more than an ordinary human work, like other books, where truth is mingled indiscriminately with falsehood, and prudence and discernment are necessary to prevent us from being deceived.

It is true that most rationalists do not speak out so plainly. Most of them say—“Yes, Scripture is truth itself; but it must be read with certain precautions. We must take a

¹ We are indebted to the Abbé Bacquez's *Manuel Biblique* for the substance of this paper.—F. B. S.

common-sense view of it. There must be nothing in it to give us any shock, so that everyone may understand it, and receive it without difficulty." By talking in this way, they avoid the scandal and the revulsion of feeling they would give by speaking out their absolute denial in a plainer manner—as if they were to tell us without circumlocution that their real object is to eliminate from Scripture, as fable or fiction, anything that requires an act of faith or of assent on the part of our reason to the teachings of God.

We first join issue with the rationalists on the very groundwork, or first principle of their system. They calmly and gratuitously take for granted, as an axiom of common sense, what by all the laws of logic they are bound to prove. Their first principle is, that nothing belonging to the supernatural has ever existed; that all the supposed miracles, no matter how they may have been substantiated, must henceforth be regarded as illusions and frauds.

Now, no man has any right to proclaim as an axiom, or an intuitive truth, or as an universally-acknowledged fact, a principle which is opposed to the common conviction of the most enlightened and the most sincere men of all ages and of all climes. Nevertheless, such is the assumption of rationalists with regard to miracles. We are justified in asking them to prove their principle. We look for such proof in their numerous writings, but we search in vain. They are ready to impugn this or that particular miracle, but the real question is the possibility of miracles in general—and this they not only do not deny, but they actually defend it. All they say is—"miracles do not belong to history, but to fiction. To admit miracles is to accept a solution of a difficulty which does not rest on a scientific basis. The denial of the supernatural is the essence of true criticism. We do not understand history, if we can attach any credence to miracles. Every writing or work in which any supernatural element insinuates itself, necessarily implies credulity or deception. It is impossible to maintain the idea of miracles in the face of modern common-sense views of things. The denial of the supernatural has become the great dictum of all enlightened men."

Such are the assertions of the rationalists; but what

vestige of proof do they contain? To prove that a few or more cultivated men of the day do not believe in miracles, does not advance their contention. Truth is not always on the side of the majority—but in point of numbers even their argument is at fault. To the denials, or to the doubts of the few, we can oppose the faith of numberless believers—those of the earliest ages in particular. Surely, these first converts to religion, our confessors, our martyrs, have believed in the Gospel; in the resurrection of our Lord, in all His miracles, and those also that were wrought by the Apostles. No one would call in question their conviction in the matter. Their sincerity is above suspicion. There is no reason to suppose that in intelligence they were inferior to modern sceptics. Is no man enlightened or worthy of credence unless he first renounces his faith? The first Christians lived with Jesus Christ and His Apostles; could they not have tested their miracles and their prophecies—did they not wish to see and to understand, or did it serve their interests to be deceived? Those who immediately followed them, did not have less decisive means of testing their faith. Did they not witness the wonderful accomplishment of prophecies in the establishment of the Church—in the dispersion of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles—incontestable miracles, announced by other miracles? Finally, in all ages, and in all lands, in our own time, and amongst ourselves, not only are sensible men found who believe in prophecies and in miracles, but a great number can be quoted who have seen and heard them, or who have themselves being the recipients of them. And the men who bear this strong testimony are precisely those who enjoy the greatest esteem, and command the greatest confidence; and far from proving them guilty of credulity or deceit, the rationalists avoid the examination of facts; they refuse to hear witnesses, under the protest that these facts do not come into the province of science, and that these witnesses contradict the laws of history—such as they consider them to be!

What I have said, then, will perhaps be enough to prove that the denial of miracles is not altogether a first principle, or a very self-evident truth, as the rationalists presume to maintain.

II.—TWO CLASSES OF RATIONALISTS.

Rationalist interpreters of Scripture are divided into two classes—realists and mythologists.

1st.—According to the realists, as represented by M. Paul (1761-1850), the sacred writers employed the marvellous, their figures of speech, their hyperboles, the flowers of poetry, simply to embellish facts of the natural order by fancy and imagination—in place of writing history, they only composed legends. To obtain the truth we must restrain these authors within the essential laws of nature and common sense, and reduce their enthusiastic descriptions and narratives to normal proportions.

2nd.—The mythologists do not reduce the supernatural, but they substitute for it the ideal. According to them, there is nothing or little of reality in the marvellous narratives. They are symbols or fictions, and we must only look to their meaning or significance. "I call that a myth," says Strauss, "which has no historical authority, no matter what may be its origin." According to him, the origin of Christianity, like that of primitive peoples, hides itself in the dim twilight of legendary lore, and we can only regard the miracles of our Lord and the Apostles as a magnificent mythological production, drawn from the legends of an ancient people, and created by the fanaticism and credulity of a new people. It is a case of myths and myths, for according to such a master-mind as Strauss it is illogical to draw from the harmony of the two testaments the divine origin of both. The real reason of the wonderful harmony is not, as one would have supposed, the evident design of God in foreshadowing in the one what was to be fully accomplished in the other. This, forsooth, is only Christian prejudice, and the effect of such prejudice on the imagination. Full of this idea, that the Messiah would, in His own person, excel all in greatness, and that His glory would surpass that of all other illustrious persons, it was only natural to attribute to Him all that they had read of the patriarchs, and the oracles of the prophets. Miracle workers had multiplied food, crossed rivers dry-footed, raised the dead to life. Could not the

Saviour have worked the same miracles, only with more splendour? Isaias had prophesied that at the epoch of the Redemption, the blind would recover their sight, the deaf would hear, the dumb speak. If Jesus Christ could only be recognised as the long-expected Messias, could not people imagine, could not men say, that He had accomplished these prophecies and worked these miracles? Thus it is only natural and to be expected that the New Testament would have been modelled on the Old, and as for the miraculous part of it, Christ is the spontaneous product of the faith of His first disciples. "Such is the only interpretation," says Strauss, "of the Scriptures." "Thus it is that all ancient peoples have become enslaved by the imaginary marvels which their ancestors related over their cradles."

Such is Strauss's mythological interpretation of the Scriptures. But it is acknowledged by his admirers, that the work of their master is but an imperfect one, and they have sought to supplement and rectify it by systems of such men as Paul and Baur.

Now, let us, first of all, see if the testimony of the sacred authors is at all compatible with this theory, that Christianity has been established without miracles, and that Jesus Christ was, to His first disciples, no one but an eminent man, more or less distinguished for his virtues.

If it be granted that the sacred writings are the work of the authors to whom they have been ascribed, and that they have in no essential way been changed, we are compelled to believe that from the foundation of the Church, the world gave general credit to the miraculous life of our Lord, and, if that be conceded, it is impossible to call in question the reality and truth of the great works He accomplished. Hence rationalists are obliged to deny, not only the inspiration but the authenticity and integrity of the greater part of the New Testament.

There is just another theory put forward, that of Dr. Baur, which may be worthy of passing notice, and which may be called the evolution theory of Christianity. The conclusion of his researches was that the doctrine of the Church has been developed little by little, and that the

selection of our dogmas, as of our sacred writings, is the result of a struggle for existence and survival of the fittest,—the result of various compromises made by contending parties during the first two centuries. “It is in the progressive formation of dogma that we shall find the key to the history of the New Testament.”

Such are some of the difficulties advanced by rationalists with regard to the miraculous history of our Lord’s life, and the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures.

Now to answer some of these difficulties:—

First of all—Is it possible that the sacred writings could have been forged in the first years of the establishment of the Church?

If the Gospel and the Acts were, as the rationalists assert, not only apocryphal, but altogether erroneous with regard to the most essential point—for instance, the preaching of our Lord, His miracles, and those of His Apostles, and the testimony which these rendered to His Divinity,—how did the authors of these writings succeed in obtaining their acceptance by the Church, as inspired writings? To have succeeded in such a gross and palpable imposition, it is necessary to admit that the Apostles of our Divine Lord, St. John in particular, and their immediate disciples, were either ignorant of the gigantic fraud, or, at least, connived at it by their silence. But every consideration opposes such an idea—their number, their personal interests, their books and, finally, their success:—

1. *Their Number*:—If our Lord had only a few followers it would have been difficult for Him to have united them in teaching, maintaining, and proving what was not true—and to have sacrificed their lives in propagating their false doctrines. But His followers were numbered by thousands and thousands. They were to be met with in Judea, in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Alexandria, and, above all, at Rome. Far from being able to bring them to any accord upon such an imposition—there could be no common deliberation and no general decision.

2. *Their Interests*:—If they had all been knaves, men without character, without honour, without religion, without

conscience—different altogether from what they are believed to have been—they would never have united for the propagation of a known falsehood, unless they had some common interest to promote. What advantage, then, were they to derive by substituting a difficult and austere religion for one that was agreeable and pleasant? Why should they preach abroad a religion so manifestly opposed to God and men—a religion which only exposed them to persecution in this world, and eternal punishment in the next? Has the young man, who renounces his liberty and worldly advantages, to subject himself to the austerities of religious life, ever been suspected of voluntary deception?

3. *The Nature of the Writings of the Apostles.*—It is absolutely impossible to imagine that Christianity—that is to say, the creation of the Man-God, His life, His works, His virtues, His doctrine, His Church—are all the sudden and spontaneous offspring of fiction and fancy, and that they were, without examination, deliberation, precaution, immediately embraced by men of intelligence, character, honesty, unimpeachable sincerity, and given forth straightway to the world as the Gospel of salvation to mankind.

4. *Their Success.*—Again, it is certain that, far from being overcome by their adversaries, everywhere the disciples of our Lord met with wonderful success. Moreover, if the facts which they proclaimed, and which the New Testament records, were imaginary—if they had been incompatible with the nature of things, and inconsistent with contemporary events, by what wonderful fascination were they thus enabled to persuade their readers?

After these arguments, will the rationalists now fall back on the first period of the Church as the age in which the New Testament underwent its corruption and falsification?

But, perhaps, they will say it was a little later—what we may call the second age of the Church.

Here, then, is their contention—that, if the sacred writings of the New Testament were not falsified during the first age of the Church, it grew little by little during the following period, when faith in miracles and the divinity of our Lord resulted from the transformation of real facts into legends and myths.

This is our answer :—

1. These writings could not have been falsified after the death of St. John. If so, they would have presented an entirely different character. There would have been in them less evident experience, less simplicity, more art, and the spirit of culture and literature. Their Jewish origin and character would not have been so evident. Their narratives would not have contained that vivid and dramatic form which speaks of the personal witness and the participator. They would have lost that local and contemporaneous colour which they possess. Their origin would not have been traced back to such fortuitous circumstances. They could not have accorded so perfectly with the details and the political state of the country of which they speak—its legislation, its topography, its ideas, manners, persons, &c., &c.

If they had been thus concocted, they would have received no general acceptance. The second century was too near the time of the Apostles—the truth or falsehood of their writings could have been too easily ascertained. In the year 150 there was a number of men who had lived with St. John at Ephesus, Patmos, Jerusalem, and Smyrna.

St. Polycarp, the most illustrious of his disciples, replied to the Asiatic pro-consul, Statius Quadratus, who pressed him to blaspheme the name of Jesus Christ—"I have served Him these ninety-six years, and He has never done me an injury." In the year 125, all those Christians who were eighty years of age, and had lived at Rome, Antioch, and Judea, had seen St. Peter and St. Paul, and had been companions with their disciples. They listened to their instructions, and chronicled their doctrines. How could these Christians—the faithful and priests alike—have received as the work of the Apostles, writings in opposition to those they had received from their hands? If it had only been a question of one of those great works, St. Matthew, for example, how manifestly absurd it would have been. How much more so when it is a question of a score of works, attributed to different authors?

2. Can we, therefore, say that faith in miracles, and the divinity of our Lord, has been the result of myths and legends, to which His life has given rise?

Let us take a parallel case. A hundred years separates us from the time of Louis XVI. and Voltaire—surely no one will say that legends and myths have arisen with regard to their life and works during the interval? And surely, it is too much of a paradox to believe that such a legendary and mythological transformation took place during the first and second centuries concerning our divine Lord. The age of Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, was pre-eminently the age of history; written documents, historical monuments, official acts abound all over the empire, and as Père Lacordaire well remarks, “written history cannot suddenly be transformed into fancy myths and legends.”

There is another argument well worthy of consideration. Belief in miracles, and belief in our Lord's divinity, existed before the second century. S. Quadratus, a pagan convert, in his apology presented to the Emperor Adrian, eighty years after the ascension of our Lord (117-126), declares that a great number of men had been cured or raised to life by Jesus Christ; that they had survived our Lord, and had died only after years previously, within his own memory. With regard to the divinity of our Lord, it is easy to produce from all ages, witnesses far above all breath of suspicion—pre-eminently the martyrs who sealed their faith with their blood. On the 17th July, 180, Saturninus, the pro-consul, whilst examining the first confessors of the African Church, at Carthage, said to them—“Swear by the genius of the emperor, and sacrifice to the gods.” “We honour Caesar as Caesar,” they replied, “but our worship we give to our God, who alone is the true God. “What are your sacred books?” demanded the pro-consul. “They are our Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul,” was the reply. And the acts of these first Christians conclude with these words—“Glory, honour, adoration to our King and Saviour, Jesus Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever.”

In the year 120, St. Symphorosa, martyred with her seven children, declares before the Emperor Adrian that she dies for Christ, her God. In the year 110, St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, prides himself, when standing before the tribunals of Trajan, that he carries the Saviour, *his God*, within his heart

—the same who said, “I shall take up my abode with them, and I shall dwell in their midst.”

To the testimony of the martyrs, we can add that of their persecutors. The evidence of Pliny, at the latest in the year 112, is well known. On his arrival at Bithynia, as imperial legate, he was astonished to see the number of those who disobeyed the laws by adoring Jesus Christ as God, and regretted the legal necessity that compelled him to punish them.

Testimony of the Fathers of the Church.—With regard to the authenticity of the Sacred Scripture, we have furthermore the testimony of the earliest Fathers of the Church. We do not know of any Christian author of the first ages who has not made direct allusion to them.

St. Clement (A.D. 98), *Pope* and disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the first letter to the faithful of Corinth, which, according to St. Denis, was read in religious assembly, speaks of the three Gospels as Sacred Scripture, and St. Matthew is quoted at least three times. There is also mention made of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, of numerous passages of his Epistles to the Hebrews, the Romans, to Timothy and Titus, and even also to those of St. Peter and St. James. *St. Ignatius*, A.D. 107; *St. Polycarp*, A.D. 155; *Papias*, Bishop of Haiapolis, in Phrygia, A.D. 120; *St. Justin*, A.D. 166; *St. Ireneus*, A.D. 120; *St. Clement*, Priest of Alexandria, A.D. 217; *Tertullian*, A.D. 145; *Origen*, A.D. 186-254; all make allusions to, or quote extracts from Sacred Scripture, as authentic, and beyond all doubt or suspicion.

Again, perhaps the most extraordinary proof of all is that not one single heretical sect of the second century has called the evangelical history into doubt, or contested the authenticity of a single important part of our Sacred Writings. Some falsified the doctrine, others mutilated the text, but none declared them to be apocryphal, or pure inventions. *Cerdron*, A.D. 130-140, admitted the New Testament to be inspired, and rejected the Old Testament as opposed to it.

Tatian, A.D. 180, composed a harmony of the four Gospels; *Montan*, who lived in the second part of the second century, admitted all the Sacred Scripture, without exception, as

authentic. The same with the Gnostics—they submitted to the testimony of Sacred Scripture. Moreover, the Jews and pagans never doubted Sacred Scripture, or contended against their veracity. Their authors always take the Sacred Writings for granted—they attributed them all to the first disciples of our Lord, but they tried to turn them one against another.

It is impossible, therefore, to hold that the Sacred Writings were in their entirety false—and the same may be said as to the possibility of interpolations. It is not a question of any insignificant alteration, which may have no consequence on Christian doctrine: it must be on some profound, important, essential question. It must refer to some fraud or imposition which has reversed or distorted the text, in such manner as to change a man into a God, and a life ordinary in itself, into a life superhuman and miraculous.

Positive Proof:—1. The Itala and Peschito versions, which date back to the first or, at least, the second part of the second century, contain not only the same books as the Vulgate, but the same verses. There is no difference between them and the Greek text.

2.—The Fathers accept as authentic not only all the books of the New Testament, but they quote every verse as of Divine Authority.

3.—Heretics and infidels combine with Catholics in attesting to the integrity of our Sacred Writings, and there is not a single case of any importance in the New Testament, above all in the Gospels, which has not been referred to and quoted by them from earliest ages.

Negative Proof:—1. The rulers of the Church have always regarded it as their most sacred duty to preserve and hand down the Divine Word, in all its purity and integrity. St. Paul insisted upon this to Timothy. The awful imprecation of St. John against those who add to or detract a single word from his Apocalypse is well known. St. Justin said that to tamper materially with the Scriptures, was to set up a golden calf for our Lord, and one of the gravest charges made against heretics was that they were guilty of the awful crime of tampering with the Sacred Text. The faithful, too, themselves, have always been most susceptible on this point.

Again, how carefully the Sacred Writings have always been transcribed. Sozomen tells, how Typyllus, a Cyprian bishop, was reprov'd for changing the word *bed* into *pallet*, because he considered the former the more dignified word.

2. If any alterations had been made, they would have been perceived, or would have left some positive trace. We should, most certainly, have known in that age, if such a circumstance had occurred—that difficulties were encountered, and by what means success had been obtained—since nothing could be of more importance to the faith, the faithful would have cried out strenuously against it; pastors would have resisted it to the death, and heretics would have made it the fruitful source of their recriminations.

We, therefore, conclude, that our Sacred Books have never been substantially altered, and that to assert that the miracles and mysteries which they contain are fanciful creations or interpolations, is an assertion than which none could be more reckless, more ill-advised, or less capable of support or proof.

F. B. SCANNELL, O.S.B.

THE GROWTH OF THE SAXON LAWS.

A WORD of explanation may be needful to secure a sympathetic reading of an article dealing more or less with the origin of the British Constitution. In writing this essay we are hoping to introduce to our readers a comparatively new field of study; we shall touch the very sources of history; we shall be able to indicate the gradual growth of jurisprudence, at first mainly ecclesiastical, and later on civil; and we shall, in tracing the influence of the Church on the ancient Saxon laws, vindicate in this particular instance—what others have done in broader fields—the claim of the Catholic Church to be the founder of all European law, and, therefore, of all European civilization.

We often wondered why the study of civil law has so

completely fallen into disuse among the clergy. Of course, in modern times the reason is clear. In most countries, particularly since the Reformation, Church and State have been in drawn conflict wherever they were not amalgamated. Either state of affairs crushes out the clergy. But it was not always so. The clergy were the only lawyers in the earlier days. In fact, Law formed part of the ecclesiastical curriculum, just as Scripture and Moral Theology do now. In introducing, therefore, such a subject as the present, we are simply tracing the growth of a branch of study, which was in its day *par excellence* a clerical study, and opening up a new horizon in the restricted view of ecclesiastical pursuits, which the misery of a torn Christianity has cramped beyond measure.

It is natural to expect that Irish priests would take a greater interest in the Brehon laws than in the Saxon laws. But our times admit of broad sympathies, and when science and research are becoming more international every day, perhaps they may read with interest the result of a fellow-countryman's effort to trace the growth of Saxon laws. For ourselves, we must say, we are impelled in this direction, not by choice, but by necessity. Here in England, in the battle between the Catholic Church and the present popular Anglo-Catholicism, Theology and Scripture, in their technical sense, do not come within the range of fire at all. The old rank Protestantism of the thirty-nine articles hates Anglo-Catholicism as much as it hates us. But the old rank Protestantism is in its death-struggle, and the Anglo-Catholic is in his strength, and contests the ground with us, not on the Bible, and abstract theories of justification as of yore, but on the broad field of history. Hence, to be equipped for the work of Church defence here, historical studies naturally occupy the first place. And as we, Catholics in England, have to defend the Church on historical grounds, we must be independent of all Protestant authorities in the matter of historical research.

Let us see, just for a moment, at the risk of continuing too long a discursive page, what this means. We have got to defend the Church on historical grounds, say, during the Saxon period—from St. Augustine to William the Conqueror. We approach the literature of the period, and lo! The

original sources of history, as distinct from learned *authorities*, are in an unknown tongue. What is to be done? We cannot take *v.g.* Wheelock's translations from the originals—as well take Protestant theological and historical ideas, as take Protestant historical and theological translations. We must sit down and study the Anglo-Saxon language, and the more you study it, and become familiar with Protestant university translations, the more you become convinced of the necessity of knowing your own Anglo-Saxon. But your work does not end there. When you have your Anglo-Saxon MS., what, if you are told that, whereas it ostensibly belongs to, say 690 A.D., it really belongs to A.D. 990? You may be prepared for this. “Forgery of the monks” is a cheap argument: and with the rank and file an effective one. You must, therefore, be ready to defend the authenticity and genuineness of your MS., and *this* involves a good knowledge of paleography in its widest sense. You are not a reliable Church defender until you can buckle on the armour that the character of your fight demands. To be independent of Protestant learning, and the literary skill of Oxford and Cambridge Saxon professors, must be a *sine qua non* of the Catholic controversialist who would join issue with them on any single point of Anglo-Saxon Church History, involving an appeal to a Saxon document. It was the realization of this necessity that drove the writer in this direction; and let him say so with due deference, as far as he can judge from the character of Professor Stokes' Trinity College lectures, as embodied in his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, and *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, the matter of historical research seems to be a necessity in Ireland, too, though not in the same degree as here in England. Our position here obliges us to be familiar with the beginnings and progress of history, and let this stand as the cause of an essay like this, which is a by-subject of our controversy, and meant to throw a side-light on our general history, while dealing directly with the matter that legitimately falls under our heading. Of course, the purpose of this essay is not controversial: we reserve our controversy for other quarters. It is simply the trimmings of polemical studies, which, thrown together, form a kind of

whole, and enable us to form an estimate of the beginnings of, what we may call, for want of a better name, constitutional history.

The days of the Roman empire are numbered. Its hardy virtues have disappeared, and it sits there, slowly dying of consumption. Sensuality has done its work, and the barbarian will do the rest. Like the Syrians of another day, the Gothic race, indomitable in strength, fierce in valour, inexhaustible in number, shaggy warriors in skins, with bloodshot eyes and hungry stomachs, spearsmen by profession, rose up from the watershed of the Danube, and the forests of the Rhine, fatal to Varro's legions, and tribe after tribe, now Frank, now Hun, now Lombard, poured their clouds of men over the frontiers, down the Alps, and there!—the Roman empire is a matter of history.

It means new blood in decaying races all over Europe. The Saxon took a northward course, just as the other tribes took a southern; and 449 marks the date of the first instalment of a new race, and the gradual smashing up of the old Celtic race of Britain. The British Celts had a system of jurisprudence, and we may remark that an Irishman can lay fair claim to be the legal pioneer of "law and order" among the early Britons. We refer to Gildas the Wise, whose nationality, history, labours, and learning have been so much confounded by historians and antiquarians of our day, that it may be a patriotic duty before long to champion his cause, and vindicate historic truth.

The Saxons were pagans, and St. Augustine came to evangelize them, 597; and here, with St. Augustine bringing to a Saxon and pagan land the cream of Roman scholarship, do we find the first Saxon laws. We need say nothing here concerning the rudimentary laws of the Saxons before the coming of St. Augustine. The Maoulmutine laws are a Celtic growth, and there is no evidence of any indication that they were ever adopted, or even known to the Saxons. We have documentary proof of their being the permanent British code, if (as far as we can remember) Geoffrey, of Monmouth, may be taken as reliable—and we trust him in this. The times were not favourable to any growth of jurisprudence of a civilizing

tendency, as the dictum holds good—*inter arma silent leges*. Saxon and Briton were in deadly conflict. When St. Augustine came he found a French Bishop at court as chaplain to the queen, who was a Catholic—but no trace of any definite laws, until we come to the “days of St. Augustine,” where we are on solid ground, meet definite laws, and the outlines of a legal system. There is no mistaking the legislative power at work, and the influences which gave it its special direction. The very title indicates that St. Augustine had much to do with moulding our ancient laws. “D(th)is syndon d(th)a D(Th)omas d(th)e Æthelbirht Kyning asette on Augustinus daege,” “These are the laws of King Æthelbirht in the days of Augustine.” And the very first law specifies fines for sacrilege, whether against bishop, priest, deacon, cleric, church, or monastery. Having begun with a division of things which reminds us of the canonical division, “*De rebus*,” and “*De personis*,” the laws proceed to deal with several crimes, covered by fifty-nine different provisions. They belong to a period prior to 616, when Æthelbirht died, and in expression are not unlike the Canons of Councils. The *Gif man* of the Saxon is the *si quis* of the Canons.

Another series of laws was promulgated by Hlothair (*obit* 685), brother of Ecgbert, of Canterbury, and Eadric, his nephew; both are given as kings of Canterbury. They had some idea of parliamentary government, as we read that before promulgation they had been drawn up by the elders (*heora eadlora*), evidently a legislative body. The laws are criminal and mercantile, and are sixteen in number—the latter dealing with buying and selling in London by the Cantaurians.

Later on Withraed (*obit* 725) held a council at Berghamstede (modern Berkhamstead), and Birhtwald, “Archbishop of Britain,” was there, and Gybmund, of Rochester. The ecclesiastics spoke in order of dignity. The laws are in the main ecclesiastical. Provisions are laid down for ecclesiastical immunities, slaves, demonology, fasting—a significant one for the clergy who are addicted to the heavy old Saxon meade—for murder and robbery. Then follow twelve laws dealing with the violators of clerical immunities.

As we proceed along the flow of history we gradually find greater method in the laws—instead of a short canon we have them divided under proper headings, and the law embodied in a short chapter. The number and quality of those who legislate are also declared, and with greater formality. This happens in the case of the laws of Ina (*obit* 728, *incirca*), which date from about 696. He declares that, with the advice and learning of Kenrede, his father, and of Bishop Hedda, of Winchester, and Eorcenwold, of London, of all his senators (*caldormannum*), and of all the wise old men of his people, and of a great number of the clergy, for his soul's welfare, and the safety of the kingdom, that just laws may be made, and that nobody may infringe them. In these laws, which are contained in forty-eight chapters, we get an insight into the harmonious relations of Church and State. Side by side with army regulations, and forest laws, fines are ready for parents who have not their children duly baptized, and scourges for those who work on Sunday. In the way of the possession of land there are clear indications that "no Welshman need apply;" and also that thus early the Church made all necessary preparations *inside* the Church for the "Laws of fire and water." The details of ordeals are minute and interesting.

The laws of Alfred (*obit* 901) come next in order. There is no introduction in the beginning this time, but an abrupt starting off with the recital of the ten commandments, with many exodic excerpts, and a general all-round homily. When he comes to the matter of enactments, we are told that Alfred, with his wise council, revised the law from Æthelbirht down, and adopted those of which he approved, and rejected the rest. Alfred says in a dignified and formal way, when promulgating his laws, that his wise men sanctioned them, and were pleased with them—an indication of still greater constitutional growth. These laws are in forty chapters, and deal in the usual mixed way with things of religious and temporal import. Removing nuns from their convents, bites of a dog, sending around false rumours, &c., are all carefully dealt with. The false rumour law is, of course, traceable to the Danish invasion, when terror occupied

the minds of men. To make quite sure that a crime of this kind would not be committed twice by the same person, they cut out his tongue, and thus the delinquent was quite safe for the future.

Our readers will remember that scene in English history, where Gothrun, with thirty picked men, came to Alfred at Aar, and where the Danish king with his people was baptized, the king being godfather. A treaty of peace (*Frith*) is extant, entered into by Alfred and Gothrun. It consists of five chapters, and among other points of trifling importance it settles boundary lines, and proclaims the equality of Saxon and Dane before the law for murder.

Under Edward (Eadweard, 901-924) we find the first mention of the famous *Dombec* (Book of Laws), and all the *gereta* are ordered to judge accurately according to it. This *Dombec* is probably Alfred's recension of the Saxon laws from Æthelbirht down. There is no trace of any other Saxon code. Edward's laws are in eleven chapters, and deal mainly with the administration of justice. If the *gereta* (judge) does not judge rightly, he is fined one hundred and twenty shillings for contumacy towards the king. Frustrating justice, perjury, harbouring thieves, &c., are all provided for. Edward also drew up a body of laws in conjunction with Gothrun. They are all ecclesiastical, and embrace fasting, witchcraft, paganism, carnal sins, breaking the Sabbath, ordeals, crimes of the clergy, &c. The laws affecting the clergy are interesting: if he omit to instruct the people concerning the feasts of the Church, and fast days, he pays thirty shillings in Edward's kingdom; and half a mark under Gothrun. If he has not his chrism ready in time, and does not baptize those in need of it, among the Angles there is a fine (not specified), and among the Danes a fine of twelve oras. We may say that these fines were not enforced, fasting and admonitions being invariably substituted for the fine. If, however, anything punishable with death was committed, the "hallowed man" was arrested and handed over to the bishop.

Aethelstan reigned (924-940), and we have a constitution under his name. It is comprised in twenty-six chapters, and

is of a mixed character. This was formulated at Grantley. Finding that the laws were not being observed, there was held another great council of legislators at Exonccastre, and fuller laws enacted, dealing with the possession of slaves, tracing the hoof prints of straying cattle, and concluding with the legal form of the oath to be employed in the courts. Later on we find a body of laws—the “Domes of the City of London.” These are mercantile laws, and deal with the laws of trading and property in the city. They are, as far as we know, the earliest specimen of Municipal Law in England.

The laws passed in the Synod of London in the time of Edmund (940-946) are mostly canonical. The first five are purely canonical; the first of these deals with celibacy, or, as it is headed—“On the cleanness of hallowed men.” Both men and women who are hallowed are threatened with being deprived of Christian burial, unless they amend their ways. The king follows with a royal proclamation, after which come seven laws, dealing with the king’s peace—different laws usually dealt with transgressors against the king’s peace and the peace of the Church. The king’s peace was in earlier times, *mundbryth*; the peace of the Church, *Cyrces Frith*. The latter embraces the famous privilege of sanctuary—the vicissitudes of laws of which are of a most interesting kind. They are mixed up here and there with the various laws alluded to, and a historic review of their growth and final disappearance may not be altogether impracticable at another time.

Following the seven royal laws of Edmund comes a directive excerpt from the marriage rite, and the civil power makes careful arrangement about marriage portions, &c., and ordering the presence of the priest at the marriage, so that he “may join them together with God’s blessing, and all fulness of happiness.” Nine chapters cover this ground.

Eadgar (959-975) also legislated in his day, and the result is an increase of nine chapters of Saxon laws. What is given as a supplement is a specifying of several points of law hitherto obscure. The most interesting product of Eadgar’s reign is undoubtedly the *Canones sub Eadgaro editi*; they are in Saxon, and sixty-seven in number. They all begin in the

same way—"And we laerath," the latin, *Docemus*. It is impossible to give any idea of their value, or of the state of discipline which they reveal in a brief essay. None of the canons covers ground that could be fairly said to belong to the legitimate domain of the civil power, and several of them are opposed to the spirit of previous legislation—ordeals being indirectly condemned, and the general immunity of the clergy from secular jurisdiction is quite clear from many of the cautiously-conceived injunctions contained in them. It is purely an ecclesiastical document, embodying the faith and discipline of the Saxon Church, in that and in preceding times. We pass by with just a reference, the "*Poenitential canons of St. Egbert*," recommending our readers who are interested in moral theology in a fairly chrysalis stage, to read them, and compare them with the more highly-developed article to be found in *v.g.*, the *Praxis Confessarii*, or Lehmkühl.

The *Laws of the Northumberland Priests* (Nord (th) ymbra Preosta Lagu) are well worth reading. Their birthplace is unquestionably York, and their author is said to be Archbishop Oswald. But this is merely a guess, with hardly a sound reason in its favour. The laws are sixty-seven in number. Up to this period the laws, civil and canon, were amalgamated, and from about this point we begin to detect the parting of the ways. The civil laws gradually begin to take their own course, and the canon laws begin to have a quasi-detached existence. This is sufficiently indicated by the appearance of those collections of purely ecclesiastical laws which date from Eadgar's reign. But this must not be understood to mean the beginning of an estrangement between Church and State. It mainly springs from the immunity of the clergy from secular law, which evoked ecclesiastical provisions to meet the exigencies of the clergy; and the gradual consolidation of both legal systems with their parallel lines of legal enactments.

Æthelred's (979 1016) laws come next in order of time, in five chapters. Under this heading is embraced the breach of peace between the king and Anlaf's party. They deal with matters on the high seas, and comprise ten chapters. The

Geraednes, or Constitution, of about this period unquestionably belongs to Æthelred's reign. It is an embodiment of the existing ecclesiastico-civil laws, exhibiting at once such a grasp of the civic code and the canon law, that the mixed body of wise men evidently aimed at a scientific recension of existing laws. It dates from 1008, and in three long chapters, sub-divided into several paragraphs, treats of a multiplicity of subjects, ecclesiastical and civil. In 1014 the *Cyryces Frith* was once more provided for in an ecclesiastical constitution. It deals with tithes, Peter's Pence, feasts, fasts, and Sunday observance, and in general with clergy disciplinary matters, and later on a few short laws appeared on the violation of the king's peace in royal towns.

The council which Spelman gives under the name of *Concilium Enhannense* (Spel. Tom. I.), which he calls the Pan-anglican Synod, took place about this time—somewhere between 1006 and 1013—certainly in Æthelred's reign. It is purely ecclesiastical, and is followed at a short, though undefined, interval by what Wilkins translates in a manner sufficiently archaic—" *senatus consultum de monticulis Walliae*." The Saxon runs—"D(th)is is seo geraednysse d(th)e angelcymes witan, und Wealhtheode raedboran betwox Deunsetan gesetton," and may be freely translated: "This is the constitution agreed upon by the wise men of the English race, rulers of the Welsh Deunsete." And the Deunsete were the inhabitants of a district on the borders of the West Saxons. Broadly, the constitution is simply a frontier regulation.

The laws of Cnut (*i.e.* King Cnut), (1017-1035) illustrate what we have already said on the gradual diverging of the civil and canonical bodies of laws. First come the ecclesiastical laws of Winchester (Wintanceastre) in twenty-six chapters, and then, annexed to it, the *Worldcunde Gerednes*, or the secular law, in eighty chapters. These are the most interesting in their kind, both to the priest and the lawyer, to be met with.

We are unable to determine who wrote the anonymous constitution which is generally said to belong to this period. We cannot even say if its appearance was prior to the conquest. It would require a critical analysis to determine that

point, but the most cursory reading betrays its monastic character. Aelfric's canons date from before the conquest; indeed we are inclined to make Aelfric the canonist, Aelfric the homiliast and Aelfric, the epistolarius, all the same Bishop Aelfric, and to put him back much farther into the Saxon period than most of the old antiquarians put him. William the Conqueror, comes next.

Here our bird's-eye view of Saxon laws ends. We have just kept steadily in view those laws which all admit to be genuine; but we are far from waiving the many points raised as to the genuineness of several other laws which reach back to a very early period. Above all, we repudiate the canon of criticism, which would aim at stamping with forgery every law indicating the Catholicism of Saxon times. But a defence of them is just now impracticable; indeed the various paleographic and critical difficulties of ancient Saxon MSS. call for particular attention. But our fear that a long time must elapse, and the higher work of university education and historical research, which is an important feature of university work, must considerably progress, before they can be fairly challenged by any Catholic scholar, remains in unmitigated force.

We had intended to take a short view at the Saxon courts, but our paper has already passed its limits.

JOSEPH TYNAN.

ST. PATRICK'S WORK PAST AND PRESENT.

ST. PATRICK'S life suggests many grave questions, but none are more important than the inquiry into what he has done. Apart from his work, there can be no honest loyalty to the saint—no rational vindication of his mission. He is the sole parent of the religion of Ireland, past and present, and that religion, more than any other influence, is responsible for her sorrowful and mysterious history. We start, therefore, with this question—Has St. Patrick's work

in Ireland, that is St. Patrick's religion, been a success and a blessing? for with it the saint must stand or fall. It would be waste of words to discuss where that religion is now to be found. It is enough to ask—Were the saint to appear again at Tara, or Croagh Patrick, amongst whom would he find followers? There can be but one answer. That austere and unearthly form, in his rough *casula* of camel's hair, received from St. Martin, which looks out upon us, like another Elias, from the pages of the *Tripartite Life*, and the *Book of Armagh*, would frighten his opulent, and merely aesthetic admirers out of their propriety. It is the poor who would welcome him as their deliverer: for adversity is the native soil of the religion which St. Patrick preached.

That the following vindication of St. Patrick's work should often read like an apology is inevitable. It is the fate, shall we say the sad fate of Ireland, to be for ever condemned to the humiliation of that self-defence at which scornful adversaries sneer, as if it were mere vulgar self-assertion. She is poor, and as it is with the poor at all times her character is her life. She cannot, like her proud English sister, afford to despise the judgments of men; and so, pity for others makes many suppliants for her sake at the bar of public opinion, whose convictions, if they had fair play, would elevate them into assailants and accusers.

It is hardly too much to say that of all Christian nations Ireland has suffered most for religion, and received least of those temporal gifts and consolations which, at times, have followed in the train of the Gospel. Even in her brightest days, the three centuries preceding the descent of the northern barbarians, the Irish Church was noted for its poverty and austerity; indeed it is a matter of history that the severe discipline of the disciples of SS. Columba and Columbanus often made them very unpopular in England, and on the Continent. It was impossible that those missionary monks could be anything else than poor. In those days there were no baggage trains to carry their *impedimenta*, even if they had possessed them, as is fondly imagined by writers who would have us believe that the monks of old were models of domestic life, and connubial felicity. With the Normans came some

increase of external splendour; but the reproach of riches and luxury has never been imputed to the Irish Church. The invaders themselves had few of the vices of luxury; they were a hardy and warlike race, and with all their faults they did not debase and corrupt the vigour of the Christian character.¹ Thus in an unbroken Catholic life of more than fourteen centuries the Church of St. Patrick has been always either poor, or in conflict—the sun of earthly prosperity has never yet shone upon her.

No doubt, to some, this will appear a most humiliating acknowledgment, tantamount to a confession that St. Patrick's work has been a failure, as if a similar reproach had never been levelled at Christianity itself in her primitive and parent form, although the early Church escapes the absolute and universal contempt which is so common in the case of the poverty-stricken Church of Ireland. In the past, the mere æsthetical admirer of Christianity sees the fruit upon the tree, without being reminded of the humble and laborious operations of the husbandman, and he can be eloquent in his admiration of the Christian religion, as represented by Constantine and Charlemagne, and the monks and bishops who converted our barbarian ancestors into chivalrous knights, and Christian women, or taught them to build palaces to God in the wilderness. It is the Christian religion represented by the Crucifix, which disappoints the hopes, and chills the hearts of those whose aspirations never rise beyond the level of a terrestrial paradise. The honour which such people pay to the Church is merely homage to her temporal gifts. It is good if it goes farther, it is false if it stops short, for a religion which ends with this world is no religion at all. Moreover, such gifts, as evidence, are no signs of a divine origin. In the great rulers she has formed, and in her ministrations of temporal favours, the Church has had rivals: if Charlemagne was great so was Augustus before him; and in some respects Greek art outrivals that of the middle ages. Exteriorly, it is not so much by what the

¹See the touching and heroic speech of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, when arraigned before Henry VIII., in Council by Cardinal Wolsey. *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, p. 103. Dublin, 1864.

Church gives as by what she takes away, or inspires men to do without that she manifests her divinity. It is plain that these were the principles of ordinary Christians in the first ages of the Church, as well as of the inspired Apostles: they had no experience of anything save conflict and suffering, and no other expectations; and however much the world may have changed since their time, there has been no change in Christianity. If, therefore, it can be proved that, while Ireland has been "the most faithful of all the nations that have received the Revelation from Heaven," she has been, at the same time, the most enduring representative of the suffering Primitive Church, it is only reasonable to expect that her spiritual endowments should be similar.¹

If the simplicity and austerity of the early Irish Church reminds us of the Primitive Church, in the last three centuries the resemblance has become even more striking. We have the same spectacle of persecution and development, and under similar conditions. In both cases there was no sort of equality between the contending parties. On one side there was absolute power, and on the other resistance without hope, as far as this life was concerned. Moreover, in both instances, the persecutor, and the persecuted, were inextricably commingled, so that the latter could never escape observation. Dr. Johnson, an unprejudiced witness, does not scruple to say that "There is no instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against Catholics."² And yet, as the Primitive Church grew in the Catacombs of Rome, and in the cities villages and armies of the empire, so was it with the

¹ It is very remarkable that this parallel should have occurred to Edmund Burke. Writing to Bishop Hussey, in 1795, he observes, "I wish very much to see, before my death, an image of a Primitive Christian Church. With little improvements, I think the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland very capable of exhibiting that state of things. I should not by force, or fraud, or rapine have ever reduced them to their present state of things. God forbid! But being in it, I conceive that much may be made of it to the glory of religion, and the good of the State."—(*Correspondence*. Ed. by Earl Fitzwilliam, iv. p. 284.)

² *Life by Boswell*. Croker, p. 263.

Church in Ireland under the penal laws. If at any time she seemed doomed to extinction it was in the first half of the eighteenth century. Her devotion to the cause of the Stuarts had involved Ireland in calamities almost as great as those inflicted by Elizabeth and Cromwell. "The best calculators," says Edmund Burke, "compute that Ireland lost 200,000 of her inhabitants in the struggle."¹ But her losses in the field were small compared to the exodus that succeeded. The astounding statement of the Abbé MacGeoghegan, founded on researches made at the French War Office, to the effect that between 1691 and 1745, more than 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France, seems at first sight incredible; but the more we study the contemporary domestic records of Ireland, the less we are inclined to doubt the evidence of this very careful and dispassionate writer.² At this time the Irish Protestant Primate Boulter, informs the Archbishop of Canterbury, that in Ireland "Many venture to go into foreign service at the risk of their lives." In the same strain he writes to the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Lecky quotes a contemporary writer of the period, to the effect that 20,000 recruits had departed from the County of Cork alone, and about the same number

¹ *Irish Affairs*. Ed. by Mathew Arnold, p. 370.

² *History of Ireland*, p. 599. MacGeoghegan was chaplain to the Irish Brigade in the middle of the last century, and O'Curry regards him as one of the few modern Irish historians who can be read "without mischief." (*MS. Materials*, p. 441.) He has the rare gift of being moderate while smarting under injustice. He avoids those passionate recriminations by which Irish writers have involved friends and foes in common obloquy. He vindicates the descendants of the Norman nobles, who came over with Strongbow, under unreasonable accusations. In many ways they were superior to their brethren in England, and if a Shakespeare ever arises in Ireland, he will easily find more generous and chivalrous characters in the ranks of her warlike knights, than the English bard has been able to discover amongst the English nobility, from the days of King John to those of Henry VIII. *Chiblera* and *Desmonda* are found in the pages of Ariosto; and it is of these same Geraldines, sprung from the union of Maurice Fitzgerald with the granddaughter of Murtough O'Brien, King of Ireland, that the national poet Davis writes:—

"But never then, nor never yet, has falsehood or disgrace,
Been seen to soil Fitzgerald's plume, or mantle in his face."

I doubt whether any family in the empire can show such a long line of heroic and chivalrous characters as are found in that simple and unadorned record, *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare.

had embarked with Sarsfield at Limerick, in 1691; and these contingents were probably immensely outnumbered by the recruits periodically carried off by French vessels from the lonely and unprotected harbours of Ireland. And yet it was at this very time, when Ireland had lost her natural leaders, and was being drained of her wisest and bravest sons, that the Primate Boulter writes to tell the Duke of Newcastle that the Protestant Church in Ireland was in danger, and that unless greater efforts were made, "Instead of getting ground of the Papists, we must lose to them, as in fact we do in many places, the descendants of many of *Cromwell's* officers and soldiers here being gone off to Popery."¹

With the fall of the Stuarts and the subsequent exodus, ended the mixed Celtic and Norman Church of Ireland. Of the past the poor alone remained,² and thus the Irish Church of to-day is truly the daughter of adversity—the offspring of the stern espousals of Irish poverty and English penal laws. It is with this Church, "compassed with infirmity," that we are concerned when there is question of the results of St. Patrick's mission. The fact that she stood, not merely unshaken, but conquering under the penal laws, was another manifestation of that inherent energy which in the past had melted down the barbarian Danes and the chivalrous Normans, making them *Hibernis hiberniores*. In the eighteenth century Catholic Ireland returned to her primitive condition, and it is no exaggeration to say that her religious developments and triumphs since then have been quite as wonderful and unaccountable as in the centuries which followed the death of St. Patrick. The fact that they are not recognised and

¹ *Letters of Hugh Boulter, D.D.*, vol. i., pp. 179, 181. The Primate italicises the name of "*Cromwell*," as if to mark his bewilderment. Dean Swift, in his *Modest Proposal*, also mentions Irish foreign enlistment.

² The catalogue of the names of Irish noblemen, in MacGeoghegan's dedication of his *History*, is a touching record of what he styles their "fidelity to unhappy masters." Exiles, although not inglorious in their banishment, we find them, sometimes leading, always inspiring the armies of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Naples, and Sardinia, while their castles and lands in Ireland were given over to an unwarlike and mushroom nobility, who had no characteristics calculated to inspire loyalty in the case of a people eminently chivalrous, and aristocratic in their tastes and traditions.

admired by rationalistic writers, and worshippers of material progress is not surprising. If the semi-pagan philosophy of St. Jerome's time had survived the barbarians, and been carried on into the sixth and seventh centuries, its votaries and exponents would probably have been equally short-sighted in their estimate, and scant in their notices, of the work and influence of St. Columba and St. Columbanus. That religion of the "Irish Celts," which even in the eyes of Mr. Froude "burnt like a star in Western Europe,"¹ was, in its day, quite as little regarded by the luxurious and fastidious as it is in our own; to such people nothing but the enchantment of distance can make Christianity, with all its severe requisitions, attractive or even endurable.

A systematic defence of the moral condition of any people seems, at first sight, an impossible undertaking. National poets and novelists, if true to life, carry conviction by those "reasons of the heart which reason cannot comprehend;" but a serious vindication of a nation is something like the canonization of a multitude. If it is hard to prove that any one man is better than his fellows, the difficulty is immeasurably increased when we are dealing with millions. Evidence from statistics of virtue and vice is confined to a very limited field, and its application requires that we should be in a position accurately to weigh the influence of circumstances. We must have evidence of a more universal character, embracing the many folds of a nation's life. It must be wide and deep, and at the same time dispassionate. Now, perhaps, there is no country in the world where we have so many advantages in this respect as in Ireland. Her proximity and connection with England, and a community of language, have for centuries made Ireland a favourite and convenient hunting ground for British Protestant explorers, and favourable evidence in the writings of such witnesses is above suspicion.

Those only who have made a special study of this branch of literature can have any idea of the number of writers of this class who bear witness to the grace and charm and extraordinary spiritual endowments of the poverty-

¹ *English in Ireland*, i., p. 16.

stricken peasantry of Ireland. Indeed, I do not know of any dissentient witnesses amongst those who have made it their business to study them in their own homes, and not merely from railway carriages, hotels, and drawing-room windows. This is all the more remarkable when we reflect that for three hundred years British prejudice against Ireland has been inspired by that horror of the Catholic Church which is identified with the life of the nation. The Irish have been the embodiment of that "raw head and bloody bones" phantom of Popery, which, like an enduring nightmare, haunts the English popular imagination from the cradle to the grave. Few nations have been so long, and so absolutely under priestly influence as the Irish; that domination, which, with his characteristic vigour, Mr. Thomas Carlyle describes as "the foul tutelage of the dirty, muddy-headed, semi-felonious, proselytizing Irish Priest." If anywhere Catholicity is to be seen in its native fruits, it is in Ireland, where for so many centuries it has been the sole social and moral power.

A discussion like the present is useless unless it is fearless and uncompromising, and we must be prepared to give and to take hard blows. It is essentially a contest of principles, and in such conflicts amongst Christians there is no place for concordats. Polytheists may make peace one with the other, and interchange their Gods; but belief in one God implies one truth, as the revelation of One supreme Mind, and so with division concerning its interpretation comes the inevitable struggle for supremacy. We shall be merely going round in a circle if we say that the poor Catholics of Ireland are good, bad, and indifferent like the poor all over the world; unless we can prove that the Catholic religion has done something special and singular for them, we shall have proved nothing.

In the first place, however, we must settle what we are to expect from the Catholic religion under circumstances such as we find in Ireland. It is not a peaceful Paraguay that we are about to contemplate: neither can Ireland be compared to Italy, or the Tyrol, and those Catholic countries where religious disunion and disturbances have often

been unknown for generations. Since the Danish invasions in the beginning of the ninth century, that is for nearly eleven hundred years, Ireland has been the prey of the perennial destroyer in one shape or another. Very unreasonable, therefore, are they who taunt her with the nakedness and desolation of her lonely battlefields, and the poverty of her arts and literature. The poet bewails the wrongs of Italy, the inheritance of "her fatal gift of beauty;" but her wounds have been skin-deep compared to those of Ireland. In Ireland nothing remains to the people of their Catholic past, save neglected and dishonoured ruins on a soil which is not their own, while the Italian still worships in those churches and shrines of his ancestors, which elevate and instruct the soul more than the poetry of Dante, or the paintings of Raphael. If, therefore, we desire to estimate the fruits of Catholicity in Ireland we have nothing to study save the moral condition of her people, and of all investigations this is the one which demands the most patient, profound, and dispassionate attention.

After much reflection, and many attempts at a statement of the case of Ireland, I have come to the conclusion that the best way of getting to the point is to select one antagonist, who may fittingly hold the place of *Advocatus diaboli*, and it would be impossible to find any one so well suited for the office as Mr. Froude, the author of the *English in Ireland*. It is well known that this veteran enemy of the Catholic Church was once one of that historic party which followed Cardinal Newman in those years when the energies of the best intellect of England were devoted to the study of the claims of the Catholic Church. Mr. Froude, therefore, is no mere ignorant and blundering assailant of Catholicity: he knows how and where to strike.

I am fully alive to the fact that those who are acquainted with Irish history will think it waste of time to answer Mr. Froude, and I should agree with them if we were dealing with historic facts. In the present instance, however, it is with prejudices, not with facts that we are concerned, and our best plan is to meet them in the person of their most popular exponent—one who boldly gives expression to those

ideas that are latent, but not less the dominant in other minds. If I knew of a more worthy antagonist, I should certainly select him; but the honoured names of English literature are not to be found in the list of her party historians. The historian is a judge in that august tribunal before which the silent and defenceless dead are summoned, and he who in that solemn office betrays his trust, sooner or later, incurs the contempt and execration of mankind. Lord Macaulay is, perhaps, a little vehement when he denounces a bad translation of a modern historical work as being "just as discreditable to the moral character of the person from whom it proceeds as a false affidavit, or a forged bill of exchange;" but no one will regard the condemnation as too strong when applied to the corrupt historian, who professes to draw his information from the fountains of a nation's history.

This is the enormity which is laid at the door of Mr. Froude by no less an authority than Mr. Lecky, who, perhaps, of all living historians has most thoroughly exhausted that period of Irish history which had been held in captivity by Mr. Froude. Mr. Lecky has devoted to Ireland some three hundred pages of the second volume of his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, as an integral and essential part of the history of the sister isle, and the numerous and learned notes in this volume, in which he has deemed it necessary to drag Mr. Froude from his entrenchments, are something almost unique in an historical work. It is plain that Mr. Lecky was impressed with the conviction that unless he could take Mr. Froude from off the public brain it was vain to attempt to write the history of Ireland.

The following are some of Mr. Lecky's strictures: "Mr. Froude's *English in Ireland* is intended to collect and aggravate everything that can be said against the Irish people, and accordingly the atrocities, on the English side, are reduced in that book to the smallest proportions." "His *English in Ireland*, which is intended to blacken to the utmost the character of the Irish people, and especially of the Irish Catholics." Again, alluding to the causes of the rising of 1641, as found in Hallam, Carte's *Ormond*, and Lord Castlehaven, Mr. Lecky observes of Mr. Froude: "The

reader must form his own judgment of the writer, who, with a full knowledge of these facts, has published the following as a true account of the rebellion of 1641. 'The Catholics were indulged to the uttermost and therefore rebelled!'"¹

The history of this insurrection, preserved in thirty-three volumes of so-called "Depositions" in Trinity College, is the favourite hunting ground of Mr. Froude. He informs us that it is "the gravest event in Irish history, the turning point on which all later controversies between England and Ireland hinge."² How the history of more than two centuries can "hinge" upon gossip of this description is difficult to see; but his language is only too true as regards the party to which he belongs. Ireland seems doomed to bear for ever the weight of those thirty-three volumes. There they remain in the treasury of Trinity College "the turning-point" of Anglo-Irish controversy for more than two centuries. Who has ever read them? Apparently not Mr. Froude,³ and at this distant period who is capable of passing judgment on these historic mummies?

In the middle of the last century, Edmund Burke had better opportunities for forming an opinion. Himself, a student at Trinity College, his immediate ancestors had been witnesses of the events of 1641, and the following is his judgment on what he stigmatizes as—

"The rascally collection in the College, relative to the pretended massacre in 1641 I am sure, wicked as they are, and mostly hearsay, they refute fully the false stories produced on their credit by Temple. Leland went over them with me, and poor Bowdens, long since dead. We agreed about them, but when he (Leland) began to write history, he thought only of himself, and the bookseller, for his history was written at my earnest desire, but the mode of doing it varied from his first conceptions."⁴

Again, Mr. Lecky observes, "By suppressing absolutely the name of the original Protestant authority, by substituting for

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II., pp. 95, 127 (nn.)

² Froude, *English in Ireland*, p. 91.

³ "Mr. Froude does not appear himself to have examined these depositions." Lecky, II., 154 n.

⁴ *Correspondence*, Ed. by Lord Fitzwilliam, III., 441.

it that of a Catholic copyist, who never pretended to have himself examined the original depositions, and by coupling this substitution with an attack upon Catholicism, an impression is given which is (to use the mildest term) misleading." In the matter of "one of the most important documents," in the evidence regarding the insurrection of 1641, Mr. Lecky observes, "Mr. Froude has dealt with it in his usual manner—suppressing the evidence—and no trace of it will be found in his history."

Again, in a little bit of by-play, regarding the destruction of Irish woods by speculators, "Mr. Froude," says Mr. Lecky, "with his usual accuracy and candour, attributes the demolition of the Irish woods exclusively to the perversity of the native Irish." "The sun," says Mr. Froude, "never shone on a lovelier country as nature made it; they have pared its forests to the stump, till it shivers in damp and desolation!"

"Again," says Mr. Lecky, "it suits the purpose of Mr. Froude's book to exaggerate . . . and he has given his case an appearance of great plausibility by garbling one of the documents he quotes." Finally, *in re* Archbishop King, and his moderately anti-Catholic party, Mr. Lecky bids farewell to Mr. Froude with the words, "Mr. Froude has, at the same time, withheld all the real arguments by which they justified their course."¹

Mr. Lecky has done our work for us by unveiling and answering Mr. Froude in detail, and this with a force and authority, which, under the circumstances, could hardly attach to any Catholic writer. Perhaps, we may thank Mr. Lecky for the fact that Mr. Froude has now come out in his real character as a writer of historical romance. The novel has of late been a powerful engine in the hands of literary smugglers of every description, and their success has evidently inspired Mr. Froude with the hope that history, like foreign infidelity, and such like commodities, may be used to season a story. But he has made a strange mistake. History must stand in the place of substance, not of accident: we

¹ *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Longmans, 1878. Vol. ii., pp. 95, 101, 154, 169, 231, 397, 408 (n.n.). See also pp. 127, 166, 361, 371, 376 (n.n.).

can accommodate his clothes to a man, but not a man to his clothes.

Mr. Froude has constructed an Irish romance¹ on the foundations of his *English in Ireland*, and the novel, even more than Mr. Lecky, has brought shame on his history. If, to return to Mr. Lecky, "Mr. Froude's *English in Ireland*, is intended to blacken to the utmost the character of the Irish people, and especially of Irish Catholics," in his novel he luxuriates in the hideous caricature which he himself has painted. In the enthusiasm of his hate he has overreached himself. His *English in Ireland*, which is merely a sort of Irish Newgate Calendar, is sometimes true as far as facts are concerned. It is what Mr. Lecky styles the "garbling" of the evidence, and the "withholding of the real arguments" on the Catholic side, which makes it not so much history as a deceptive brief in a criminal prosecution.

When, however, in a novel, the sins of generations are concentrated in individuals, by an author skilled in sounding the depravity of the human heart, the result is so monstrous that our common nature revolts at the outrage. There never were rational beings so loathsome and detestable as the Irish Catholics in Mr. Froude's romance. It will, perhaps, be suggested that such exaggerations are suicidal, and may be let alone, and that it is hardly reasonable to treat a novel as a serious indictment against a nation. To which I answer, in the first place, that although few people believe all, there are many who believe a great deal that Mr. Froude says; and secondly, that his romance is no ordinary work of fiction: it is the embodiment of his Irish historical productions, into which he has infused a life like that which is generated by putrefaction, and equally dangerous.

A few extracts will put the reader in possession of Mr. Froude's indictment. At page 76 he introduces us to the Irish poor on the lawn before his hero's drawing-room window, as follows:—

"Savages, but not 'noble savages,' whose human nature had to be admitted—but admitted reluctantly. . . . All had

¹ *The Two Chiefs of Dunboy.* An Irish Romance of the Last Century.

their tale of misfortune, probably most of it lies. But it was low water with the whole of them ; you could see that plainly enough, waifs and strays as they were, of Irish destiny, helplessly passive as the dragged jelly-fish left dry by the tide."

At p. 156, his hero, Colonel Goring, muses upon Ireland, and his reflections take shape as follows :—

"The island was like a sleeping volcano. . . . English rule had done it all, so said the priests. But it was not so, for their own annals, written by themselves, before the strangers had come among them, told of riving and blood-shedding as their only occupation, and their only glory."

Again, at the sight of some ancient Irish monuments, he continues to moralize—

"Some hand or other had piled the mounds where, if you tunnelled, you found caves littered with bones, gnawed by creatures which had borne, at least, a human form,¹ but who were they, and whence had they come? Apostles had come, and preached Christianity to these beings. They were said to have transformed them, for a time, into a nobler type. Ireland, it was alleged, had become an island of saints. She had sent missionaries over Europe, and when the pagans overran the Roman world, and buried it in heathendom again, the Gospel light had burned clear and white in this wild, western land. So the priests pretended, and yet the annals told the same story. Neither, then, nor at any time, had the Irish chiefs and their followers been other than wolves, devouring one another when no sheep were left for them to devour."

Then, in the flowing stream of his story, we have the corollaries to these principles—such as perjury and lying, which the priest can "set straight," and cowardice, with its vile attendant vices (pp. 49, 104, 203, 229), until again we see before us the "mere Irishman" of the "Pale," whom to kill was held to be no crime, because, in the words of Bishop Milner, "they were supposed, by the vulgar, to be ourang-outangs, or brutes of some species or other." Indeed, when we weigh Mr. Froude's words, it is plain that his ideas run very much in this direction : his romance like some of the

¹ How does Mr. Froude distinguish the marks of Irishmen's teeth from those of their wolf-dogs? he aims at outstripping Cuvier.

comic papers of the day manifest, the same reluctance, as he expresses it, to admit the claims of the Irish Catholic poor to a participation in either the moral or physical characteristics of the human race.

W. B. MORRIS.

(*To be continued.*)

CANADIAN SKETCHES.—II.

POPULAR ELEMENTS.

THE picturesque in Canadian story and society is confined almost wholly to their French, and Highland Scottish elements. What Ireland contributes to the picture: why this has not, as yet, assumed distinct features of its own, or mingled naturally with the general design of the *tableau*, it shall be the object of this paper to reveal. First, however, I must rapidly round off the lines of my last sketch.

We learn from competent authority that the French Canadians number nearly, if not fully, two millions, taking as our guide the census of 1881. A little over one hundred and twenty-five years before that date (1760) there were no more than seventy thousand of a French population in all Canada. So that in the interval, from 1760 to 1881, the French population in that country has increased in numbers *twenty-seven times*! All this, too, by natural increment; for there has been no emigration from France to Canada worth noting throughout all that period, and there are not, to-day, two hundred persons of French birth in all the province of Quebec. Neither have these *habitants* commingled in any appreciable degree with either the native Indian population, or with the English-speaking, or other European races. All this time, from 1760 to 1881, the United States, with the vast, unbroken tide of foreign immigration pouring in upon its shores, has only increased by *nineteen times* its population of 125 years ago. Had it increased in the same ratio as that of the French Canadians, it would now reach seventy-five, instead of fifty-

five, millions of people. So far as regards the wonderful increase of this interesting and fateful people, what a contrast with the racial decline in their mother-land!

What renders the French Canadians, and the Canadian Scots also, interesting beyond all other elements of Canadian social life is this, that they have jealously preserved, and in some ways improved upon, all that was estimable and venerable in the character and customs of their race. Chief of all proofs of this is their almost morbid love of the language of their fathers. I have said enough about the *habitants* in this regard. They have forced their language into the courts, the press, and the very legislative halls of the Dominion. As for the Highland Scotch of British North America I shall simply relate (to point a moral for Irishmen and their sons, which will be apparent in the rest of this paper) my own experience amid the Scots of northern Nova Scotia. I never met a braver, simpler, shrewder, or more soundly religious people. I was among them all the winter of 1886. About Easter time I was the guest, for a period, of the learned and enlightened Dr. Cameron, Bishop of Anchat. I was delighted to hear, during the feast days of that season, instructions given in Gaelic to crowded congregations in the splendid cathedral at Antigonish. Not one-tenth of those listening multitudes, I venture to say, had ever seen Scotland, or breathed, except in the spirit, the breath of her mountains. Yet I was assured, and I knew of myself afterwards, that the Celtic tongue was indispensable as a channel of instruction and ministration to them, even to the majority, who knew and spoke English perfectly well. So much so that the bishop—himself a Nova Scotian by birth—has published for the growing generation a Gaelic Catechism. But I was brought into closer contact with this beautiful love of the people for their ancestral Highlands. There were many priests at the bishop's house at that time from all the country round, and from Cape Breton Island. One of them, a Nova Scotian Highlander, like the rest, asked the bishop to allow me to accompany him home to his parish to help at hearing the Easter confessions. We reached his place—a charming retreat, set in a wood over a placid lake—on Good Friday

evening. His arrival was soon known, and his pious people all flocked to the modest country church. "Accoutred as he was," in his long driving coat, he ascended the altar steps, and without a word of preface, or explanation, or addition he read out to his flock, in their beloved Gaelic, the history of the Passion of Christ. The moan of a suffering and sacrificed race seemed to mingle, in the tones, with the agony of the crucified One. The sad, sweet tongue so became the sad, sweet story that a new and deeper truth, a holier sense, a wider range, a stronger testimony seemed impressed upon its recital. The language, so full of music and of memories, went straight to the heart, and linked it through an unbroken chain of Celtic faith and feeling and suffering to the heart that broke on Calvary.

Neither in catacomb nor cathedral did I ever assist at such a scene. Never saw I a people so silently and solemnly moved.

I need scarcely say I was of little assistance to this good shepherd. In fact I was obliged to abandon the confessional immediately, because no one, young or old, would [whether they could or not] confess in any language but Gaelic. To my shame I understood it not, though I was not the less impressed by it in the priest's reading of the Passion. Father M'Gilvey had a good laugh at my expense, on the score of my usefulness to him, and I then understood that he had made this but a pretext to beguile me to his *Arcadian* bower.

Now, at last, we come to the main object of this paper. What is the position and influence of the Irish race in Canada? In answering this question I intend to tell the simple truth, and point an obvious but important political moral.

Ireland is politically, and to a great extent commercially as well as religiously a dominant power in Canada, as well as in every land beyond the seas where her children are to be found. This is a fact that every future record in every language shall have to recognise, if it would claim the title of history. From sea to sea throughout the Dominion the Irish race is spread, counting, I should say, something over

half the number of the French Canadian race. As compared with that of France, Irish history, in connection with Canada, is less adventurous and poetic. The Irish settlement on the soil was less auspicious. Irish influence is less ordered and consolidated. All this, interpreted, means that new Ireland, in Canada as elsewhere, carries with her the scars of a conflict not yet ended, and the rustling of a chain not yet unbound. Quebec was the port of landing for the bulk of the emigrants who, with their children, now constitute the Irish Canadian population. Quebec is a historic city; the most historic, as a critical point of international struggle, in all America, or perhaps in the modern world. But the towering crags of Quebec never looked down on a spectacle more full of sorrow or of destiny than that of the landing of the Irish emigrants during and after the famine years. They were not ships that came to her portals, but floating charnel houses. They were not men that landed on her quays, but fever-stricken skeletons. The Spaniards came to America in the pride of expectant victory, and the flush of assured conquest. The French came in the gallant spirit of enterprise, and chivalrous purposes of religion and civilization. The Puritan English came in a spirit of sturdy independence and trustful self-reliance. All these have accomplished the destiny that their purposes, motives, and measures of their migrations shaped out for them in the new land. Whether for weal or woe, whether victors or vanquished, they have impressed upon the virgin soil the indelible mark of their history and character. Their national name alone, and their political ascendancy have been swept away, from the land in the rush of history. Their memory lives in its languages, monuments, and institutions, and is riveted by these for ever to the soil. But Ireland! dragging after her the chains of her enslavement, clothed in the rags of her wretchedness and the sores of her affliction, what could be her fate but to perish on the very borders of the land of promise! And perish she did in her hundreds and her thousands. But "*non omnis morior*" has ever been the symbol of her hope, and the talisman of her life and resurrection. And so, though the old land had become one vast sepulchre of its own children, though the

white foam of ocean became their winding sheet, and its bed grew shallow with their heaped-up bones, yet she revived. On the very scene of her last and worst despair, from Quebec away along the shores of the St. Lawrence she has raised the living monuments of her immortality.

This paper will not admit of a discussion (not new to or needed by your readers), of the part taken by Ireland in the religious progress of Canada. Politically Irish influence is as strong in proportion in Canada, as in the United States or in Australia. That means that it is really the determining influence in every great political crisis. And here again the energy and the long political education of the race are plainly revealed. The strongest element in point of wealth and of purely modern culture in Canada, is the English and Scottish commercial element. The strongest in point of banded religious and national sentiment, and of concentrated power is the French element; yet in a political crisis the Irish influence, even when divided, makes itself more felt than either, and works out its ends more assuredly. There is this peculiarity about the race, in Canada as everywhere, that it is full of unknown possibilities and surprises. The others work and win, when they do win, *en masse*, by dead weight and calculated momentum. Their leaders have only, at most, a superior degree of the common characteristics of their followers. But there is always, at every crisis, some individual Irishman, probably unknown and unheard of till the crisis arises, who springs at a bound above the highest range of the powers of his friends or foes, and places himself at once in the forefront of brilliant and effective statesmanship. He differs even from his own compatriots and supporters, not in degree, but seemingly in kind, and his resources are incalculable. I cannot account for the superior influence at a given crisis of the Irish over the French and Anglo-Scottish political element in Canada, except by this fact, that it can always produce a better man at an emergency; all else in their political methods is seriously against the Irish Canadians. They are too often divided upon party questions, and too much given to locating their interests, except where a great principle is obviously at stake. They have not a

settled plan, purpose, and rule of politics. Irishmen influence the politics of Canada, but they do not make them or shape them to ultimate issue. Their influence is felt at every point, but not at one point.

In no part of America, or I believe of British territory outside the north of Ireland, is there such an amount of religious strife imported into social and political life as in Canada. In the United States creed distinctions have no overt influence upon elections. There is no distinctly Catholic party, no Catholic vote, no Catholic representation in State legislature or Congress. I pass no opinion on this, as being or not being a social advantage. I state it as a social fact. You will gain no purpose in the Republican political fame by attaching to a movement the name of Catholic. But in Canada things are quite different. The difference is due to the natural position (if I may so call it) of the French Canadian, and to the inherited relation of the Irish Canadian Catholic towards the dominant Protestant factor of the estate. The French are there, and have been there before the others, a compact body of Catholics. They have traditions of religious, but none of sectarian persecution. They understand revolt against Christianity, for their fathers witnessed and suffered from it, but they do not and cannot comprehend revolt against Catholicity as simply such. At home, in their quiet villages, they are an eminently pious people, devoted to their priesthood and to the practice of their religion. They ask nothing from the State, on this ground, but that their liberties shall be respected. To secure and maintain this right they move as one man whenever and wherever it is menaced. It is no wonder, then, that the party in the State for whom religion only exists, and by whom it can only be understood, as a political party instrument—the Orange party especially—recognize in the French Canadian that identical foe to their ascendancy they so long battled with in vain under another national name in Ireland. The French Canadian, under this aspect of a determined loyalist to his religion, is no stranger to the sectarian. But the sectarian is, historically, a stranger to the French Canadian. A stranger, not only in race and religion, but also in his methods of

hatred and opposition. As to the Irish Canadian Catholic the old feud of course exists, but it has undergone changes. It has become less a religious and more a political feud. Canada is after all a free country, and no one party dare openly trample on the rights of the other. Well each knows that this is a new field in which the issues of open warfare would be fought out with other weapons and under far other conditions than in the old. There is no fear of Orange outrage as an institution in America. Hence the whole religious question is in reality but a political name for the division and rally of parties. As time goes on, and new history is made, the old historic strifes shall only exist as a memory, to be pondered on and wondered at. But here comes a natural suggestion for the Irish people to make. The French and Irish Canadians, both being Catholic, both, as such, being a common object of hostility to the Protestant party, both descendants of nations that have long mutually recognized a brotherhood of race and of affection, should unite as one political body in Canada. Do they so? They do not, and they never have done so. I have heard more than one Irish politician say in Canada that he would side with an Irish Orangeman rather than with a French Canadian. If this be not a mystery, it is, at least in my eyes, a misfortune. I would advocate no union of parties in the Dominion that would set against one another its component parts, or disturb the integrity of the body social. Yet I do think that there are paramount interests and considerations—apart altogether from old time traditional associations at home—that should bind together in Canada the two greatest surviving sections of the Celtic race—the French and the Irish. The brunt of the political battle in Canada, is, as we have noted, the religious question. This brunt of battle the French Canadian has to bear almost unaided by his Irish Catholic fellow-citizens. The latter seems to credit the false pretence of the Ontario politician that his hostility is not directed against the French Canadian's religion, but against his possible political ascendancy. The Irish political influence is scattered like the Irish social body, here and there, up and down the Dominion. The Irish Canadian has no overwhelming centres of population

such as the French Canadian has in Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa itself. Though he is strongly represented in each, he feels the weight and mass of his co-religionists' numbers, institutions, and organization. He feels this more than he feels or dreads the less apparent anti-Catholic combination of the sects. He is easily persuaded that the increase of French Canadian influence and power would involve loss to himself of political place and prestige. Even from a religious point of view, I think I am not far wrong in stating, that the Irish population in Canada resent, as an unusual and unwelcome thing, the presence of a great Catholic system that is not of their own making, nor of their own choosing. In all French Canada the Irish Catholics (even as such) must take a subordinate part. They must congregate in churches, and receive the ministrations of clergy, eminently Catholic indeed, but not their own. The Irish Church in all other colonies is national as well as Catholic. In the greater part of Canada, in all its chief religious and political centres, the Irish Catholic Church—as a national institution—is overshadowed by the presence of a greater and older establishment, the widespread and powerful French Canadian foundation. Add to these causes of differences between the races—causes that, however sentimental they may appear, are extremely real—many industrial and commercial divergences. There are differences in labour and wage standards, French Canadian labour being cheaper, and, as such, a grievance to the Irishman. Put all these causes of disagreement together and we have summed up the main issues that seem to divide the Irish and French Canadians, or, at least, prevent that close political union which should exist for the interest of both.

It is indeed a pity that these two great Catholic bodies in Canada do not better combine, at least for the furtherance of Catholic interests. Such questions as that of grants of lands or revenue to religious communities (most all of them French Canadian) are constantly before the Government. To these the Irish body is, as a rule, either hostile or indifferent. The consequence is that the two races are almost in the position towards each other of rival politicians and rival Churches.

On the other hand the Protestant combination against both is almost perfect, and it naturally profits by their division. Proselytising, in the land itself, makes but little headway with the French, and still less with the Irish Canadian. The elementary education system, being denominational elective, is no aid to the work of religious perversion. But the warfare, against Catholicity goes on bravely for all that in Canada by the system of recruiting in Europe that has lately assumed such proportions. Almost all the so-called "homes" for the training in these islands of boys and girls, and their subsequent migration as farm hands and house servants to various parts of the dominion, are institutions to counteract the spread and influence of Catholicity in the land. They are the stock preserves of Protestantism, and are intended to stem the tide of Catholic increase in the country by an artificial counter supply. This sort of thing is a device so little divine that it usually defeats its own ends. But it proves the necessity, and should provoke the effort, of that strong Catholic combination—Irish and French—which Canada alone of all England's territories is in a position to effect.

If my picture of the part our race is taking in Canada be not altogether flattering, it is altogether true, and written with an object which the readers of the I. E. RECORD will know how to appreciate.

I will sum up briefly with a few words about the minor associations into which political society distributes itself in Canada.

Among the French there is chiefly the *Société de St. Jean Baptiste* and the *Institut Canadien*. The first is a religious society in its origin, the French throughout Canada cultivating an ardent devotion to St John, but it is also social, political, the symbolic embodiment, in fact, of all that is French Canadian in thought, sentiment, and purpose. All Canadians, except the *Institut*, belong to the Society of St. John, and his is the patronal feast of the land.

The *Institut Canadien* is a much newer and more purely secular body. It is the Canadian development of the liberty equality, and fraternity principle of the French Revolution.

It is actively anti-clerical and remotely revolutionary. It would do away with Church and State, as they now exist in Canada, and repeat in miniature the story of France in the closing years of the last century. Very many of the young professional men of Quebec province belong to it, many also, I believe, of the tradesmen, but the vast agricultural population and the whole clerical body view it with distrust and aversion.

Among the English-speaking people of Canada they are chiefly the Orange body (of which I have said enough), the *Young Britons*, and the *Canada first* societies.

The *Young Britons* are chiefly English and of English descent, and their motive of association is to conserve and glorify Canada's English Imperial connection, to strengthen it by all means, and to oppose any tendency towards *Americanizing* the country. They do not come to the surface much, and indeed would be invisible as a body to the mere street tourist or historiographer of Canada. They are the *Loyal Patriotic League* of the country.

The *Canada first* party are the *Patriotic League* (neither loyal nor disloyal) of the young men of Canada. As the name of their association implies, their principle is to place *Canada*, and Canadian interests, in the very forefront of all political consideration and effort. No subject shall be debated or legislated upon except it be in some solid sense Canadian, and only because it is Canadian. And in the event of an Imperial or any foreign question becoming agitated, however important it may be, it must give way to a question of Canada if such be before the public, or it must be considered only in its relations to the interests of Canada. Hence, if a change, not only of Canadian Government, but even of Canadian allegiance, seems desirable in the interests of the people and country, such change may and must be made, not indeed by violent revolution, but by the firm and resolute expression of public choice and opinion. This is the substance of what I saw in the programme of the constitution of this body, handed to me once by one of its members. I cannot tell how far, or how deep in the political soil, this association extends. But I think it fairly expresses

the purposes and aspirations of the youth, official and otherwise, of Canadian birth, who wish the country to be a nation, and not an appendage to a far-off crown. I think, moreover, that this is what all the great colonies tend towards, and what they will quietly achieve within a very measurable period of time.

Canada is a great and beautiful and lovable land. No feverish haste marks her onward progress in the competition of the younger nations. Calmly and steadily she advances upon the lines traced out for her by the peaceful pioneers of religion and civilization. Greater, noisier worlds will yet have to learn from her that "the race is not always to the swift nor the victory to the strong."

R. HOWLEY.

PALESTRINA'S "*MISSA PAPÆ MARCELLI*."

ON the seventh of last month, the University of Dublin Choral Society performed Palestrina's famous *Missa Papæ Marcelli*. It was the first performance of this mass in a concert-room in Ireland, and as there is very seldom an opportunity given to hear this work in its proper place, in the churches at High Mass, it was an event of some importance. It may, therefore, not be out of place to notice it in the I. E. RECORD.

First of all, high praise is due to the performance. We must say that, in the circumstances, the society discharged their task in an admirable manner. Nothing is easier than Palestrina's music, once a choir has been properly educated to that peculiar style of composition; but to singers accustomed only to modern music, these old vocal compositions present several great difficulties. The University Choral Society have overcome these difficulties to a great extent. Their performance of this master-piece of Palestrina, gave a good idea of its beauties; it afforded ground for forming a judgment of the purity and grandeur of this style of composi-

tion. Much credit, therefore, is due to the society, and especially to its distinguished conductor, Sir R. Stewart. If in the following I venture to make some critical remarks, it is only in order to try and excite a general interest and appreciation of Palestrina's wonderful music.

To begin with, I have to correct some historical mistakes. The programme of the concert gives as the date of Palestrina's birth, the year 1514. It seems that Dr. Haberl's researches on this question, published in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1886, are not yet known in these countries. As this matter is of some importance in the history of music, I think it well to give Dr. Haberl's remarks in their full extent. At p. 42 of the work referred to, he gives the following reasons for his supposition that Palestrina was born in 1526:—

(a) "Torrighio and Cecconi suppose, without proof, 1528, as the year of Palestrina's birth; Andr. Adami, 1529; Gius. Baini, 1524; the inscription plate on Pierluigi's oil picture, in the archives of the Papal Chapel, 1514. In defending now 1526 as the year of his birth, I adduce, as witness, one who after Palestrina's funeral expressed his sorrow in feeling terms, which are given in the 16th vol. of "*Palestrina's works*." (Preface, p. v.) This *contemporary writer* remarks that Palestrina lived sixty-eight years, and thus fixes 1526, as date of his birth, for there are undoubted documents, proving the year of his death to be 2 February, 1594. The same year (1526) may be inferred from the assertion of his son, Hyginus, who remarks that his father composed for the Church *nearly* seventy years. W. A. Ambros' witticism (4 vol. p. 3), that the master did not begin to cultivate music in his cradle, cannot invalidate this supposition, because it is generally said of important men that they devoted their whole lifetime to art or science, etc.

(b) "Dates proved by documents are: 1544, contract of the Cathedral Chapter of Palestrina, with Giov. Pierluigi for his services in the Cathedral; 1547, espousals of Giovanni with Lucrezia Gori; 1551, appointment as choirmaster in St. Peter's at Rome; 1554, edition of the first book of masses, with dedication to Pope Julius III.; 1555, admission to and exclusion from the College of Singers of the Papal Chapel, etc. These dates, applied to 1526 as year of his birth, Giov. Pierluigi got his first appointment in Palestrina at the age of seventeen years, got married at twenty-one, and came to St. Peter's at twenty-five years. The first book of masses occurs in the twenty-eighth, the birth of Hyginus in

the thirty-fifth, the death of Lucrezia¹ in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

(c) "If Palestrina married a second time² in his fifty-sixth year, it cannot be imputed to him as a folly, but it can when he was (according to 1514, as year of his birth) about sixty-eight years old. If, besides this, we take into account the fact that most of Palestrina's works were published from 1570-1594, that is to say from his forty-fourth to sixty-eighth year, we need not wonder either at his great precocity, or at fertility in old age. Moreover the authority of the inscription plate in the Sistine Chapel is of no weight, and creates no difficulty as, after having inspected it personally, with the assistance of several experts, I can state *that the inscription has not been written on the oil painting before about 1750*. Andr. Adami (1711) knew nothing of it. There can no longer be question of 1514 as the year of Pierluigi's birth.

Another strong argument for 1526 is that in a letter of 1585, Pierluigi used the expression "*in questi anni quasi senili*." He could not employ these words, if born in 1524 or 1514. At the age of sixty years he was, according to Latin and Italian usage, *senex*, *senilis*: but at fifty-nine years he could speak of *anni quasi senili*."

With regard to the origin of the *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, the programme reproduces the old story about the Papal Commission of 1565, at the request of which Palestrina composed three masses, earning consequently the title of Saviour of Church music. We cannot be surprised to meet this story here again, as the proofs that it is false are not yet published. In order, however, to prevent further undue reasoning from the story, I think it useful to quote what Dr. Haberl says in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* for 1890, p. 25:—

"Baini is guilty of several intentional historical inaccuracies, employed partly for a purpose, partly from embarrassment arising from want of documentary evidence. I quote, for instance, his statements that 'Goudimel was Palestrina's teacher (impossible and undemonstrable), that 'the Papal Commission discussed in 1565 the abolition of Polyphonic Church Music, and Palestrina wrote at their request three masses, and saved Church Music by the "*Missa Papæ*

¹ The register of deaths at St. Peter's recounts on the 23rd July, 1580, the funeral of Lucrezia, *née* Gori, wife of Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina, in the "cappella nuova" at St. Peter's.

² A document of the year 1583, mentions a wife of his, *l. c.* p. 41.

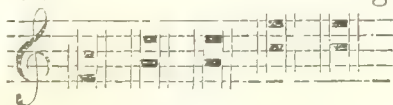
Marcelli," etc. As treatises, pamphlets, books, and dictionaries in all languages have spread these reports over the world, no one need be surprised if the undersigned will publish the series of counterproofs only when he will be able to discuss these important points in a connected way, under every aspect, and with consideration of all difficulties and doubts. This shall be done in a separate biography of Palestrina, to be completed, with God's grace, by 1894. *But the theses are correct.* Baini's guilt is doubtless."

Turning now to the Mass itself, I first put the question, in which *mode* is it written? Some writer in one of our newspapers confidently maintains that this Mass "is free from the barbaric influence of the older Church modes." He seems to suppose, therefore, that it is written in C major. Had he only taken the trouble of considering the opening theme, some doubt probably would have struck him, as *d g f' e* is a very strange beginning in C major. Besides, the whole modulation shows clearly the influence of the *mirolydian mode*.

The *parts* employed by Palestrina are soprano, alto, two tenors, and two basses. In Otto Goldschmidt's edition "for the use of the Bach Choir," which was employed at the concert, this arrangement has been changed. Goldschmidt gives the following reasons for this change:—

"The constitution of the Bach Choir (which the editor takes to be a fair type of similarly constituted associations, and of such as would be interested in music of this kind), did not permit of retaining two tenor parts of exceptional height, while two different soprano parts could easily be supported; he has, therefore, given the original alto part (also unusually high) to the second soprano, and has assigned the first tenor part to the alto."

Notwithstanding the authority of Mr. Goldschmidt, I must consider this change as a mistake. Especially the use of a contralto and a tenor, instead of two tenors, spoils the effect intended by Palestrina. Besides, the reason adduced by Goldschmidt, the "exceptional height of the tenor parts," does not stand the test. The original clefs of the composition are



etc.

This means a transposition downwards, which, with concert

pitch, should amount at least to one tone. If this be done, the tenors rank from *f* to *f'* (or *f*'), only in particularly prominent places rising to *g* or (*g'*). This, certainly, is quite convenient for average tenor voices. The change proved fatal to the University Choral Society. The female parts were drowned by the spring tide of the male voices.

This was one of the principal reasons that the performance did not produce the full effect of the Mass. Another reason was the *want of rest*, and this in a double regard. First, it was certainly a mistake to sing the whole of the mass without interruption. After all, the different parts of this mass are of a pretty similar character, and so it was very tiresome, both to the performers and the audience, to have them performed one immediately after the other. We can easily realize that many found the composition rather monotonous for the want of solos, &c. In order to do justice to the mass, we must consider it as part of the music at High Mass. Then we shall not want variety. There we have after the Gloria the priest singing the prayers, the sub-deacon his Epistle; the Gradual is sung by the choir, its verses by solo voices; the deacon then solemnly reads the Gospel. After the Credo again, we have the Offertory, which, whether it be sung in Gregorian or in Polyphony, is different in style from the Ordinary. Then the priest has a "solo," the Preface, the choir joining at the Sanctus. Between Benedictus and Agnus Dei, the priest sings another "solo," the Pater Noster. In these circumstances, we must consider the equality of character in the different parts of the Ordinary rather as a very desirable advantage, as it relieves the mind from the strain that ever-varying musical thoughts would put on it. In the concert room, of course, this beautiful variety of the High Mass cannot well be given, but there ought to be pauses between the single parts of such a composition.

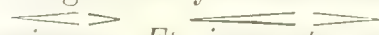
Secondly, there was a want of rest, owing to the fact that the cadences were not taken quietly enough. With Palestrina, as also to a great extent with Handel and Bach, the cadences require a great *ritardando*, in order to produce that perfect feeling of rest which they are intended to produce.

Owing to this want of *ritardando*, also the charming figure *sol fa re mi*, in which the old masters delight so much, was not so prominent as it ought to have been.

In the general character of the performance I remarked some want of fire and life, owing partly to the excessive use of the *pp*, and a certain heaviness of movement. A critic, in defence of this, says that "the proper style of execution is of a subdued and reverential character." I cannot agree with this. Not reverence, but joy is the principal feature in our liturgy. In High Mass we are celebrating the nuptials of the Lamb, and singing the bridal songs with exultation. Accordingly, with Palestrina, the ardour of devotion oftentimes bursts out in brilliant flames, and in a festival mass especially, as *Missa Papæ Marcelli* certainly is, enthusiasm and fire must be the principal features of execution.

Going into particulars I am surprised to find in Goldschmidt's edition sometimes a *pp* where I should expect a *ff*. If we consider what means a vocal composer has to produce a *ff*, we find principally two—combination of many parts, and use of such notes for the single parts as will enable them to produce the strongest effect. Accordingly we may safely assume that wherever Palestrina brings all the parts together, and employs them in their upper range of voice, he intends a *ff*. For this reason I cannot agree with Goldschmidt's interpretation, for instance, of the end of both *Kyries*, of the *Gratias agimus* and *Jesu Christe* (twice) in the *Gloria*, of the *Et ex Patre natum* and *Et exspecto* in the *Credo*, and of the third last bar of the *Agnus Dei*. I can imagine the reasons that induced Goldschmidt to this interpretation. But I think the composition itself shows clearly that Palestrina did not feel himself bound by these reasons.

But perhaps more important than the change of *piano* and *forte* is another point that was defective in the performance; I refer to the *declamation of the words*. This is a most essential thing with the old vocal compositions, to bring out fully the accentuation of the words, for instance:—


miserere, Et incarnatus est: Crescendo up to the accented syllable, and then decrescendo. By this means these com-

positions get feeling and expressiveness, great life and variety. Goldschmidt sins against this rule by writing for instance:—

ve ... ro. But I suppose this is not to be taken literally.

Having criticised so much I wish to repeat my thorough acknowledgment of the merits of the performance, and I am sure every true musician will join with me in the hope that the Society, after this very successful commencement, will continue to perform compositions such as this, which certainly are the most worthy, and the proper object of a Choral Society. And may the esteem shown to these compositions by qualified musicians be a stimulus to have them performed oftener than hitherto in our Catholic churches.

H. BEWERUNGE.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

A QUESTION IN FASTING.

“REV. SIR,—I find it difficult to reconcile two statements of yours regarding the law of fasting, which appear, the one in the March number, and the other in the June number of the I. E. RECORD, of this year—1889.

“In the March number, in answer to a question—‘May butter be taken on fast days outside Lent?’ you state: ‘I have not seen the Rescript, but I think butter may be taken on fast days outside Lent.’ In the June number, in answer to the question—‘Do the Indults relaxing the law apply and extend to all the other fast days outside the Lent?’ you state: ‘The Lenten Indults relaxing the law of abstinence do *not* affect fasting days outside the Lenten time.’ Now what does the relaxation of the law of abstinence, in this connection, mean, if not permission to use butter at the collation? In other words, you state that butter is *not* allowed at the collation on fasting days outside the Lenten time.

“Rev. Sir, kindly tell me in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, by which of these statements am I to be guided in practice, and oblige,

“P. P.”

It is not difficult to reconcile what appear to our correspondent to be conflicting statements.

In the June number of the I. E. RECORD we wrote "the Lenten Indults relaxing the law of abstinence do not affect fasting days outside the Lenten time." Of course in this reply we referred only to the dispensations given by the *bishops* for the Lenten season, and published in their Lenten Indults or Pastorals. And these dispensations manifestly do not affect fasting days outside of Lent. Moreover, neither in Lent nor on fasting days outside of Lent had the bishops power to allow the general use of butter at the collation to persons who were bound to fast.

How, then, is it allowable to take butter at the collation during Lent, and on fasting days outside of Lent?

This brings us to the question discussed in the March number of the I. E. RECORD. The bishops had more than once petitioned the Holy See for the use of butter at the collation on fasting days. In 1883 a Rescript of the Holy Office arrived declaring "*Consuetudinem sumendi butyrum in collatiuncula diebus jejunii in Hibernia tolerari posse.*" We expressed our opinion in the March number of the I. E. RECORD that in virtue of *this Rescript*, butter may be taken at the collation during Lent, and on fasting days outside of Lent, by persons who are bound to fast. Hence there is no real difficulty in reconciling our two answers. For 1st, neither in Lent, nor on fasting days outside of Lent can persons who are bound to fast use butter at the collation solely in virtue of *the bishop's Lenten Indult*. 2nd. On the other hand persons who are bound to fast may use butter at the collation during Lent, and on fasting days outside of Lent, *consequent on the Rescript of the Holy Office* already referred to.

We may add that since we wrote on this subject in the March number of the I. E. RECORD, the bishops again communicated with Rome in reference to the correct interpretation of the Rescript of 1883. The reply of the Holy Office, which we quote, finally settled the matter:—

"Quod totius Hiberniae Episcoporum nomine quaerit Amplitudo Tua, nimirum quoniam sensu intelligenda sint verba Indulti mense Januario anni 1883 a suprema et Universali Inquisitione vobis concessi: '*Consuetudinem sumendi butyrum in collatiuncula, diebus jejunii permitti posse;*' cum vero consuetudo ejus-

modi antea in Hibernia non vigeret propositum nunc fuit dubium S. Congregationi. Porro in Comitibus Periae IV die 17 mox elapsi mensis Julii Elni ac Rlni Patres de ea re agentes decreverunt: 'Juxta exposita qui utuntur butyro in collatione scrotina [an obvious mistake, for *matutina*] non esse inquietandos.' Quam quidem sententiam Sanctitas Sua in audientia ejusdem dici benigne adprobavit."

II.

JURISDICTION TO HEAR CONFESSIONS IN CONTERMINOUS PARISHES OF ADJOINING DIOCESES.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—There is a question regarding jurisdiction on the borders of dioceses in Ireland in a most unsatisfactory state. A priest living on the border of another diocese, goes in on a visit, and is asked to hear a priest's confession; has he jurisdiction? Some affirm, others say it is doubtful, &c."

A priest, let us suppose, of the diocese of Dublin crosses the border into the diocese of Meath; can he hear the confession while in the diocese of Meath of a priest, *e.g.* with whom he may be on a visit? Can he, while in the diocese of Meath, hear the confession of Meath priests indiscriminately?

Priests cannot hear such confessions outside their own diocese, unless they have approbation and jurisdiction from the bishop of the diocese in which the confessions are heard. And this can be known only by express or tacit concession, or by custom.

The question, therefore, depends on facts which can be known best by the priests in those conterminous parishes. We should gladly welcome their views as to the universal existence of the custom referred to by our correspondent. For ourselves we are not acquainted with the usages of many such conterminous parishes; we are therefore unable to say what the custom is.

Finally we would direct our correspondent's attention to the treatment of this question in the I. E. RECORD (Third Series, Vol. VIII., 1886, p. 358.)

III.

NOVEMBER OFFERINGS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—In many dioceses throughout Ireland a custom has arisen of making an offering to the priest during the month of November, the month specially devoted by the Church to the "faithful departed," to have Masses celebrated for the repose of deceased friends. The offering in amount is generally smaller than that made at other times for the celebration of Mass. The priest, on his part, engages to celebrate twelve Masses for the deceased relatives and friends of those making the offering; and if he have assistants the Masses are divided in the same proportion as the dues are divided. This is at all events the custom with which I am acquainted. Now, my first question is this: could a Parish Priest who has no assistants, and who must attend two churches on Sunday, celebrate the second Mass in fulfilment of the above obligation? 2. Does the time that regulates the ordinary Mass *pro defunctis* apply to these Masses? My reason for thinking it does not is this, on the first Sunday of the month, when it is practicable, two Masses are often celebrated in the same church; and the second Mass is supposed to be offered for the repose of the faithful departed.

"An answer to the foregoing questions will oblige one of your numerous readers.

"A CONSTANT READER."

An American bishop once informed the Congregation de Propaganda Fide that a widely-extended custom prevailed in America, whereby priests offered only one Mass—the Mass of All Souls Day, for the various offerings given at the season of the dead, by the many friends of the departed; and he asked amongst other questions, might the custom be allowed to continue, or should it be abolished?

A considerable portion of the statement would be irrelevant to the two questions proposed to us for solution; we abstain, therefore, from reproducing it. But as the whole statement regards a practice in some respects similar to the usage described by our correspondent; and as the statement and the reply to it, are both interesting and important, we desire to direct attention to them. The statement of the American prelate, and the reply of the Congregation of the

Council—to which the matter had been referred by Propaganda—can be found in the I. E. RECORD (Third Series, vol. II., 1881, p. 694).

To come now to our correspondent's questions :—

He asks :—

1°. “May a parish priest who has no assistant, and who must attend two churches on Sunday, celebrate the second Mass in fulfilment of the above obligation?”

We believe he cannot. The parish priest would, of course, offer the first Mass for his parishioners; and then he cannot offer the second Mass to satisfy an obligation *ex justitia*. Now the obligation of offering these twelve Masses is manifestly an obligation in justice; therefore, we conclude that a parish priest in the circumstances described could not apply his second Mass to the fulfilment of this obligation. “Constans autem est prohibitio,” writes Lehmkuhl, “pro secunda Missa, quae sic ex necessitatis causa celebratur, ullum stipendium accipiendi, aut obligationem ullam justitiae, vel quasi-justitiae v.g. obligationem parochi qua pro populo applicare debet, extinguendi.” (P. ii., L. I., Tr. iv., n. 216.)

2°. “Does the time that regulates the ordinary Masses *pro defunctis*, apply to these Masses?” If we abstract from legitimate custom there is no reason why the Masses should not be said within the ordinary time prescribed by theologians when a *stipendium* is given by a person for Masses to be offered for his deceased friends. For the number of Masses is small, only twelve are required; and then the aggregate of the small offerings makes a specially good *Honorarium* for these Masses.

However, in all questions relating to the application of Masses, account must be had of legitimate custom, and the wishes and intentions of the donors of *Honoraria*.

The American prelate, to whom we have referred, informed Propaganda that according to custom only one Mass was offered for the November offerings; that it may well be doubted whether very many persons who give *Honoraria* would not arrange differently, if they knew that their deceased friends would be better consulted for, by having separate Masses applied to them, though at other

seasons of the year: and he asked, therefore, should the existing custom be abolished, and if not, could it be tolerated unless the priests informed the people every year of the number of Masses that would be offered for their *Honoraria*.

The Congregation of the Council replied: "Nihil innovetur: tantum apponatur tabella in Ecclesia, qua fideles doceantur, quod illis ipsis eleemosynis una canitur Missa in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum."

In a similar way more time is allowed for the celebration of the Masses, where legitimate custom, and the wishes and intentions of the donors of *Honoraria* permit it. We think our correspondent's case can plead for itself this legitimate usage, and the consent of those who contribute the small offerings. Because our correspondent himself, who is the best judge of local usage, thinks that more time is allowed for the fulfilment of this obligation than when offerings for the dead are given at other seasons of the year; he observes that, where practicable, the custom is that the twelve Masses are offered, by saying Mass for the deceased friends of the donors of the *Honoraria* on the first Sunday of every month during the year.

We think, therefore, that more time is allowed for saying these Masses, than when offerings are given for the dead at other seasons of the year. But, we think, too, that—if the people are not well aware of the usage—they should be informed, either orally, or by hanging a tablet with the necessary instructions in the Church, what is the custom in reference to the November offerings which they are about to give for their departed friends.

D. COGHLAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

PART II.—SOLEMN REQUIEM OFFICE AND MASS.

CHAPTER I.—PRELIMINARY.

The care which the Church takes of her deceased children would of itself entitle her to the name *pia Mater*, by which the Liturgy loves to designate her. Not content with commanding her ministers to give the dying the benefit of the saving sacraments, to be with them in their last moments, and to offer up to God the fervent prayers contained in the Ritual for the agonizing and departed, she prescribes with the most loving tenderness every act and every ceremony that is to be performed until the body of her deceased child is laid in the grave. How the limbs are to be composed, how the body is to be dressed, how it is to be brought to the Church and thence to the place of burial, though apparently but unimportant details, have not escaped the attention of this watchful mother. Moreover, the prayers and ceremonies which she has prescribed for the burial of her children are among the most beautiful and most impressive of the entire Liturgy. The solemn and measured chant of the Office, the mourning vestments of the ministers, the altar stripped of its ornaments, the silent organ, all vividly portray the desolation of a mother at the death of her child; while from time to time words expressing the hope of a glorious resurrection break out from the general sorrow and anguish, like a ray of sunshine from a cloudy sky.¹

All these rites and ceremonies she wishes priests who are charged with the care of the faithful to observe, as far as

¹ "Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo Deum, Salvatorem meum."
 "Qui credit in me etiamsi mortuus fuerit vivet, et omnis qui vivet et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum," etc.

circumstances permit, with the most scrupulous exactness. For they are, as she tells us, "true mysteries of religion, signs of Christian piety, and most beneficial to the dead," and they "are to be performed with such becoming gravity and devotion, as not only to promote the salvation of the departed, but also to excite and nourish the piety of the living. For unto this end also have the ceremonies been instituted."²

The Last Agony.—When the last agony comes on, then in particular should all who surround the death-bed, and all who are in the house of death, earnestly implore God on bended knees to have mercy on the soul of His servant. Meanwhile the following words should be fervently repeated by the dying person, if possible; but if the dying person cannot repeat them, then they should be repeated in an audible and distinct voice either by the priest, who should be in attendance, or in his absence, by one of those who are present: *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Lord Jesus Christ receive my soul. Holy Mary pray for me. Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, do thou protect me from my enemy, and receive me in the hour of my death.*³

After Death.—As soon as the soul has passed away the priest or some of the attendants should recite the beautiful and touching Responsary *Subvenite, Sancti Dei, etc.*, with the versicles and responses and prayers that follow. If such be the custom of the place the bell of the parish church may be sounded to announce to the people that one of their brethren has been taken away, and to remind them of their obligation to pray for the repose of his soul.⁴

The body should not be disturbed for some time after all signs of life have ceased. For it not unfrequently happens that life does not cease with the signs of life. Therefore, priests are admonished not to believe too readily that life is extinct, nor to begin the *Subvenite* until some minutes after

¹ *Ritual.*

² *Ritual de Exequiis.*

³ *Ritual de Espiracione.*

⁴ *Ritual, ibid.*

they themselves are convinced that the soul has actually fled.¹

Laying out the Body.—When, however, no reasonable doubt of death can any longer remain, and when the priest has recited the prescribed prayers, the eyes and mouth should be closed, and the body washed, and dressed, and laid out in a becoming manner. The hands should be joined on the breast, and a small cross fixed in them; or, if a cross cannot be procured, the hands are to be crossed on the breast instead of joined. But as Baruffaldi remarks, very poor, and wretched, indeed, must the place be wherein either a little cross, or the material for making a little cross, cannot be procured.² Beside the body a light should burn. This provision of the Rubrics, commentators tell us, is to remind us that the soul of the deceased still lives, and that the body shall rise again.³

The Ritual does not lay down any precise regulations regarding the manner in which the corpses of lay persons are to be dressed. It merely insists that they be dressed in a decent and becoming manner, leaving the form and quality of the dress to be regulated by local customs, or by the taste and affection of friends.⁴ But with regard to clerics of every order and rank, the case is different. The Ritual describes minutely the manner in which their dead bodies are to be dressed. A priest is to be dressed in his sacerdotal vestments, that is, the vestments worn in the celebration of the Mass. His feet are to be covered with stockings and slippers: a biretta is to be put on his head, and over the soutane are to be put on the amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole and chasuble, these latter being of violet colour.⁵ Though the Ritual expressly states that violet is the colour to be used, Baruffaldi, and others after him, say that black vestments are not

¹ Baruffaldi, Tit. 33, 16, De Herdt, Tom, 3, n. 220. Martinucci, l. 4, c. 8, n. 3. "Cavebitur autem ne moveatur cadaver statim ac expiraverit defunctus, sed expectetur aliquandiu, ne forte extinguatur spiritus vitalis si adhuc superesset in illo."

² *Ibid.* n. 39.

⁴ Martinucci, *ibid.*, n. 2.

³ Baruff., *ibid.* n. 38.

⁵ *Ritual de Exequiis.*

excluded.¹ Whenever, therefore, any difficulty may arise in procuring the violet vestments, black may be used instead.

The corpse of a deacon, or sub-deacon, like that of a priest, is to be habited in the vestments corresponding with their office. These should also be of a violet colour. Clerics not in Holy Orders are dressed in soutane, surplice, and biretta.²

When the corpse has been dressed and laid out, it should be sprinkled with holy water by the priest, or by some one else.³ Indeed, authors recommend that a vessel of holy water be kept by the side of the corpse, wherewith it may be sprinkled from time to time.⁴ Finally, it would seem to be the desire of the Church that one or more persons should remain near the corpse until it is brought away to be interred, and that they should spend the time in fervent prayer to God for the departed soul.⁵

The Corpse brought to the Church.—The rubrics of the Ritual require not only that the corpse should be brought to the church before interment, but that, whenever it is possible, Mass should be celebrated while the corpse is present. Hence, so many privileges are granted to Requiem Masses *praesente cadavere*. At the time appointed for conveying the corpse to the church, all those who are to take part in the procession assemble in the parish church. The parish priest, or his representative, vests in soutane, surplice and black stole, or cope, and has with him four clerics, or altar-boys, dressed in soutane and surplice. The clergy who intend to walk in the procession should also wear the soutane and surplice. When everything is ready, the procession moves from the church towards the house where the corpse is laid out. The order of the procession is as follows:—(a) Lay confraternities, if any are present. (b) A cross-bearer, dressed in soutane and surplice,

¹ Baruffaldi. Tit. 34, n. 121. De Herdt., *loc. cit.*, n. 222.

² *Ritual*, *ibid.*

³ *Ritual*, *In Expiratione*.

⁴ Martinucci, *loc. cit.* n. 6. De Herdt., *loc. cit.*, n. 223. . . . "item cum vasculo aquae benedictae qua corpus interdum aspergitur ad arcendos daemones, qui nonnunquam desaeiunt in mortuorum corpora, quae dum vivebant, vexare non potuerunt."

⁵ . . . "et interim donec efferatur, qui adsunt, sive sacerdotes sive alii orabunt pro defuncto."—*Ritual*, *In Expiratione*.

between two acolytes, similarly dressed, and carrying lighted candles. (c) The regular clergy who may be present. (d) The secular clergy. (e) The officiant, vested as already described, having on his left an acolyte bearing holy water, and a Ritual. (f) Finally, others who may be present, whether priests or lay people.

Having arrived at the house the procession halts; the officiant, with the acolyte carrying the holy water, advances, and preceded by the cross-bearer and the two acolytes with the candles, he enters the house. The cross-bearer places himself between the two acolytes at the head of the corpse; at the feet stands the celebrant with the other acolyte. The others who are present stand round about the bier. The officiant now takes the aspersory, and sprinkles the corpse three times in the usual way. He then intones the antiphon *Si iniquitates*, and recites the Psalm *De profundis*, with *Requiem aeternam*, etc., at the end, alternately with the ministers, and finally repeats the antiphon *Si iniquitates* in full.

Meantime, the funeral procession is again formed, all returning to the church in the order in which they came from it. The officiant walks immediately in front of the bier, and, as soon as the procession begins to move, intones in a grave and solemn tone the antiphon *Exsultabunt Domino*. The clergy who take part in the procession, having previously formed themselves into two choirs or parties, recite alternately the psalm *Miserere*, with as many of the gradual psalms, or of those from the Office of the Dead, as the time occupied in going to the church may require. At the end of each psalm the *Requiem aeternam* is said in the singular.

As soon as the bier arrives at the door of the church, the officiant repeats in full the antiphon *Exsultabunt Domino*, and when the bier has just entered the church, one or two chanters begin the responsory, *Subvenite, sancti Dei*, the others responding. Arrived in front of the sanctuary, the bier is deposited so that the feet of the corpse are towards the altar, unless it be the corpse of a priest—for in this case, the head should be towards the altar.¹ If the corpse is brought to

¹ *Ritual, ibid.*

the church on the morning of the interment, the office is proceeded with as soon as the bier has been deposited, and the candles lighted; but if the office and interment are not to take place on the same day on which the corpse is brought to the church, the officiant may, when the chanting of the responsory is ended, say *Kyrie eleison*, &c., *Pater noster*, and the prayer *Absolve*, and may also sprinkle the corpse with holy water.¹

According to a reply of the Congregation of Rites,² the funeral procession should take the most direct way from the house of the deceased to the church, provided it be otherwise convenient. The bier should be carried to the church, but the custom, now so general, of placing it on a hearse, or other suitable vehicle, may, without doubt, be tolerated.³ Clerics must never carry, nor assist in carrying the corpse of a lay person of whatever dignity he may have been;⁴ but the corpse of a cleric—priest or other—should be carried by clerics of his own order.⁵ At least it is becoming that clerics should carry the body of a cleric from the house, and again from the door of the church to the place where the bier is deposited.

CHAPTER II.—THE REQUIEM OFFICE.

Before the commencement of the Office for the Dead, the Blessed Sacrament is removed from the altar at which the Mass is to be celebrated, provided there be another altar in the church having a tabernacle. The altar itself is denuded of the usual ornaments: a black antependium is put on, and the predella is covered with a piece of violet carpeting, instead of the ordinary carpeting, which should be removed.⁶ The seats of the ministers are uncovered.⁷ Round the bier a number of candles should burn. The exact number is not defined by the Rubrics, but it is customary to have six. They should be of unbleached wax, unless where it is

¹ S.R.C., September 7, 1850, n. 5148. 4.

² September 15, 1742, n. 3983, 2.

³ De Herdt, *loc. cit.*, n. 245.

⁴ *Ritual*, *ibid.* This will admit exceptions in the case of parents or other near relatives.

⁵ Authors generally.

⁶ Martinucci, Bk. 2, c. 9, n. 4.

⁷ *Idem. ibid.* n. 5.

customary to use white wax.¹ The candlesticks placed round the bier should be black, and may be of iron, or of wood painted black.² The candlesticks used on the altar, or otherwise employed for the ornamentation of the church, cannot be used for this purpose.³ On the coffin of a priest may be laid a biretta, with a violet or black stole.

The priest who presides at the Office wears over the usual choir dress a black stole, or a black stole and cope.⁴ He is accompanied to his place by two acolytes, bearing lighted candles, and by the master of ceremonies on his left. As soon as he has taken his place, all in choir being already standing, two chanters go to the centre of the choir, genuflect to the altar, salute the choir, first on the gospel, then on the epistle side, and without any preparatory prayer, chant the invitatory, *Regem cui omnia vicunt*, to which the choir responds. The chanters then sing the psalm *Venite exultemus*, the choir repeating the invitatory in the usual way, after each verse. At the words, *Venite adoremus et procidamus ante Deum*, all genuflect.⁵ At the conclusion of this psalm, as well as of the other psalms of the Requiem Office, *Requiem aeternam*, etc., in the plural, is substituted for the *Glori Patri*.

The Ritual expressly says that the three nocturns of Matins, together with Lauds, are to be said, but the custom, wherever it exists, of saying only one or two nocturns, with or without Lauds, may be continued.⁶ In all cases, however, *præsentē cadavere*, the invitatory must be said, and the antiphons doubled.⁷ If only one nocturn is said, the first must be selected;⁸ if two are said, they are to be the first and second.⁹ The invitatory having been repeated

¹ De Herdt. *loc. cit.* n. 238, 3, etc.

² De Herdt. *loc. cit.* n. 248.

³ De Herdt. *ibid.* Martinucci, l. 4, c. g. n. 1. Baruff, tit. 34, n. 69.

⁴ Authors generally.

⁵ It is not clear whether this genuflection should be on only one or on both knees. Existing customs may be retained. Martinucci, l. 2, c. 3, n. 21, note, says that the chanters should also genuflect along with the others. In this, however, he differs from most writers as well as from widespread custom. The general teaching as well as practice is, that the chanters genuflect at the end of the verse, and only on one knee.

⁶ Ritual and authors. ⁷ Ritual. ⁸ Ritual. ⁹ De Herdt *ibid.* n. 237.

at the conclusion of the psalm *Venite*, the chanters—or one of them, where the custom exists for the chanters to sing the antiphons alternately—sing the first antiphon of the first nocturn, and intone the first psalm. When this has been done, the choir sits, and the two sides chant alternate verses of the psalm. At the end of the first psalm, the antiphon is repeated by the chanters, or by that one of them who sang it before the psalm. The second antiphon is then sung, and the second psalm, and the second antiphon having been repeated, the third is sung, followed by the third psalm, and by the repetition of the antiphon. In this manner are sung the antiphons and psalms of each nocturn. When the third antiphon has been repeated, the versicle and response are sung, when all stand up and say the *Pater noster* in silence. At this time the master of ceremonies invites him who is to read the first lesson to come to the lectern. Having arrived at the lectern, both genuflect to the altar and salute the choir. At the end of the lesson both again salute the altar and the choir, the reader returns to his place, salutes the master of ceremonies, and takes his seat. Meantime, the responsory after the first lesson is sung by the choir.

The master of ceremonies, having conducted the reader of the first lesson to his place, and saluted him, proceeds to invite him who is to read the second lesson. What has just been laid down regarding the reading of the first lesson is to be observed with regard to each succeeding one. The choir sings the responsory at the end of each, and the reader, having saluted the altar and the choir, returns to his place as soon as he has finished the lesson.¹ The ninth lesson is not read by the officiant, but by one of the senior members of the choir, and during the reading of it the choir remains sitting.²

¹ The common practice differs slightly from the directions given above. These directions, however, are taken from the most approved sources (see Martinucci, Bk. 2, c. 9, n. 34; Wapelhorst, n. 266, 5, etc.), and seem also to be more convenient, and more in harmony with the ceremonies generally than is the custom which prevails to a large extent in this country. There can be no doubt, however, that this custom may be retained.

² Martinucci, *loc. cit.* n. 38.

After the ninth responsory, Lauds are immediately commenced. The antiphons, psalms, versicle and response, are sung as in Matins. The choir remains sitting during the singing of the antiphon of the *Benedictus*, but rises at the first words of this canticle, and each one signs himself.¹ While the antiphon is being repeated, the choir again sits,² and at its conclusion all kneel to say the *Pater noster*—which is intoned by the officiant—and the versicles which follow. These latter are chanted alternately by the officiant and the choir. At the *Dominus vobiscum* and the prayer, the officiant, and he alone, rises.³ When Mass follows the Office immediately, the versicles, *Requiem aeternam*, etc., and *Requiescat*, etc., are not said after the prayer of Lauds.⁴

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IDEA OF THE UNIVERSAL.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In answer to the formal challenge of your reviewer, I beg leave to bring under his notice some of his misquotations from my pamphlet. Two he admits. He says they are not *genuine* misquotations, that is, I suppose, they do not alter the sense, in his opinion. I am sorry that he does not take the only course proper for him under the circumstances.

He quotes the word “justice,” which I did not use. He says it does not signify. It signifies at least to show that he had read the pamphlet carelessly.

I wrote “principles *in* human knowledge.” He quotes “principles *of* human knowledge,” with the remark that it improves the sense, as it certainly does for his own purposes. The word *in* points to the material cause; the word *of* to the efficient cause. The first I meant; the latter I did not mean. He shows his incompetence for the difficult and delicate work of

¹ Wapelhorst, *loc. cit.*

² Authors generally.

³ Martinucci, *loc. cit.* 42.

⁴ Authors generally.

reviewing by seeking to justify these two misquotations. Indeed, he seems to regard himself as the injured party. Further, he says that I give a wrong definition of the *intellectus possibilis*. The words *intellectus possibilis* are not once mentioned by me, nor are they referred to. Again, he says that I cite "table" as an example. I say the *abstract idea of a table*. Can he deny that this is a universal?

As he seems to be disappointed that I did not say more I beg leave to pursue my remarks. As regards his own theory he simply repeats his two main assertions that the *Universale Logicum* is the only *formal strict* Universal, and that the Universal is essentially and primarily a *relation*. The *Universale Metaphysicum* is, at least, equally entitled to the name of Universal as the *Universale Logicum*. In fact I begin to doubt whether he can really know what the Scholastic *Universale Logicum* is. His notion of it may be true, but it is not Scholastic. He seems to me to have read a great deal of modern philosophy into Scholasticism. But read by the light of Scholastic authorities his theory appears to be a tissue of contradictions. Indeed, it is difficult to think that any system can sanction his extraordinary thesis again asserted, that the Universal does not exist in the mind, nor in the thing, nor in the relation. I do not "taunt" him with anything. I am only anxious to get at his meaning, but he cannot be allowed to "get away" under a flourish of words. Well, this is his first principle put forth under cover of the truth, that all existing things are singular and concrete. Of course such a principle must break down, and in the end he has to confess that the Universal is an *ens rationis*, existing in the mind with a termination in the various individuals. Here, again, his idea is most confused. He does not tell us where or how the Universal begins. He says only that it is a representation, but he does not say of what; nor does he attempt to harmonise his doctrine that the Universal "terminates" in the various individuals with the Scholastic, that it *begins in re*.

Against his first principle above noted I brought the propositions of Goudin. These propositions contradict him absolutely. He can say nothing to them, except that they have been taken out of their context. Every step he takes only displays the more his ignorance of the subject. There is no context. They are laid down by Goudin as complete categorical conclusions, and they present no difficulty to anyone who has grasped the two terms

formaliter in mente, fundamentaliter in re, which are the poles of the consistent and harmonious scholastic theory.

A remark of his amused me. He gravely states that the great difficulty in the Universal is to explain what that is which is *common to several* (*to all* he should have said). The difficulty! Why it is the essence and kernel of the question itself. This is like saying that the great difficulty in *gravitation* is *attraction*. Rather a pedantic and ponderous *difficultas*.

There is no "discussion" between us. So far he has advanced nothing but broad sweeping assertions. This time he asserts that a transcendental idea is not a universal. What can I say to this, except please to prove it? And he may rest assured that he has not the sanction of my "authority" for anything he has advanced.

Finally, he quotes Scripture, and warns me against fancying that belonging to the same Order is a qualification towards understanding St. Thomas. I do think so, however. At any rate it is not a *disqualification*.—I remain, sir, your faithful servant,

Woodchester.

. WILFRED LESCHER, O.P.

THE REVIEWER'S REPLY.

Naturalists tell us that the Siphonophora—a variety of jelly fish—is not a single animal, but a colony of animals, between which there is no organic connection whatsoever. This curious Metazoon came vividly before my imagination as I read Father Lescher's letter. The sentences are strung together in the most careless fashion, without any apparent attempt at connection or harmony; so that if this epistle be read backwards like the Hebrew Bible, the sense cannot be much altered. How, then, am I to deal with it? To secure anything like unity of treatment, I find it necessary to recur again to the pamphlet around which all this controversy centres. Between certain passages contained therein, and certain statements in this epistle, there is such a natural bond of connection, that each will receive additional light, by treating of both in juxtaposition.

Already, on two occasions, I hinted that the doctrine contained in Father Lescher's pamphlet is the doctrine of the *Nuovo Saggio* of Rosmini, and not the teaching of St. Thomas.

My opinion receives such strong confirmation from the present epistle, that I now state it openly, and proceed to establish it in such a manner, that should Father Lescher think it prudent to return to the subject, he shall have to address himself to some more interesting points than the signification of the prepositions "in" and "of," etc.

A few preliminary words of explanation may not be superfluous. The fundamental principle in the Thomistic teaching on the origin of ideas is : *Nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu*. The human intellect is, therefore, at its birth a virgin page, a *tabula rasa*, and, as a faculty of cognition, wholly passive. In this quiescent state it must remain until some one of the senses is stimulated into action by its own proper object. Sensitive perception is, therefore, antecedent to intellectual cognition. A great chasm, however, separates the immaterial intellect from the organic faculties of sense. How, then, can they interact? This is one of the great questions that link the thought of one age with that of every other. What great names and systems are associated with it! Plato, Aristotle, St. Thomas, Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant: innate ideas, rational psychology, pre-established harmony, ontologism, and last and least the *mediator plasticus* of John Le Clerc. According to St. Thomas the chasm is bridged over by the active intellect or faculty of abstraction, which illumines the *phantasma* of the imagination, and then abstracts the immaterial essence previously enveloped in the sensible image. The form thus spiritualized stimulates the *passive intellect*, which, now that the necessary condition of its activity is present, evolves the primal act of intellectual cognition. From all this it follows that St. Thomas recognises no idea in the intellect previous to the operation of the faculty of abstraction. The advocates of innate ideas on the contrary hold that the soul comes into the world more or less equipped with ideas. Rosmini, however, advocates a theory of an *innate idea*, rather than a theory of innate *ideas*. All determinate knowledge he declares to be the result of a synthesis between one idea and some *datum* of sensation.

While, therefore, St. Thomas teaches that there is no idea

innate in the mind, Rosmini holds there is, and while Plato, Kant, &c., teach that there are several such ideas, Rosmini maintains there is only *one*.

I turn now to Father Lescher's pamphlet. In the very opening page, in which we are naturally to look for the key-note of his entire exposition, I find the following passage:—"There are thus two principles in human knowledge—the sensible Image and the intellectual Idea. The link between them is the faculty of abstraction." Is it necessary to paraphrase this statement? Does it not state as clearly as language can state, that human knowledge is the result of a union between an intellectual idea and some *datum* of sensation, that this intellectual *idea* is present in the mind before the faculty of abstraction becomes a link, and—since the definite article is prefixed to it—that it is numerically *one*.

But it will be at once said that I have not even touched upon the really dangerous doctrine of Rosmini. Towards the end of his life he became an ontologist, and the distinctive feature of his doctrine to most persons is that he regarded the innate *idea* as an *appartenance divina*. In reply I have only to say that Father Lescher, so far as he goes is Rosminian, that he does not disclaim the later development of the philosopher of Rovereto, that, on the contrary, he seems to be in thorough accord with it when he writes "Idea" with a capital "I" in an early portion of his pamphlet, and predicates "creative power" of it later on.

Out of this perilous position I sought to extricate Father Lescher by suggesting that he wrote "intellectual Idea" in mistake for "*Intellectus possibilis*." But in his present epistle he repudiates the correction. The *Intellectus possibilis*, he says, is not even once referred to by him—a strange admission, by the way, for an author to make, respecting a work in which he undertakes to explain the origin of the idea of "the Universal" on scholastic principles. Nay, more, as if determined to be Rosminian in his very diction, he speaks of an *elementum materiale* in the origin of ideas. But here Father Lescher cannot claim even the merit of being quite in accord with Rosmini. For the latter always represented the "idea" as the formal,

while Father Lescher in his letter regards it as a *material* principle of cognition. From this it may be inferred how far his specious afterthought about material principles in cognition, suffices to establish a genuine misquotation in my *critique*.

Is Father Lescher, then, a Rosminian at heart? I do not think so, nor do I wish others to think so. He is a Rosminian without knowing it, because he took a holiday trip into the field of metaphysics and lost his way. But what becomes of his arrogant claim to be regarded as an authoritative exponent of the teaching of St. Thomas? *Habitus non facit monachum* is an old adage of world-wide celebrity. *Habitus facit philosophum* is a new one which Father Lescher would introduce, but I am strongly of opinion that its acceptance is far from assured.

Father Lescher's manipulation of statements to suit his own purpose calls for notice. I must ask those readers of the I. E. RECORD who are patient enough to follow this discussion, to collate the following passages:—

"He says that I give a wrong definition of the *Intellectus possibilis*."—(Fr. Lescher's present epistle.)

"He says that I cite 'table' as an example. I say the *abstract idea of a table*."—(Fr. Lescher's present epistle.)

"It is difficult to think that any system can sanction his extraordinary thesis again asserted, that the universal does not exist in the mind, nor in the thing, nor in the relation."¹—(Fr. Lescher's present epistle.)

"In Rosminian fashion, intellectual idea is made to supplant the scholastic *Intellectus possibilis*."—(See the *critique* of Fr. Lescher's pamphlet in October I. E. RECORD.)

"According to our own experience we have in our minds abstract ideas of particular things, such as the *idea of a circle, of a table, &c.*"—(Fr. Lescher's pamphlet.)

"I endeavoured, then, to show that the *formally universal* cannot lie in the idea, if the latter be considered in itself, nor in anything external to the mind, nor in any *direct* relation between the idea and external objects."—(See Rejoinder, Dec. I. E. RECORD.)

¹ It will be observed that Father Lescher's views are undergoing a development. In his first letter he would not admit the category of *relation* at all.

"A remark of his amused me. He gravely states that the great difficulty in the universal is to explain what that is which is common to several (to all he should have said). The difficulty ! Why, it is the essence and kernel of the question itself. This is like saying that the great difficulty in *gravitation is attraction*. Rather a pedantic and ponderous *difficultas*."—(Fr. Lescher's present epistle.)

"These propositions [of Goudin] contradict him absolutely. He can say nothing to them, except that they have been taken out of their context."—(Fr. Lescher's present epistle.)

"Accepting Father Lescher's exposition of the scholastic idea of the universal, in what precisely does the element of universality lie. What is it that is *common to several*?"—(Rejoinder, Dec. I. E. RECORD.)

"I am now come to the strangest of the many strange things in Father Lescher's letter. To prevent the possibility of misconception, I shall quote his own words : 'The universal does not lie in the idea considered in itself.' On the contrary, Goudin says, &c. The universal, therefore, exists in the intellect *alone*, and at the same time outside the intellect. This contradiction appears the more glaring when it is observed that the sentences involving it occur in immediate sequence."—(Rejoinder, Dec. I. E. RECORD.)

Has Father Lescher any explanation to give of this *literary sleight of hand*?

It would be a pity to pass over his lucid views about *transcendal (sic)* and universal ideas. Between them he perceives no difference. Has he never heard that universal ideas are limited, transcendental, unlimited in extension; that the former may be predicated *univocally*, the latter only *analogically* of their inferior concepts. In my definition of universal, he would substitute "all" for "several." This substitution, besides being novel, gives rise to the defect which logicians call "*circulus in definiendo*." "All," could only mean all of the same *species*, or all of the same *genus*, and when *species* and *genus* should themselves come to be defined, *universal* should be introduced, explicitly or implicitly, into the

definition. Lest Fr. Lescher should be impervious to this reasoning, I shall quote for him the *ipsissima verba* of St. Thomas. In the 15th Lesson on the 7th Book of the Metaphysics of Aristotle, the saint writes: "Universale est commune *multis*; hoc enim dicitur universale quod natum est *multis* inesse et de *multis* praedecari."

I have been necessarily unable to do more than refer to many of the points raised by Fr. Lescher. His *cacoethes scribendi* may, however, give an additional opportunity of still further showing up his pamphlet, as one of the *curiosities of literature*.

THE REVIEWER.

SUGGESTION REGARDING THE MISSAL.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Most of your readers know the difficulty in finding certain prayers in the Missal, as we now have it. I allude, in particular, to the prayer "pro gratiarum actione," and the one "in collatione sacrorum ordinum." It would be easy to place these among the *Orationes Diversæ*, and number them properly. Some prayers, such as "ad poscenda suffragia Sanctorum," "pro Papa," "de Ecclesia," etc., are found as well in the *Diversæ* as in the body of the Missal. The like might be done with the ones referred to. The Mass "pro gratiarum actione," might, perhaps, be more clearly indicated. I know a priest who was looking for it on his twenty-fifth anniversary, and who honestly confessed that he had never till that day said a Mass of Thanksgiving. He would very probably have done so had he noticed it among the *Votivæ*. *Verb. Sap.*

EDWARD M'SWEENY.

Mount St. Mary's P.O.
Near Emmitsburg, Md.

THE PIOUS LEAGUE OF SACERDOTAL SUFFRAGE.

REV. DEAR SIR,—We have been favoured lately with various communications with reference to membership of the League in Ireland, England, and Scotland. It has been represented to us that the prayers prescribed by the rules are somewhat longer than the numerous occupations of priests in missionary countries would allow them to promise. We, therefore, think that for them to become members of the League it would suffice to engage to

recite the "Requiem aeternam" at the end of the Angelus and Rôsaary, and to make the special memento on Saturday. We also here repeat, what has been said before, that no pecuniary obligation is incurred, as it is merely a pious union of love and prayer. However many would, perhaps, shrink from promising what they might not feel able to continue. Hence, no doubt, this exception in favour of priests in missionary countries will render it easier for them to share in the good work. Early next year the register of names will be laid before the Holy Father.

1st December, 1889.

F. BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO.
S. AQUELLO DI SORRENTO.

THE TEMPORAL POWER.—A REJOINDER.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I must venture to intrude a little on your valuable space, as I cannot pass over in silence the *critique* of my paper on the Temporal Power, which the Rev. Kenelm Digby Best has published in the last number of the I. E. RECORD. It was evidently written in haste, with little reflection, and without having even read the series of papers which led up to the one criticised. He succeeded in fixing in his mind just what was not the obvious sense, and then proceeded to wage war against that false idea that he had set up in his own mind!

Let us come to facts. There are two questions, perfectly distinct from each other, that may be asked with reference to the Temporal Power. First, whether the Pope has a right to it; and, secondly, whether, granting that he has, it may exist under different forms. The first of these questions we took for granted in the paper in question, having already proved it in the preceding ones. Besides since it has been proclaimed so often by the supreme Pontiff and the Catholic episcopacy throughout the world, it is looked upon as appertaining to Catholic belief. It was the second question, which is of quite a different nature, that we treated of in that last paper. We showed that the civil administration in the Papal States might be so changed as to preserve the legislative and administrative unity of Italy. Now, the Rev. K. D. Best has muddled these two questions together, and would fain make believe that I had questioned the Pope's right to the Temporal Power!

Father Best begins his *critique* with a quotation from an episcopal address to the Sovereign Pontiff. It begins: "De hac

tam gravi causa vix nos decet amplius verba proferre." . . . What is the "causa" that the bishops refer to? It is explained a little further on in the same quotation: "quod, singulari prorsus Divinae Providentiae consilio factum sit, ut Romanus Pontifex CIVILEM ASSEQUERETUR PRINCIPATUM." This quotation, therefore, refers to the Pope's right to the Temporal Power, and to nothing else. This is the very question which we took for granted in the last paper, and which we had already treated at length in the very first paper of the series. It has not the slightest reference to our question—namely, what modification could be made in the administration of the Temporal Power to adapt it to the circumstances of the times. Father Best's discovery of a quotation in favour of what is considered as appertaining to Catholic faith might well be termed a "mare's nest."

The Rev. Father Best next informs us that Rome and the Papal States belong to the Church! Of course they do, nor need he search out a declaration of the Irish bishops to prove that. Is it possible that after reading my papers on the legality of the Pope's claim to the Temporal Power, on its necessity and consistency with the spiritual power; I ask is it possible that having read these he could interpret the expression "legitimate king of Lombardy, and, we may say, the rest of Italy," to include the Papal States? The sense of that passage is this: "King Humbert is legitimate king of Lombardy, and as far as our question is concerned, without entering into the merits of his title, we may take the existing recognized order of things, and look on him as legitimate king of the rest of Italy, of course always excluding the Pontifical States. Pope Leo XIII., in his letter to Cardinal Rampolla, speaks of "Italy" as it now exists officially constituted—"L' Italia qual' è ora ufficialmente costituita"—and expresses His desire to see the strife that exists between it and the Church ended—"il desiderio di vedere finalmente composto il dissidio"—and his willingness to extend the work of pacification—"ad estendere l'opera di pacificazione." We admit that the criticism of this sentence, which is merely verbal, is to a certain extent justified by its ambiguity; but we took it for granted that it was sufficiently clear to anyone who had read the series of articles, and again we presumed that no prudent person would rush into controversy without having done so. In the very first paper we showed that the Pope's right to the States of the Church was the most legitimate of all sovereign titles, and con-

cluded with the words "No other nation in the world can justify all its possessions as the Pope can his. He alone, of all, can say that what he claims to-day he held a thousand years ago. . . . The Pope alone can challenge history, and the historian, saying: *Quis ex vobis arguet me de injustitia?*" Again, alluding to King Humbert and his Government, we said, "We need not allude here to the right they have to reign who usurped the Pope's kingdom. They have none, except what brute force has given them." In the face of all this, the Rev. Father Best tries to make us believe that we have declared King Humbert legitimate king of all Italy!

Next, the Rev. Father Best makes a further discovery—another "mare's nest." He brings forward two propositions from the Syllabus, evidently blind to the fact that they have absolutely no application to what he is criticizing. The first of these shows it to be unlawful for Catholics to uphold the incompatibility of the spiritual and temporal sovereignty in the Supreme Pontiff. This question we made the subject of a special paper (No. III,)¹ in which we showed that "there is no inconsistency in having the temporal and spiritual power centered in one person." We cannot conceive what possible application it can have to our question. The next proposition deals only with the abrogation of the civil power—*abrogatio civilis imperii*—and how the Rev. Father Best has been able to apply that to our question goes beyond comprehension! We may observe here that in saying "it would remove from him (the Pope) a great portion of the anxieties and responsibility of the temporal administration," we did not, of course, refer to the supreme, or sovereign responsibility, but to that minor, and much time-occupying, responsibility that must necessarily devolve upon a sovereign, if the authority of his agents is extremely limited and circumspect, as it was in the old times. There is no doubt, for instance, that Queen Victoria is relieved of a great deal of real responsibility by the Cabinet ministers, and, nevertheless, she has a real and effective sovereign authority, and the power of veto which it is her duty to exercise whenever the interests of her subjects should require it. Thus, her subordinates, though acting in her name, relieve her of much responsibility. We alluded to those who are adverse to the temporal sovereignty on the ground of its interfering with his spiritual administration, only by way of objection, as is clear

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. x., No. 7 (July, 1889), p. 577.]

from the words that follow immediately, "the history of the past shows this objection to be groundless."

The Rev. Father Best next asks what would happen if the King of Italy took his departure like Pedro of Brazil? We have only to state that it would not make the slightest difference to our problem. We have only used King Humbert's name by way of example, as representing the individual on whom the Pope would confer the governorship of the Papal States. Our proposition was made quite irrespective of the present rulers of Italy, who are themselves ruled by the Masonic sects, and endeavouring daily to render the position of the Supreme Pontiff more and more difficult. Hence we added that this action "makes the realisation of this plan difficult;" and that "the first move should be in the direction of reparation for the injuries already done."

We declared in that same article that "any proposal which excludes a real and effective sovereignty could never be accepted by the Supreme Pontiff," and hence his title should be always sovereign.

Father Best next takes exception to the expression "Politico-Religious Question." We have only to state that after fully considering the matter, we retain it, notwithstanding his observations. There is a civil power usurping the States of the Church, and the Temporal Power of the Sovereign Pontiff. Some anti-Catholic parties wish that state of things to continue. We, Catholics, claim for the Pope his absolute independence. If this does not constitute a politico-religious question I am at a loss to know what could do so. Father Best informs us absolutely that there is no question. Of course he has a perfect right to entertain that opinion if he likes, but we must beg to differ from him. He then flourishes his trumpet, and tells us as if to prove there is no question: "there is continued sacrilegious spoliation and occupation of the Eternal City and the Pontifical States; there is persecution and imprisonment of the Pope; the Vicar of Christ is delivered into the hands of sinners." All this, and even more, we grant is perfectly true, yet we must request the Rev. Father Best to excuse "a member of the *Accademia Ecclesiastica*" if he still insists on calling it a Politico-Religious Question.

In conclusion, we may suggest that if the Rev. Father Best had applied himself less to throwing out hints about the responsibilities of editors, who hardly stand in need of his unsolicited advice, or in searching out the whereabouts of the writer, and

concentrated his ideas a little more on the sense of what he was writing, and what he was criticising—in a word, if he had displayed less zeal, and more ability, he would have stood a better chance of “coming out” as a critic. We think, on the whole, that his concluding word is exceedingly appropriate, as, freely translated, it admirably expresses the evident state of the writer’s mind—“*confundor*”—I am confused, and, hence, he very wisely adds: “*vir nos decet amplius verba proferre.*”

Very Rev. and Dear Sir, . . .

Your humble servant,

MARTIN HOWLETT,

DOCUMENTS.

DECREE FOR THE BEATIFICATION OF THE VENERABLE JOHN
GABRIEL PERBOYRE, PRIEST OF THE CONGREGATION OF
THE MISSION.

DECRETUM BEATIFICATIONIS SEU DECLARATIONIS MARTYRII VEN.
SERVI DEI JOANNIS GABRIELIS PERBOYRE, SACERDOTIS E
CONGREGATIONE MISSIONISI SANCTI VINCENTII A PAULO.

SUPER DUBIO

An, stante approbatione martyrii, et causae martyrii, pluribus signis de miraculis a Deo illustrati et confirmati, tuto procedi possit ad solemnem Venerabilis Servi Dei Beatificationem?

Ea animi vis et constantia singularis, quae a caritate ducens ortum formamque accipiens, ex Christo pro nobis passo sibi sumi exemplum, quaeque Christiani martyrii perinsignis nota est, cum in aliis plurimis enituit Christianis heroibus, tum hoc saeculo spectatissima fuit varietate ac diuturnitate cruciatuum in Venerabili Servo Dei Joanne Gabriele Perboyre, quo nobilis Gallorum gens jure gloriatur. Invictus Christi athleta, Sacerdos e Congregatione Missionis, Sancti-Vincentii a Paulo spiritum plene adeptus fervente persecutionis aestu contra Christianos, ad Sinas appulit iv. Kalendas Septembris anni MDCCCXXXV, et Fidei dilatandae animarumque zelo succensus, pericula quaeque mortis contemnens, evangelici muneris labores, omnesque virtutes Apostolo dignas praeclaro demum et longo pro Christo certamine cumulavit: dirissimis namque tormentis forti magnoque animo superatis, fidem suam sanguine testari promeruit. Haec illi via ad gloriam fuit,

juxta aureum Augustini effatum: "Victoria veritatis est caritas." Enimvero hujus martyrii celebritas quum ex Asia in Europae regiones longe lateque promanaverit, et ad Apostolicam Sedem comprobata pervenerit; exprobationibus juridice sumptis de Servi Dei martyrio, causa martyrii, et de signis seu miraculis severissimum de more examen triplici disceptatione penes Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem institutum fuit; ac demum per decretum superioris anni ii Kalendas Decembris editum: *Constare de Venerabilis Servi Dei Joannis Gabrielis Perboyre martyrio, causa martyrii pluribus signis et miraculis a Deo illustrati et confirmati*, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. rite declaravit.

Quo votis itaque Catholicae Galliae ac praesertim Sodaliun Vincentianae Congregationis fieret satis, ad legitimum ejusmodi Causae complementum agendum erat de solemnibus beatorum caelitum honoribus venerabili Joanni Gabrieli in Ecclesia tuto decernendis. Ea propter in generalibus Sacra Rituum Congregationis Comitibus habitis coram eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. in Aedibus Vaticanis iv. Idus Martii, vertentis anni MDCCCXXXIX, reverendissimus Cardinalis Carolus Laurenzi Causae relator Dubium proposuit: *An, stante approbatione martyrii et causae martyrii, pluribus signis ac miraculis a Deo illustrati et confirmati, tuto procedi, possit ad Venerabilis Servi Dei Joannis Gabrielis Perboyre Beatificationem?* Beatissimus vero Pater, accepto unanimi Reverendissimorum Cardinalium et Patrum Consultorum affirmativo suffragio supremam sententiam Suam distulit aperire, monens adstantes speciale a Deo lumen ad hoc interim implorandum esse.

In hac vero solemnitate Redemptoris nostri *in coelum euntis* Sacrum prius in privato suo Sacello operatus, in Pontificiae Vaticanae Aedis nobiliori aula solio assidens adstante Reverendissimo Cardinali Carolo Laurenzi Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto et Causae Relatore, una cum R. P. Augustino Caprara Sanctae Fidei Promotore et me infrascripto Secretario, decrevit: *Tuto procedi posse ad solemnem Venerabilis Joannis Gabrielis Perboyre Beatificationem.*

Decretum hoc promulgari, et in acta Sacrae Rituum Congregationis referri, Litterasque Apostolicas in forma Brevis de Beatificatione quandocumque celebranda jussit expidiri iii Kalendas Junias anno MDCCCXXXIX.

CAROLUS CARD. LAURENZI, S. R. C. Praefectus.
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES REGARDING CERTAIN CEREMONIES OF HIGH MASS.

DERTHUSEN.

Sacrarum Caeremoniarum Magister Cathedralis Ecclesiae Derthusensis, ut in recitatione divini Officii ac Missae celebratione omnia juxta Rubricarum praescriptiones peragantur, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentium Dubiorum declarationem humillime postulavit, videlicet.

Dubium III. Quum a Sacra Rituum Congr. decisum fuerit die 12 Novembris 1831: quod *Celebrans in Missa solenni, cum sibi est sedendum, ad eos versiculos ad quos sibi est inclinandum, caput detegat*; quaeritur an debeat tantum caput detegere ad eos versiculos qui cantantur in Choro, vel etiam ad illos quī ab organo supplentur, et recitantur secreto an assistentibus in Choro?

Dubium IV. Juxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum lib. I. cap. 18 n. 4: *Si . . . quispiam Canonicus superveniat, inchoato jam Officio vel Missa . . . statim genuflectit versus Altare parumper orans*; quaeritur an si quis e Choro egreditur ob aliquam necessitatem, et iterum ingrediatur officio perdurante, teneatur ad genuflexionem et orationem toties quoties Chorum ipsum ingrediatur, an tantum prima vice.

Sacra itaque Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audita sententia alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, declarare censuit:

Ad III. Caput semper detegendum.

Ad IV. Orator consulat probatos auctores. Atque ita declavarit. Die 27 Julii 1878.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL.

INTERESTING CASE OF AN APPLICATION FOR A DISPENSATION FROM AN IRREGULARITY.

LEGIONEN.—DISPENSATIONIS AB IRREGULARITATE.

Die 15 Decembris 1888.

COMPENDIUM FACTI. Aurelius Soto y Rosa, Dioecesis Legionensis et ejusdem seminarii alumnus exponit, se “divina misericordiae gratia vocationem ad sacerdotium sentire, paratunque jam ecclesiasticis studiis esse, ut ad sacros ordines suscipiendos pervenire possit. Huic tamen opponi videtur brachii ac manus dexteræ irregularitas quaedam; talis vero, ut non gravis appareat.

Potest enim absque visibili irregularitate hostiam et calicem elevare, illam dividere, et alia hujusmodi facere; solum manus motus ad crucis signum faciendum, tum supra se, tum supra calicem, aliquantulum irregularis est, cum ipsa non recta appareat, sed ad sinistrum latus semper sit inclinata, et digiti parum virtutis habeant."

"Quibus expositis, ad B. V. pedes accedit oratque ut, pro gratia, hujus defectus dispensationem concedere B. V. dignetur."

Episcopus omnia haec vera esse dicit. Caeremoniarum autem magister, qui de mandato S. C. C. examini Aurelium subjecit, hanc dedit juratam attestationem:

"1. Aurelium supradictum minime habere posse manum recta positione, quae libere relictæ statim decedit, cum brachio fere angulum rectum formans.

"2. Observatione prædicta, impossibile esse illi cruces juxta rubricas agere manu recta, extremis digitis versus crucis imaginem et palma versus evangelium: enim vero ille extremis digitis versus evangelium et palma versus pectus cruces facit.

"3. Brachiali infirmitate, debilitate aut contractione admissa, vel alia quacunque ex causa, in præsens videtur mihi vim habere in digitis suis, quamvis difficulter ad parvas hostias e patena accipiendas in SS. communis administratione habere.

"4. Supradictum Aurelium, quamvis irregulariter calicem accipiat in elevatione, sinistra manu pedem sustentante, illum rectum elevare.

"5. Facientem cum calice crucem ante sumptionem, non vidi pro loco et instanti in periculo effusionis specierum stetisse.

"6. In elevationibus et manuum extensionibus, dextera semper declinata manet, adeo ut uniformitas a rubricis præcepta impossibilis fiat.

"7. In sacramentorum administratione, relate ad unctionem nullam ad ungendum inveni difficultatem, apprime dextero pollice cruces facientem."

DISCEPTATIO SYNOPTICA.

DISPENSATIO DENEGANDA VIDETUR. Ex pluribus juris locis irregulares declarantur, qui membrum aliquod, præsertim si ad missæ sacrificium necessarium, ita debile habeant ut ad sacras functiones exequendas impar sit, vel nonnisi magna cum indecentia vel adstantium horrore. Ita Reiffenstuel ad *tit.* 20 l.

Decret. n. 9: "Ubi vitium corporis est tale, ut vel impediatur congruum exercitium ordinis ac præsertim celebrationem missæ

vel saltem notabilem deformitatem causet, tunc illud inducit irregularitatem et prohibet quempiam ordinari. Et Ligorius, *Op. Mor. l. 7 n. 404*, haec habet: Ex duplici capite eruitur irregularitas ex vitio corporis, vel quia impedit congruum exercitium ordinis, vel quia affert notabilem indecentiam vel horrorem. Ita communiter DD. cum D. Thoma, *Suppl. 39 n. 6.* Idipsum sentit Richter ad *tit. 20 l. 1 Decr. num. 1*, aliique passim.

At in casu brachium dexteraque manus imparia sunt ad officium suum exequendum; siquidem impossibile est quod manus recta maneat, sed semper aliquantulum inclinata natura sua decidit: unde orator cruces debito modo efformare non valet, nec calicem, absque difficultate elevare, neque sacram synaxin sumere et dispensare.

Quae quidem omnia tum in se parum sunt decora, tum relate ad ecclesiasticas leges haud certe decent. Indecens enim est leges violari, maxime in casu, cum rubricae praescriptae in missae celebratione sint verae leges praeceptivae. Benedictus XIV. *de Sac. miss. s. 11 § 102.*

DISPENSATIO INDULGENDA VIDETUR. Verum ex altera parte notandum est hic agi de levi violatione vel inobservantia et quae nullam aut vix aliquam producere potest in adstantibus admirationem. Populus enim non videt modum efformandi cruces, accipiendi calicem; et si vidit, certe, quum agatur de levi defectu, non advertit.

Inclinatio autem manus ejusque debilitas licet pateat et corporis imperfectionem secum ferat; tamen non videtur omnino probrosa, nec talis quae horrorem aut aversionem in fidelium animis injiciat.

Praeterea post haec S. C. C. praxim, quippe quia juxta diversas temporum ac locorum circumstantias varia semper fuit: siquidem non semel S. C. C. data nedum aequali, sed etiam majori manus dexterae imperfectione, dispensationis gratiam promovendis ad sacros ordines concessit, ut in *Pampilonen. 31 Martii 1860*; at non raro in casibus vel benignioribus indultum, ceu contigit in *Pataxina 27 Aprilis 1861*; in qua clericus Marini aliunde sanus et integer, tantummodo tribus digitis, iisque non necessariis, medio nempe, annulari et extremo, carebat, et tamen gratiam non obtinuit, itemque in *Policastren. 21 Martii 1863.*

In his enim gratiis concedendis, praeter intrinsecam defectus naturam, plurimum semper meritoque attendisse S. C. Conc. videtur necessitati loci et Ordinarii commendationi,

Verum si etiam in praesenti casu prae oculis habendum sit hoc criterium, jam deesse videtur ejusve iudicii elementum. Episcopus enim de suae Ecclesiae necessitate alte silet; imo nec preces commendat, sed eas tantummodo hoc testimonio obsignat: *Vera sunt exposita.*

Quibus animadversis, quaesitum fuit quid esset precibus respondendum.

RESOLUTIO. Sacra C. C., recognita, sub die 15 Decembris 1888, consuit respondere: *Non expedire.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE HOLY SEE AND THE WANDERING OF THE NATIONS. By Thomas W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

THIS book is in reality, a sixth volume of Mr. Allies' splendid work "*The Formation of Christendom.*" This volume traces the history of the Church from the death of Pope Leo the Great, to the death of Gregory the Great. Every student of ecclesiastical history knows what an eventful period this was. The heresy of Eutyches still continued to afflict the Church. The Acacian schism arose with all the complicated troubles that sprang from it, and so, too, did the bitter and prolonged controversy on the "*Three Chapters.*" Another source of danger to the Church at this period was the tendency to dogmatize on the part of some of the Christian Emperors, like Zeno and Justinian, who discussed the most abstruse and difficult questions of theology, with more than the confidence of infallible Popes. Then, again, Goths and Vandals spread their devastations at this time—all conspiring to create very grave difficulties for the Rulers of the Church. And yet during this period in a special manner, we see the Pope as the great Central Power to which civil society as well as the Christian Church owes its safety. We see how the imperial power in the West declined, gradually giving way to the influence of the Roman Pontiff, who at the close of the period was the *de facto* ruler of Rome. In tracing the history of this period Mr. Allies has

drawn his information principally from the letters of the Popes themselves—the best sources of direct information on the government of the Church. And those who know Mr. Allies' character as a writer (and it is well and widely known) need not be told, that in this volume, as in all his other works, we find a graceful, pleasing style, careful research, and judicious arrangement: and we have no hesitation in saying that the author of "*A Life's Decision*," need fear no adverse criticism on the conclusions at which he has arrived in this very excellent book.

J. M.

LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA. By Father Genelli. Translated by Father Meyrick, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros.

ALL who revere the name of St. Ignatius of Loyola may rejoice that his life by Father Genelli can now be had in an English dress. We owe this valuable addition to English hagiology, to the careful labour of the Rev. T. Meyrick, S.J. Father Meyrick has translated, or, to use Father Prout's favourite expression, "upset" the work into English from the French of M. Charles Sainte Foi. He has done his part well, so well, that few would recognise in the work the hand of a translator.

The *Life of St. Ignatius* has been long known and appreciated on the continent, and it well deserves the praises heaped upon it for its accuracy, originality, and depth. We could, perhaps, desire in it, more freshness and lightness of treatment. We should desire also to know something of the saint's boyhood years. "The child is father of the man," Wordsworth writes with much truth, and we could wish to see how far the majestic figure of the great Ignatius of Loyola could be traced in the little Eneco Lañez, who played, and studied, and prayed in his aunt's stately castle of Arevalo. From the life of the saint in later years we miss nothing except, perhaps, fuller details about some of the great miracles recorded of him; we would instance, especially, the miracle of bilocation, to which a passing reference is made at page 351. "It is known," writes Father Genelli, "that St. Ignatius appeared, while living, to Father Kessel, Rector of Cologne, by virtue of a phenomenon, known in hagiography (we should prefer the word 'hagiology') as bilocation." Nothing more of such a miracle, except a statement about the date of its occurrence, "it most probably took place in the year 1550!"

A very valuable feature in the book is the number of the

saint's letters, which are brought before our delighted gaze. We can generally see a man best through his letters, and St. Ignatius is no exception to the rule. We see reflected in these letters the confidence in God, the greatness of soul, the constancy of mind, that have so pre-eminently distinguished the great founder of the Jesuits. In our opinion these letters also furnish us with the most solid reasons to distrust the common opinion, that St. Ignatius was too much of an enthusiast and zealot to be a successful organizer and ruler, and that Laynez it was, who really gave to the Society its admirable organization. Laynez was a born ruler, no doubt, and to him the Society owes much (more, we think, than Father Genelli seems inclined to give him credit for). But greater than Laynez was Ignatius, and if he was enthusiastic, he was also, as his letters clearly show, far-seeing, discreet, and strong-minded. What a revelation must the writings of the saint prove to those who have adopted the egregious blunder of Professor Robertson (*Life of Charles V.*) that he was a mere fanatic, without learning, or sagacity, or foresight! Dr. Robertson was not a fanatic, and he was not without learning, sagacity or foresight, and, to be more positive regarding his excellencies, he was a pillar of the Presbyterian kirk; yet, *pax tanti vivi*, I should think the world would miss the kirk pillar less than the Catholic saint. The world is ever moving on, and it wants not *new* pillars on which to rest, but guides to continue to point out the way to, and within reach of the one Pillar of Truth—The Catholic Church—"the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever." St. Ignatius was one of these guides, and one of the best, and bravest, and truest, that the world has seen.

The well-known firm of Benziger Bros., New York, have brought out the book in good style. I don't know could one claim for the following wrong spelling the excuse of being Americanisms, "frontispiese," "absense." They look badly in the eyes of the English reader.

T. A. M.

OLD ENGLISH CATHOLIC MISSIONS. By John Orlebar Payne, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

WE have already had occasion to notice very favourably the works of Mr. Payne, and it is now our pleasing duty to repeat our cordial approval of the manner in which he has been unearthing the buried records of English Catholicity. This volume contains an immense number of records kept by English priests

in the dark days of persecution, and in days later still, when, though persecution was not sanctioned by law, it was unhappily maintained by bad traditions. In these registers, there are many quaint and curious entries, which help to give us a correct idea of the sad state to which wicked laws had brought the Church of Edward the Confessor, of St. Thomas à Becket, and Sir Thomas More. The volume, though possessing, perhaps, little attraction for ordinary readers, will, like Mr. Payne's other works, be a most valuable aid to him who comes to write the history of the Catholic Church in England. J. M.

'PHILIP'S RESTITUTION. By Christian Reid. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

Philip's Restitution is a welcome addition to our library. It is above the average literature of the day. Besides being interesting and entertaining, it is edifying as well. One comes from its pages with higher ideas of what is right and what is honourable, and firmer resolves to act always according to the dictates of a well-ordered conscience. Philip, indeed, merits his title of hero by many noble and heroic sacrifices; and, in the end, as is right, gets the reward sure to come to those who act nobly for conscience's sake. We wish this beautiful and neatly-bound volume the success it deserves. Would we had many books like it, and would that in everyday life we had many heroes modelled on this type. A. —.

THE MENOLOGY OF ENGLAND AND WALES; OR, BRIEF MEMORIALS OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH AND ENGLISH SAINTS, &c. By Richard Stanton, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS very excellent and valuable work was written, we are told, in accordance with instructions given by the English Bishops some five years ago. The volume contains brief but very interesting notices of the saints and holy persons mentioned, as far as it was possible to get authentic information. There is no attempt at rounded periods, or intricate discussions, which would be altogether out of place in such a work. The writer's aim has been to give in as brief a space as possible, all the ascertained facts, and this he has done well and faithfully. As the Menology is confined to England and Wales, and as "according to the instructions received . . . Scottish and Irish Saints were to be

omitted," (preface, page viii.), we are somewhat surprised to find a rather lengthened notice of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, on whom England's sole claim is that she murdered him *in odium religionis et patriae*. J. M.

ST. PETER'S CHAINS; OR, ROME AND THE ITALIAN REVOLUTION.

A Series of Sonnets. By Aubrey de Vere. Burns & Oates.

SONGS OF LIBERTY AND OTHER POEMS. By Thomas O'Brien ("Clontarf.") Sealy, Bryers & Walker.

INTEMPERANCE, A POEM. By the Rev. T. Casey, P.P. Duffy & Sons.

THREE small and shapely little volumes of verse, one by Father Casey, a zealous Parish Priest; one by a Mr. Thomas O'Brien, a Patriot, and one by Aubrey de Vere, a Poet. To begin with the last-named, Mr. de Vere, whose book is inscribed to the memory of Pope Pius IX., gives us, as Preface to his Sonnets, some pages of most interesting prose on the subject of Revolutions generally, but particularly of the Italian Revolution and the Spoliation of the Pope. These pages are in every respect worthy of the writer's fame as a Catholic philosopher and a master of easy English prose. The Sonnets that follow are a translation of the same views into verse—into such verse as few but Aubrey de Vere can write. He is an hereditary sonneteer, and some of the numbers in this volume are among his very best. It will nerve, as well as comfort many a Catholic to read during these days of stormy revolution such lines as these:—

"The banner of the Church is ever flying!
 Less than a storm avails not to unfold
 The Cross emblazoned there in massive gold:
 Away with doubts and sadness, tears and sighing!
 It is by faith, by patience, and by dying
 That we must conquer, as our sires of old."

Mr. Thomas O'Brien's volume is dedicated to "The Very Rev. T. A. Anderson, O.S.A., and the Rev. W. P. Kearney, also their fellow-patriots of the Drogheda Independent Club, and its kindred Association, the Independent Branch, Irish National League." We can honestly say that the contents are worthy of the dedication. Written, as the author tells us, within the last twelve years, they will, doubtless, do much to answer the charge of literary sterility brought against recent political movements. The

poems reach the mystic number of sixty-seven; and many of them show the writer's honest sympathy with the "rising" of that troublous year.

Father Casey's volume has reached a third edition, and we sincerely hope it may reach many more. It is full of such sound advice as:—

"Take hence that bright decanter,
Which some unwisely drain."

Elsewhere the Poet shews what should take its place:—

"And may he not himself regale
With lemonade and ginger ale,
And kali, seltzer, zoedone,
To give his thoughts a cheerful tone."

And should these mild stimulants fail, we heartily recommend Father Casey's little book itself, as an innocent and most refreshing tonic, and likely, even with the most lugubrious reader, "to give his thoughts a cheerful tone."

MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE AND PASSIONS OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By Dr. John Tauler, Dominican Friar. Translated from the Latin. By a Secular Priest. London: Thomas Baker. 1889.

JOHN TAULER (Doctor Sublimis et Illuminatus) was one of the most remarkable men of the fourteenth century. His eloquence was such that contemporary writers confess their inability to convey any idea of its wonderful force, or of the marvellous effects it produced on his hearers. But eloquence is not the only quality for which he was remarkable. His erudition, his holiness, and his zeal for the salvation of souls, are all highly extolled by his contemporaries. A disciple of Eckhart, he imbibed some of his master's views, and maintained propositions closely bordering on Pantheism. This, together with the boldness with which he withstood the abuse of *Interdict* on a certain occasion, drew down upon him and his followers a severe but short-lived condemnation. Having, during the early days of his preaching, perceived that his consciousness of his own erudition and eloquence hindered his words from producing much effect, he abstained from preaching for two whole years, which he spent in practices of self-denial and meditation on the life and sufferings of Christ. The volume of meditations before us would seem to be the fruit of these years.

The "Meditations" are not arranged artificially in the

manner we find employed in modern books of meditations. Each one consists of a single "point," which has for subject some act or scene from the Passion of our Lord. Some of the meditations are of considerable length, and are made up of reflections, soliloquies, colloquies with God the Father, with the Holy Ghost, and more frequently with Christ suffering. The saintly priest breathes in these meditations nothing but love for God, pity for Jesus, sorrow for sin, humility, and self-abnegation.

We are sorry that this translation bears no *Imprimatur*, nor any other trace of authoritative approval. This is the more to be regretted on account of the charges which have been made against the author, and the condemnation to which he was subjected. In saying what we have said of it, we by no means intend to supply the place of theological censor, nor do we undertake to approve of everything contained in the book.

D. O'L.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

We have received another parcel of the most recent publications of the Catholic Truth Publication Society.

In this little bundle are included Instructions on the Sacraments, conveyed in the attractive form of well-told stories; some Lives from the Biographical Series (St. Francis Xavier, Father Oliphant, Venerable Julie Belliard); Papers on Natural History, by Father Gerard, S.J.; and, finally, handy books of Short Meditations on the Great Truths, the Holy Angels, &c., by Rev. R. Clarke, S.J.

Each little book costs only one penny.

We would again recommend the clergy to get a parcel of these publications, and see for themselves how much good can be done by encouraging the sale of such healthy and much-needed literature among our people.

MANUAL OF THE CHILDREN OF MARY. James Duffy & Co.

THE new edition of this excellent manual needs only to be mentioned. It is brought out in a cheap, but substantial form by its eminent publishers.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1890.

THE INTERMARRIAGE OF RELATIVES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THAT the intermarriage of blood-relatives is ordinarily attended with calamitous consequences to their offspring, might be established by *à priori* arguments which belong to the school of physiology, and of which the present writer has no knowledge. We may, however, satisfy ourselves as to the conclusiveness of those arguments from the fact—of which we are credibly assured—that they are accepted by our Catholic physiologists generally; by not a few non-Catholic writers on that science; and that the hesitancy (for it is no more) of many English Protestant authors may be traced to their unwillingness to condemn a practice so common amongst themselves, and in which they may, perhaps, be personally concerned. As a distinct illustration of this unwillingness, we may refer to the fact, recorded by Dr. Shuttleworth of Lancaster (*The Relation of Marriages of Consanguinity to Mental Unsoundness*), that when, in 1871, Sir J. Lubbock suggested to the House of Commons “that a question should be inserted in the Schedules [of Census Returns] with reference to cousin marriages,” the proposal met with “the scornful laughter of the House, on the ground that the idle curiosity of speculative philosophers was not to be gratified—at any rate by State aid.”

With all this easily intelligible disinclination to reprobate marriages of consanguinity, we find many eminent writers

constrained to surrender personal prejudice to professional conviction. Thus Dr. Charles West (*Mother's Manual of Children's Diseases*, 1885) says: "*First among the causes of sickly infancy and premature death, may be mentioned the marriage of near relations.*" Dr. Shuttleworth—for many years Medical Superintendent of the Royal Albert Asylum, at Lancaster—writes: "There exists in the public mind, as one sees evidenced by remarks in *Society* and other journals, a misgiving as to the propriety of such marriages; and in medical literature also we find a disposition to attribute many evils, both physical and mental, to the intermarriage of relatives." The same learned and experienced physician, writing in the *British Medical Journal*, July 6th, 1889 (p. 53), says: "Subsequent experience leads me to think, even more seriously than before, of the undesirability of marriages between cousins . . . Quite lately I admitted into this institution four imbecile brothers and sisters out of a family of six, and in this case no other cause than the consanguinity of parents has yet been ascertained." The "misgiving" referred to as seeking relief in the correspondence columns of *Society* and other journals, is no more and no less than the expression of a dread, graven on the minds of interested correspondents by the revelation of such melancholy results in others; while the fact that "medical literature" has the smooth current of its philanthropy so continuously ruffled by the repetition of the same question, proves, beyond a doubt, that the medical mind too is incessantly haunted by the same unbidden and unwelcome apprehension. I may add that those issues of the *Medical Journal* and *Lancet* are rare in which reference to this question does not recur; and that the treatment which those references receive—at the hands of writers whose professional reputation and fortune are at stake—is either wholly condemnatory of intermarriage, or so transparently evasive as to be tantamount to unequivocal condemnation.

The editor of the *Lancet* writes (January 28th, 1888):—"Few questions are more frequently asked by the readers of this journal than the important and interesting one, 'Do consanguineous marriages lead to disease in the offspring?'"—

showing that medical men believe that it unquestionably does lead to degeneracy. And, although English physiologists are, as a rule, reluctant to place on record the results of their own enquiries, they do not hesitate to reproduce the inferences of others. They refer their readers, for example, to the Clinical Lectures of Trousseau, who treats at considerable length "*des funestes influences des unions consanguines sur la propagation de l'espèce*," and who "dwells especially on the prevalence of deaf-mutism in the offspring of such marriages." On this subject we shall have much to say later on. They also refer, and seemingly with tacit approval, to Devay's *Hygiène de Famille*, in which he "charges upon marriages between relatives of the same stock, *by the sole fact of the identity of blood*, the production of a specific cause of organic degeneration, fatal to the propagation of the species." Dr. Shuttleworth writes: "It is doubtless the case that morbid heredity, and especially mental morbid heredity, is likely to be intensified in the offspring of cousins." Sir J. Crichton Browne goes much farther when he asserts that "even healthy temperaments, when common to both (cousin) parents, often come out in the children as decided cachexiae"—that is, disordered states or habits of body. Dr. Sir Arthur Mitchell, Deputy Commissioner in Lunacy for Scotland, arranges as follow the conclusions to which he has been led:—

"I°. That consanguinity in parentage tends to injure the offspring. That this injury assumes various forms. That it may show itself in diminished viability at birth; in feeble constitutions increasing the risk of danger from the invasion of strumous [glandular or scrofulous] disease in after-life; in bodily defects and malformations; in deprivation or impairment of the senses, especially those of hearing and sight; and, more frequently than in any other way, in errors and disturbances of the nervous system, as in chorea [St. Vitus' dance], paralysis, imbecility, idiocy, and moral and intellectual insanity. Sterility is another result of consanguinity in marriage.

"II°. That when the children seem to escape, the injury may shew itself in the grandchildren; so that there may be given to the offspring, by the kinship of the parents, a potential defect which may become actual in their children, and thenceforward, perhaps, appear as an hereditary disease.

"III°. That, as regards mental disease, unions between blood-

relations influence idioey and imbecility more than they do the acquired forms of insanity, or those which show themselves after childhood."—(*Blood-Relationship in Marriage, &c.*)

But perhaps no stronger argument need be adduced to establish the melancholy consequences of intermarriage than that which is found in the fact that the advocates of its "harmlessness" require, as an essential prerequisite in the parents, the presence of conditions that are most rarely, if ever, verified: and which, even if verified, would, according to Sir Crichton Browne, Devay, Sir Arthur Mitchell, &c., afford no guarantee whatsoever. The editor of the *Lancet*, in the paragraph already referred to, answers the question, "Do consanguineous marriages lead to disease in the offspring?" His words are pregnant with suggestion: "Our reply has constantly been, 'PROVIDING both parents are healthy'—which here means devoid of all taint—'no harm need be expected to result to the children of such marriages.' But, he adds: "If both parents exhibit a proclivity to any particular form of disease (as, for example, to scrofula), the tendency is likely to be exaggerated in the children." This very negative argument represents the fullest force of the defence put forward by those who advocate the possible "harmlessness" of cousin marriages; but, in the face of what has been already written, and of what is to follow, it is practically of no value. Even a non-medical man may confidently interpolate that, as (1) no man or woman exists without some more or less serious default of constitution, and (2) as that default is, as a rule, possessed either openly or latently by all of near cousinship, such default is sure to be reproduced in an "exaggerated" form in the offspring. The unhappy progeny derives a "double dose" of the malady, concentrated within the compass of a single constitution. Where the parents are not related by blood, there may be some corrective: here there is stimulated growth.

I shall conclude those general observations by repeating that, according to the most eminent and experienced writers, it matters little whether the disease that may be "exaggerated" in the offspring, has been "exhibited" or "latent" in the parents; and furthermore, that the development and

outward manifestation of the malady may not occur till the third or fourth generation. That it does eventually occur, as the melancholy inheritance of cousin marriages, is a fact to which unprejudiced writers of all classes bear testimony.

IDIOTCY AND INSANITY.

The generalizations from physiology and actual observation, conveyed in the above-quoted extracts, seem to be unassailable, especially when they come to us on the authority of writers whose professional eminence has been disciplined and matured by that "mistress of all the arts"—experience.

But there is another and more accessible method by which this "important and interesting question" may be elucidated—that, namely, which exhibits to us the actual results of marriages of consanguinity. To form, however, anything like a scientifically accurate estimate of the calamities created by intermarriage, it is manifest that we should have within reach an authenticated record of the consanguinity or non-consanguinity of contracting parties generally. The duty of providing that return would naturally devolve upon the Government, to whose administration is entrusted that *suprema lex*, the *salus populi*, and to whom the decennial Census papers afford such an easy opportunity of securing it. But, as we have seen, the Government affects to regard the suggestion as a pandering to "the curiosity of speculative philosophers;" and the proposal—even when made by so distinguished a public man as Sir J. Lubbock, P.C.—has been hitherto "rejected amidst the scornful laughter" of the House of Commons. If, nevertheless, such imperfect statistical returns as we do possess afford the strongest *pro tanto* evidence of the disastrous evils of marriages of consanguinity, nothing can be more rational than the inference that, if those returns were exhaustive, that evidence would be overwhelming.

In 1860 Sir Arthur Mitchell collected evidence embracing the history of forty-five cousin marriages, "nearly all from the upper and middle classes of society." His informants were "intelligent and observing men," and their statements

he accepted as "substantially correct." "In eight cases no evil results were observed. In eight cases sterility followed. The twenty-nine cases which remain gave eight idiots, five imbeciles, eleven insane, four paralytics, two deaf mutes, three blind, two with defective vision, three deformed (spinal curvature, &c.), six lame, one rachitic, twenty-two phthisical, scrofulous, or manifestly of weak constitution."

In pursuance of his inquiry Dr. Mitchell investigated the subsequent history of some of those consanguineous marriages, and gives the dreadful results as follow:—

"*Case I°*. A married B, his full cousin, and had five children. No. 1. Sound in mind and body; twice married to wives not related to him; had nine children, of whom one died in early infancy, one was eccentric, one imbecile, and three became insane. No. 2. Imbecile. No. 3. Dead. No. 4. Imbecile. No. 5. Became insane.

"*Case II°*. A B married X Y, his full cousin, and had issue nine children. No. 1. Of defective vision, and very scrofulous; sterile. No. 2. Of small stature, defective articulation, cleft palate. No. 3. Spinal curvature. No. 4. Idiot. No. 5. Defective vision; sterile. No. 6. Sound in mind and body; sterile. No. 7. Imbecile. No. 8. Of sound mind; dwarfish. No. 9. Idiot and dwarf.

"*Case III°*. E B married X Y, his full cousin, and had issue five children. No. 1. Eccentric. No. 2. Of sound mind; rachitic. No. 3. Of sound mind; married a gentleman not related to her, and had two children—one idiotic; the condition of the other not known. No. 4. Imbecile, ineducable, dwarfish. No. 5. Idiot; dwarf.

"*Case IV°*. M married F, his cousin, and had issue five children, of whom one was sane, one was paralytic, one was lame, and two were idiotic.

"*Case V°*. M married F, his cousin, and had issue ten children, of whom two were sane and arrived at maturity, one was an idiot, one an imbecile, one deaf and dumb, and five died in early infancy.

"*Case VI°*. A married B, his cousin, and had issue several children. No. 1. An idiot boy. No. 2. A sound girl, who married a man not related to her, and had two children, one of whom was an idiot boy, the other a boy sane and sound, but who became the father of an idiot child, &c., &c. The parents of the last-mentioned child were not blood-related, nor even her grandparents, but her great grand-parents were cousins, and in their children, grand-children, and great grand-children idiocy had appeared, though it had never done so in any of the collateral branches of the family

"Deaf-mutism, blindness, deformity, club-foot, hare-lip, &c.,

have come under observation [as the results of intermarriage]. Cases II., III., and IV., illustrate the combination of mental and physical defects, and afford an interesting manifestation of sterility. In Case V., we have idiocy, imbecility, deaf-dumbness, and lameness, combined with a large infant mortality."

The "Cases" given above are manifestly "selected," and any *general* conclusion drawn from them would be unfair and indefensible. But there are two methods of inquiry by either of which the suspicion of "selected" cases, and the logical invalidity of the inferences deduced from "selected" cases, may be dissipated. The first would take the form of fixing upon some one mental or physical disease in a district of sufficiently extensive dimensions, and then ascertaining the relative number of marriages of consanguinity and of non-consanguinity in which that specific disease exhibited itself. If the ratio of its appearances in cousin marriages was found to be distinctly and notably greater than that in marriages in which no relationship could be traced, the inference would be inevitable that intermarriage was responsible for the disproportion. The *second* method would consist in selecting some localities of large area, ascertaining the family history of every marriage in those localities, and comparing the results of those marriages in which kinship existed with those in which it did not exist.

The refusal of the public authorities to register marriages of consanguinity, *as such*, makes it impossible to obtain a strictly and mathematically exact return by either method; but the enterprise of individuals, who have laudably taken advantage of the opportunities placed in their way, enables us to establish with practical accuracy that marriages of consanguinity are, as a rule, attended with lamentable consequences.

As a postulate, however, to the deducing of fair and legitimate inferences from the statistics I am about to give, it must be continuously borne in memory that the marriages of blood-relatives are *comparatively* few. Dr. Howe, of Massachusetts—one of the best known of modern scientists—speaking of marriages of *first* cousins, says that "they are not even perhaps as one to a thousand to the marriages of persons not so related." This estimate is quoted, and

apparently adopted, by Dr. Shuttleworth. The inquiry about which this paper is concerned, however, does not limit itself to first cousin relationship, but extends to that of third cousins, and the estimate of Dr. Howe must be modified accordingly. From evidence to be given at a later stage it will appear that we are making a liberal concession by fixing *as one to two hundred* the ratio of marriages contracted within the "forbidden degrees of kindred," to those contracted by non-relatives. Adopting this largely-abated ratio, let us apply it to a few of the many returns at hand.

I. In 1875 Mr. George H. Darwin (son of the well-known naturalist), from information obtained from various British idiot and lunatic asylums, ascertained that about 3·4 per cent. of the inmates (5·25 per cent. in Scotland) were children of *first cousins*. As Dr. Howe and Mr. Darwin both speak of *first cousin marriages*, we may lawfully draw inferences from the figures they give. Taking 4 per cent. as the average of inmates from England and Scotland who were the children of first cousins, it will follow that lunacy or idiocy will be forty times more probably the inheritance of the children of first cousins than of those whose parents were not—or were not so closely—related.

II. Dr. Graham, Superintendent of Earlswood Asylum, to whose report special value is attributed by scientists, states that "consanguinity of the parents accounts (partially only) for about 6 per cent. of the cases admitted to Earlswood." This would assign to the consanguinity of the parents one out of every seventeen cases. But what must be the reckoning if marriages of consanguinity be to other marriages not as one to seventeen, but as one to, say, two hundred?

III. Dr. Langdon Down (*London Hospital Reports for 1866*) gives as his experience that "out of 852 cases of known parentage . . . 7 per cent. were children of consanguineous marriages, and among these 5·4 per cent. were children of first cousins."

IV. Regarding the Royal Albert Asylum, Lancaster, Dr. Shuttleworth writes:—

"Of 900 patients . . . 46 are known to be children of consanguineous marriages. Of these 26 are the marriages of

first cousins, 3 of first cousins once removed, 10 in which the grand-parents were [first] cousins, and 7 in which other degrees of consanguinity existed. We may conclude, then, that these Case Books furnish, in the parental history of 100 imbeciles, 5.1 per cent. of consanguineous marriages."

V°. Sir Arthur Mitchell, writing in the interesting work already quoted, tells us of an inquiry which he instituted in a group of 299 parishes in Scotland:—

"The whole number of idiots examined was 711. Of these 108 were illegitimate; the parentage of 84 was not known; the total number whose parentage was known, 519; in the cases of 421 the parents were not related, while in 98 cases the parents were related . . . In order to believe that relationship does not influence the amount of idiocy, marriages of kinship would require in these countries to be to other marriages in the ratio of 1 to 7, *which they notoriously are not*. But in order properly to test this influence of consanguinity, we must at least deduct the cases of whose parentage I could obtain no information . . . Instead, therefore, of every seventh or eighth marriage in the community, we should require every fifth or sixth to be between persons related by blood to each other, in order to show that consanguinity of parentage does not influence the amount of idiocy."

If we assume that the marriages of relatives and non-relatives are in the ratio of one to two hundred, we cannot escape the conclusion that marriage "within the forbidden degrees" entails upon the offspring at the very least a ten-fold liability to those dreadful disorders.

It would be easy to multiply references and statistics supplied by Continental and American writers of eminence and experience; but our readers must take the assurance we give—that they are a mere repetition of those already set forth. All the world over, the intermarriage of cousins involves their unfortunate offspring in the same calamitous inheritances, and practically in the same proportion.

DEAF-MUTISM.

Many of the facts and some of the paragraphs in the following references to Deaf-Mutism, as a result of intermarriage, are taken from the "*The Children of Silence*," an admirable work written by Dr. Seiss, Director of the

Pensylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. The story it tells is simply appalling.

J. Scott Hutton, Principal of the School for the Deaf in Halifax, Nova Scotia, gives a summary of cases in that Institution, and states that—

“Out of 81 families connected with the school since its commencement more than one-fourth of the parents have been related in various degrees of consanguinity. In 23 families where the parents were related, there were 56 deaf children . . . One cousin marriage gives 3 deaf children, 2 of whom are imbecile, and 1 idiotic; another gives 4 deaf, 1 almost blind, and the rest with defective sight . . . Out of 110 deaf children, of whom we have definite information, 56, or *fully one-half* are the offspring of cousins.”

In 59 cases of deafness reported by the Illinois Institution in 1873, the parents of 42 were first cousins; of 9, second cousins; of 5, third cousins; of 2, fourth cousins.

Dr. Dudley Peet of New York writes:—

“Of all known causes, intermarriage is the most prolific cause of predisposition to deafness. *It has been settled beyond a shadow of doubt* that intermarriages of first cousins, and even some of second cousins, give rise to offspring which are generally either of small size, imperfect health, or imperfect development in some part: they are either idiots, blind, club-footed, or deaf. Those offsprings of first cousins who are not, are rather the exception than the rule.”

In the Report of the Pensylvania Institution for 1884, there is given the result of a “special investigation respecting the pupils who left their Institution during the ten years prior to 1884. Out of 344, respecting whom reliable information was received, 28 were the children of 16 couples related in blood—9 first cousins, and 7 second cousins. Of these 28 deaf children, 22, or more than 78 per cent., were born deaf—a proportion of 45 per cent. more than where no such blood-relationship existed.”

Dr. S. M. Bemis, of Louisville, Kentucky, in a Report to the American Medical Association, gives the “result of 883 instances of such marriages, collected from various quarters in America, and with the intention of embracing, as far as possible, those in which the results were favourable as well

as unfavourable. Of these 883 consanguineous marriages the number of offspring was 3,942; 1,134 of them were defective in one way or another; 145 were deaf and dumb; 85 were blind; 308 were idiotic; 38 were insane; 60 were epileptic; 300 were scrofulous; 98 were deformed; and 883 died young . . . *I am satisfied that over 10 per cent. of the deaf and dumb, and over 5 per cent. of the blind, and near 15 per cent. of the idiotic . . . throughout the country at large, are the offspring of kindred parents."*

At the Third Conference of Principals of American Institutions for the Deaf, Dr. Gillett, "gave it as his belief that from 15 to 25 per cent. of all the blindness, deafness, and idiocy in the world is the result of consanguineous marriages."

I have been courteously favoured by Rev. Brother Stephens, Superior of St. Joseph's Institution at Cabra, Dublin, with the following valuable table, compiled from the Official Query Sheets of Admission, and verified by himself:—

—	Admitted within last 10 years	Of First Cousins	Of Second Cousins	Of Third Cousins	of remote Cousins	Degree of relationship not given
Males - -	355	3	8	7 ^b	4	1 ^c
Females - -	311	0	15 ^a	5 ^b	6	1 ^c

a. Two of these were members of families containing 4 deaf mutes each.

b. These include 1 boy and 1 girl of a family containing 5 deaf mutes each.

c. A brother and sister of a family containing 8 deaf mutes each.

From the foregoing Table it will appear that of the 666 children admitted to the Male and Female Institutions at Cabra, during the decade just ended, 50 were the offspring of cousin marriages, giving the ratio of 1 to 13·32. But if to these we add the 15 members of the same families, referred to in the "notes," the ratio will stand as 1 to 10·5.

1°. Manifestly, if cousin and non-cousin marriages were in the ratio of 1 to 10, no argument could be formed on the above statistics. But the proportion is enormously less.

With the present uncollected condition of local returns, it is indeed impossible to strike the exact ratio; but that cousin marriages are comparatively few in Ireland may, I think, be conclusively inferred from the following facts: (1) That in one of the largest dioceses in Ireland, with its Catholic population of 168,000, the Dispensations in consanguinity granted from May, 1879, to May, 1889, were under 70. (2) That in a certain parish containing about 8,000 Catholics, only 2 Dispensations (and those in *Affinity*) were granted during the same 10 years, although the marriages contracted in that parish during that period numbered 424.

From the foregoing and collateral sources of evidence, it is manifest that the inference of Dr. Seiss cannot be rationally impugned:—

“Whether the ill consequences of consanguine marriages upon the children born of them be attributed to the fact of blood-relationship, *per se*, or to some precedent unadaptability of constitution, hereditary taint, latent disease, or unfavourable tendency in one or the other or both of the parties, it does not and cannot alter the one clear and outstanding fact, that such marriages of kin do more surely and more amply develop in their progeny the whole catalogue of human defaults and infirmities than would otherwise be the case; and among them a greatly multiplied number of instances of congenital deafness and imbecility.”

2°. It is manifest that if—as is incontrovertibly established—one out of every ten of our lunatic, deaf-mute, or otherwise afflicted population be the progeny of cousin marriages; and if (2), at a most moderate computation, cousin marriages are 200 times less frequent than the marriages of non-relatives—the inference is inevitable that parties contracting within the “forbidden degrees of kindred” expose their offspring to a twenty-fold liability of being born with a heritage of deaf-mutism, lunacy, or some other most melancholy mental or bodily deformity.

3°. It is manifest that, in the words of Dr. Seiss, “considering the blindness, insanity, lunacy, idiocy, and varied defects and weaknesses of mind and body, besides deafness, which are entailed on innocent children from such unions, we should think people would shudder at them and shrink from

them as reservoirs of misery, and that every voice would be raised to denounce the abomination, alike at variance with the laws of nature, reason, and divine prohibition."

4°. It is manifest that the Catholic Church exercises a most wholesome and discerning judgment in discountenancing and reprobating such unions; and when she is reluctantly moved to grant a Dispensation, in imposing, as a deterrent to others, a large money fine to be applied—as Canon Law prescribes—to the promotion of works of piety or charity, so that reparation may thus, in some measure, be made for the more than probable irreparable injury inflicted on society.

C. J. M.

THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS: THEIR CANONICAL ERECTION.

IN order to understand clearly what are the requirements for the Canonical erection of the Stations of the Cross, two questions have been proposed.¹ These two questions are:—(1) Who has authority to erect the Stations? (2) What are the conditions to be fulfilled by the person who has got authority to erect them? Before answering either question it was thought desirable to refer to the principal documents of the Holy See—Briefs and Apostolic Letters—regarding the Way of the Cross, since these constitute the law which regulates this subject, and form the foundation of subsequent rescripts and decrees.

The first question has been already answered.² It is now proposed to give an answer to the second.

But before proceeding to the fulfilment of any conditions required for the due erecting of the Stations of the Cross, it ought be certain there is authority to erect them, whether it be *de jure ordinario*, *delegated* or *subdelegated*, and moreover that the faculties extend to the individual case. This will

¹ I. E. RECORD, Vol. X., No. 12 (December, 1889), p. 1087. ² *Ibid.*

be easily determined from what has been said by attending to the source of the faculties, to their extent, to the restrictions which are found in the rescript of delegation, as well as to those which are imposed by the law of the case.

When the faculties have been obtained, there are still conditions to be fulfilled for their valid exercise, and in order that it may be provable at any time that the stations were canonically erected. These conditions may be reduced to three classes—(1) these which are to be fulfilled *before* the erection of the stations; (2) these which regard the material of the stations, and their position; (3) these which are to be fulfilled *after* their erection.

The first class is the most important, and the most likely to be the source of informalities. It regards the permission which is necessary for the valid erecting of the stations. This class of conditions is not at all required if the place where it is proposed to erect the stations be subject to the Franciscans; for it was only when Clement XII.¹ removed the restriction as to the place where the stations might be erected that any such conditions were laid down. Neither very probably do the conditions refer to places which are exempt from *all* episcopal jurisdiction and visitation,² although this is not explicitly stated. But in regard to all other places it is certain that permission must be had: (*a*) from the ordinary; (*b*) from the parish priest; (*c*) from the superior of the place in which it is proposed to erect the Stations of the Cross. These conditions are clearly laid down in the Brief *Exponi Nobis* of Clement XII., 16th January, 1731, and referred to and confirmed in the Brief *Cum Tanta* of Benedict XIII., 30th August, 1741, and quoted in several of the decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences. The conditions which Clement XII. lays down are expressed in the following words:—

“ Ut quoad illa (loca Viæ Crucis piis locis Ministro Generali ordinis minorum non subjectis, erigenda) sic deinceps erigenda modus et forma servantur, quibus ejusmodi erectiones in Ecclesiis et locis ordinis prædicti hactenus fieri consueverunt, et

¹ *Exponi Nobis*. 16th January, 1731.

² *Vid.* I. E. RECORD, Vol. X., No. 12 (December 1889), p. 1090-1.

accedat licentia ordinarii loci, ac consensus parochi, et superiorum Ecclesiae, monasterii et pii loci ubi de eis pro tempore erigendis agi contigerit."

From this it is clear that in regard to parish churches and other places which have no local superior distinct from the parish priest, the consent of the ordinary and the parish priest suffice and are required, whilst it is equally clear that where there is a local superior, distinct from the parish priest, permission is required not only from the ordinary and the parish priest, but also from the local superior.

This permission must be had *in writing*. It is laid down as essential in a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, 3rd August, 1748. Before that date many doubts had arisen concerning the validity of the stations already erected, because, no record being kept of the permission which should have been obtained, it was open to question whether such permission had ever been obtained. In order to prevent a repetition of such doubt and uncertainty, it was decreed that every permission should henceforth be given *in writing*. The following is the decree, which, although quoted already, it may be well from its importance to quote a second time:—

"Cum diversis non obstantibus regulis a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita ad varia explicanda dubia circum modum erigendi stationes non semel controversiæ ad ipsammet Sacram Congregationem delatae fuerint eadem Sacra Congregatio ad quascumque in futurum eliminandas in hac re difficultates, die 30 Julii, 1748, censuit praescribendum esse, quod in erigendis in posterum ejusmodi Stationibus, tam sacerdotis erigentis deputatio ac superioris localis consensus, quam *respectivi ordinarii*, vel *antistitis et parochi*, *necnon superiorum ecclesiae, monasterii, hospitalis et pii loci*, ubi ejusmodi erectio fieri contingeret, *deputatio, consensus et licentia*, ut praefertur, *in scriptis* et non aliter *expediri*, et quandocumque opus fuerit, *exhiberi debeant, sub poena nullitatis ipsiusmet erectionis ipso facto incurrendae.*"¹

These conditions are several times referred to in the decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences. For instance:—

"An in hujusmodi erectionibus, quae fiunt extra ambitum conventuum F.F. Ordinis S. Francisci, tum de observantia, quam

Reformatorium et Recollectorum, requiratur licentia ordinariorum, necnon parochorum, aliorumque respective superiorum consensus in scriptis ?

“ Resp. affirmative, et transmittantur decreta.”¹

Seven years previous to the rescript of the Congregation of Indulgences it was laid down in the Brief *Cum Tanta* of Benedict XIV. that the permission of the ordinary should be had *in writing*, but nothing more explicit was stated regarding the rest of the necessary permissions other than that they should be obtained. Now it is a settled question that all these things must be done *in writing*.

Permission, besides being in writing, must be given for each individual case. A general permission does not suffice, not even a permission general in the sense that it is given for a certain number of times. This is expressly decided in regard to the permission of the ordinary ; it is also true in reference to the permission of the parish priest, and of the superior of the place where the stations are to be erected. The decision was brought about by the action of several priests in France. They had obtained faculties from the Minister-General of the Franciscans to erect the stations in a given number of places, and they sent these faculties to their ordinaries for the requisite permission to use them. Permission was given, and in writing ; but in something like the following terms :—

“ Authentica recognovimus, et executioni mandari permitimus.”

A question was raised as to whether such general permission fulfilled the requirements of the law. Some held it did ; for it was the ordinary's permission, and it was given in writing. And these two were all that was required. Moreover, it was given in a sufficiently definite manner, since it was not altogether a general permission, but was given for a fixed number of times—the number which was fixed in the rescript of delegation by the Superior-General. Others took a different view of this condition. The aim of the law is to

¹ *Decr. Auth.* n. 194, ad 2, n. 294.

prevent the erecting of stations in too many places, and in places which are unsuitable. This had been so; and it is the duty of the ordinary to determine what is right in such a matter in the territory over which he has jurisdiction. In order to do this, it is necessary to have each case before him, and accordingly, it must be supposed that a law which was made to compass this end, does so. The matter was referred to the proper tribunal—the Congregation of Indulgences—and the second view was upheld. The following is the question proposed, and the answer given to it:—

“An consensus Ordinarii in scriptis requiratur sub poena nullitatis in singulis casibus pro unaquaque stationum erectione, vel sufficiat ut sit generico praestitus pro erigendis stationibus in certo numero ecclesiarum vel oratoriorum, sine specifica designatione loci?

“EE. P.P. auditis consultorum votis rescripserunt :

“Affirmative ad primam partem. Negative ad secundum.

“Et facta his omnibus relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni PP. XIII. in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Secretario die 21 Junii 1879, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus votum Sacrae Congregationis approbavit et sanavit praefatas erectiones cum generico consensu peractas.

“A. CARD. OREGLIA A S. STEPHANO, *Praef.*

“A PANICI, *Secret.*”

It is not, however, necessary that the documents giving permission to erect the stations should contain explicit permission : *implicit* permission suffices. Thus, if a parish priest *write* to his ordinary for permission to erect the stations, or for faculties of subdelegation to erect them, such a *written* petition contains the *implicit* consent of the parish priest, and is sufficient. Likewise, the subdelegation which the ordinary gives, and which is of necessity in writing, is sufficient consent to have the stations erected. It is *implicit* consent.

But is it necessary that the petition to the ordinary should be always in writing? It is, unquestionably, necessary when the petition is regarded as *implicit* consent of the petitioner, as in the case proposed in the last paragraph. It is then the consent of the parish priest, which, as we have seen, must be in writing. But, suppose *explicit* consent to erect the stations be given in a separate document, must the

petition be even then in writing? It would appear from a response of 25th Sept., 1841, that such is the case:—

“Apro validitate Viæ Crucis, et ad lucrandas indulgentias ipsi annexas, sit absolute necessarius processus verbalis a Episcopo, vel ab ejus vicario conficiendus, an sufficiat facultas a Sancta Sede per rescriptum obtenta.

“Sac. Congregatio die 25 Septembris, 1841, respondit:—

“Circa erectionem stationum Viæ Crucis, impetratis antea ab Apostolica Sede necessariis et opportunis facultatibus, omnia ac singula, quæ talem erectionem respiciunt *scripto fiant, tam nempe postulatio, quam erectionis ejusdem concessio*, quarum instrumentum in codicibus seu in actus Episcopatus remaneat, et testimonium saltem in codicibus parocciæ, seu loci, ubi fuerint erectæ præfatae stationes, inseratur.”¹

The question proposed manifestly regards what is required for the valid erection of the stations, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the answer deals with the question in the sense it was proposed. Moreover, we know that permission to erect the stations must be in writing, and in this answer the permission and the petition are put on an equal standing—

“Omnia et singula . . . scripto fiant *tam nempe postulatio, quam erectionis ejusdem concessio.*”

The petition, it is true, was not enumerated in previous decrees, among those things which should of necessity be made in writing, but this is the latest response we have in the matter, and it requires what previous decrees did not, viz., that the petition should be made *in writing*.

It must, however, be admitted that it is not clearly stated as requisite for the *valid* erecting of the stations; and it was usual in preceding decrees to state explicitly what was so required. The matter, therefore, does not appear to be certain; but, the strength of probability in the matter of indulgences will be seen later on. There is no doubt that this condition is required for the *licit* erecting of the stations.

There is a decree in the collection of Prinzivalli² according to which it is allowable *after* the erection of the stations

¹ Decr. Auth., n. 294.

² Prinz. CDLXX.

to supply the condition requiring *written* permission from the ordinary, the parish priest, and the superior of the place where the stations are to be erected. But this decree is not found in the Ratisbon collection, and must therefore be regarded as non-existent.¹

There may be other conditions required in the rescript of delegation. That depends on the will of the person who delegates. Such conditions must be carefully attended to. The conditions which are explained above, are required by the law which regulates the Way of the Cross.

It will then be a matter of considerable ease to have these conditions fulfilled. If it is a superior² of the Franciscans who is about to erect the stations, he has faculties *de jure ordinario*, and it is not necessary in writing to the ordinary for permission to erect the stations, to forward any document showing that the superior in question has the requisite faculties. It is only necessary for the ordinary to know that he is a superior in the Franciscan order. Then, should the ordinary consider it useful to have the stations erected in the place proposed, he will send his permission. It is usually given in something like the following form:—

“Concedimus, ut S. Viæ Crucis stationes erigantur in loco, de quo in precibus.”

“Datum N. hac die, etc.

“N. N.,
“*Episcopus N.*”

It is the most convenient and approved method that the parish priest and all others concerned give their written consent by signing their names under that of the bishop. It is also recommended to make a copy of the petition to the bishop, and to have it preserved by appending it to his written permission.

But if the Franciscan who is to erect the stations is not a superior, he must have *written* consent from a superior of his order for the erection of the stations. That written

¹ *Vid.* I. E. RECORD, Vol. X., No. 12 (December, 1889), p. 1088.

² Superiors in the Order are not only the Superiors-General and Provincials, but also Guardians and Presidents of convents or houses of the Order.

consent must be forwarded to the ordinary, that he might have the means at hand of satisfying himself as to the requisite faculties for erecting the Way of the Cross. Then the consent of the ordinary is given as in the preceding case.

When the person who is to erect the stations is not a Franciscan, his faculties are delegated or subdelegated. If he has delegated faculties from one of the Roman congregations, or from the Minister-General of the Franciscans, his rescript of delegation ought to be forwarded, together with the petition, to the bishop. Then it will be returned with the necessary consent, and one proceeds as in the previous cases.

One hypothesis remains, viz., when a person asks faculties from his ordinary to erect the stations. In this case, as we have seen, the rescript of subdelegation will contain the requisite implied consent to erect the stations, and if there is no separate document giving express consent, the parish priest, and all others concerned, may sign their names to the rescript of subdelegation.

We now come to the second class of conditions, viz., those which regard the material of the stations and their position. Fourteen crosses are required¹—it is to the crosses alone the indulgences are attached.²

“ *Utrum quando stationes Viae Crucis canonice erectae designantur per depictas imagines, indulgentiae dictae Viae Crucis sint annexae praedictis imaginibus an vero loco ipsi in quo collocantur?* ”

“ *Negative quoad utramque partem : etenim indulgentiae crucibus tantum sunt annexae, quae quidem solae sunt benedicendae, minime vero imaginibus.* ”

Hence, it follows, that the pictures may be removed, and new ones substituted, without losing the indulgences, provided the crosses are not removed. Half the crosses may not be removed, either simultaneously or successively.³ Less than half may, however, be removed.⁴

The crosses must of necessity be wooden ones⁵. They may, however, be ornamented with material of a different kind, but not to such an extent that they could be said not to be wooden.

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, 100, Monitum III.

² *Ibid.*, n. 261, et n. 270, ad 2.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 275.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 442, ad 1.

The pictures, therefore, are not essential for gaining the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, but custom has sanctioned their use, and their utility is apparent. The pictures should represent the same scenes of the passion as those at Jerusalem, and in this matter there should be no departure from what custom sanctions. For the same form of the stations should be retained which the Franciscans introduced *ad instar Stationum Montis Calvariae*.¹ Any departure from this usage is a departure from the spirit of the Church, and as such is highly reprehensible. There is a little distance required between the stations.² It is not determined what distance, but two extremes are excluded. It is not necessary that the same distance be kept between the stations as in Jerusalem,³ neither on the other hand does it suffice to have the distance so short that the Way of the Cross could be performed within a distance of a few yards.⁴

We have seen that the crosses alone are, for the valid erection of the stations to be blessed, but there is a form of blessing in the Roman Ritual for the pictures as well, and it is usually employed. The crosses, besides being blessed, must be fixed in their places. This is generally done by the person who erects the stations, and it is the more solemn way of erecting the Way of the Cross. It is not, however, necessary to do this. The crosses may be already fixed in their places, or they may be put there under the direction, and in the presence of the person who has the faculties to erect them.⁵ While blessing the crosses, he must be morally present in the places where the stations are to be erected.

Since the crosses are to be erected in a particular place, it is clear that the indulgences do not remain if the crosses be removed to a *different* place.

“ Si stationes Viae Crucis per cruces erectae a loco removeantur, ubi canonice erectae fuerint, et in *aliu*m transferantur, indulgentiae nec primo loco affixae remanent, nec cruces sequuntur, sed nova canonica erectio requiritur.”⁶

¹ Bened. XIII., *Inter Plurima*.

² *Decr. Auth.*, n. 194, ad 1.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 194, ad 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 311, ad. 1 et. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 270, ad 4.

If the stations be not removed to a *different* place, but differently arranged in the *same* place, the indulgences remain.

But what may be considered a *different* place is not always easily determined. In matters such as this some questions always remain doubtful. Some cases are clear, such as when the stations are removed from one church to another, or from one oratory to another in a different house. These are *different* places. It is not considered a *different* place if a new church be build almost on the same site as an old one, provided the new church has the same title as the old one.¹ But whether the indulgences remain if the stations be transferred from one oratory to another in the same house, while, for instance, the oratory in which they were originally erected is being repaired, I am not able to say. The answer of the Congregation of Indulgences in similar cases was—*in reliquis recurrent in casibus particularibus*.²

One case remains under this head, viz:—Whether a person who has the privilege of having the Way of the Cross erected in his house can, if he removes to a different house, erect the stations there without any new rescript. Since the privilege is a personal one, as in the case of oratories, it follows that the stations may be erected in his new residence in virtue of the rescript already obtained. This supposes there is no clause *clearly* limiting the faculties to the original place of residence. But it likewise follows that such a privilege lapses with the death of the person in whose favour it was granted.

The third class of conditions regards what is to be done *after* the erection of the stations. These conditions are clearly specified. The person who erects the stations must sign a document testifying to the due erection of the stations.

“Testimonium saltem in codicibus paroeciae seu loci, ubi fuerint erectae praefatae stationes, inseratur.”³

¹ *Deer. Auth.*, n. 323.

² *Ibid.*, n. 323.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 294.

This document may be of the following form:—

“Vigore facultatis mihi concessae,¹ ego N. N. Viam Crucis cum annexis indulgentiis erexi in loco ut supra in precibus juxta regulas a S. Indulgentiarum Congregatione praescriptas.

“In quorum fidem testimonium hoc mea manu subscripsi hac die, &c.

“N. N.”

Besides this testimony, the written permission of the ordinary, of the parish priest, and of the superior of the place where the stations are erected, should be preserved, and it is advisable to keep appended to these a copy of the written petition to the ordinary.

These conditions are not required for the valid erecting of the stations. They are to testify that the stations have been validly erected, but they are required so that it might be proved at any time that the Stations were erected according to the requirements of law, and the penalty of invalidation is incurred unless these documents are shown, whenever occasion requires it:—

“Quandocumque opus fuerit, exhiberi debeant, sub poena nullitatis ipsiusmet erectionis ipso facto incurrendae.”²

There is also a rescript which states that a record should be kept in the episcopal archives of the petitions received and the permissions granted in reference to the Way of the Cross. This rescript has been already quoted.³

But what is to be said if no record is kept, or only a faulty one? If, nevertheless, the stations have been canonically erected, the necessary documents ought be filled in by those who can testify to their due erection. If, on the other hand, it is certain that they have not been canonically erected, they must be erected *de novo*, or else a revalidation must be had. But should the matter remain doubtful, then

Vigore privilegii Apostolici Ordini Nostro benigne concessi, &c., if a Franciscan erects them.

² *Decr. Auth.*, n. 175, vid. supra p. 111.

³ Vid. supra p. 114.

it will be doubtful whether the indulgences are attached or not.

“Non valet usus probabilitatis in materia indulgentiarum, siquidem non probabilitas, sed veritas effectum producit.”¹

Ballerini says that some will easily deny this statement; for in matters which are within the power of the Church to supply, she always does so, as far as is required for the validity of an act, and indulgences are of that category. But this is not certain in the matter of indulgences, and accordingly we have no solid ground to rest on—we have no *certain* reflex principle—and we must conclude that there is only a probability, more or less, of gaining the indulgences in such circumstances. This view is borne out by the action of the Church in granting revalidations.

The most important of these revalidations was granted on 31st July, 1883. By it, all the stations which had been invalidly erected are revalidated. As it is an important rescript, I shall quote it:—

“BEATISSIME PATER,

“Fr. Bernardinus a Porto Romatino, totius Ordinis Minorum Minister Generalis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tue provolutus humiliter exponit, ex publicata in ephemeride, cui titulus: *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, instructione de Stationibus S. Viæ Crucis erigendis fuisse compertum, ejusmodi stationes non semel invalide erectas fuisse.

“Cum autem admodum difficile videatur, ut hujusmodi erectiones renouentur, hinc, ne fideles visitantes tales stationes invalide erectas indulgentiis a S. Sede concessis privati existant, humiliter supplicat orator, ut Sanctitas Tua Omnes S. Viæ Crucis Stationes hucusque invalide erectas convalidare ac ratas habere dignetur.

“Quam gratiam, &c.

“Vigore specialium facultatum a SSmo Dno. Nostro Leone Papa XIII. tributarum, Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis proposita defectus omnes, de quibus in supplici libello, benigne sanavit contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

“Datum Romæ ex Secretaria ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 31 Julii 1883.

“A. CARD. BELIO,

“FRANCISCUS DELLA VOLPE, *Secret.*”

¹ Gury, vol. ii, n. 1055, 11^a sent.

All stations, therefore, which were invalidly erected before 31st July, 1883, are now revalidated. The stations which have been erected since then are validly erected, if the person who erected them had authority to do so, and if he complied with every necessary condition. It is hoped that what has been said on these two questions will contribute towards the due fulfilment of what is necessary for the canonical erection of the Way of the Cross, and accordingly towards the gaining of the rich treasury of indulgences attached to that admirable and grace-giving devotion. And to this subject of the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, and to the Crucifix of the Way of the Cross, I hope to return.

J. CROWE.

ON THE PHYSICAL IDENTITY OF THE HUMAN BODY AFTER THE RESURRECTION.

THE connection between the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity and the future resurrection of the body is so intricate a one that to deny or doubt the one almost, necessarily carries with it a denial of the other. Alike in early and mediæval times, the heretics who refused to accept the doctrine of the Resurrection also rejected, either openly or covertly, the divinity of Jesus Christ. Saturninus and Basilides, Carpocrates and the Manichees, in the first ages of Christianity; the Waldenses and Albigenses in mediæval times; in modern days the countless bulk of Rationalists; all agree in asserting that this body of ours will not rise again from the dust, and that He who suffered upon the Cross was not literally and truly God.

In opposition to these false teachers the Church of Christ has ever taught that there will one day be a resurrection of all, good or bad, who have ever lived upon this earth, and means by resurrection the restoration or refashioning (*restitutio*) of the body which was destroyed by

death, and its renewed union with the soul. She teaches, moreover, that the very same body which dies will rise again ; that there is a physical identity between that mortal body which is laid in the grave and the immortal body which will reappear when this world's course is run, and that with the same parts and members, the same flesh and bones, with which the just are clothed on earth, they will reign for ever with Christ in Heaven. "Though after my death within my skin worms destroy this body," says holy Job, "yet in my flesh I shall see God."

This physical identity of the body after the resurrection is a doctrine which suggests various questions and involves serious difficulties. If the same body which is committed to the earth will rise again, in what form or shape will it come? Surely, not with the contagion of sickness and in the feebleness of old age? Surely not with all the defects and deficiencies which disfigure it here? What, again, will be the materials out of which it will be formed? Will they be exactly identical with those which were buried in the earth? If so, says the objector, we have the difficulty, not to say the absurdity, of supposing that there will be some portions of matter which belong to more bodies than one. To say nothing of the horrors of cannibalism, do not the bodies of men fertilize the ground? and must not the corn which waves over the battle-field contain many a particle which once belonged to those buried there, and which now will pass into the bodies of other men and become a part of their bone and fibre and muscle? How are we to suppose such portions to be supplied? If from the dust of the earth or by a new creation, then the bodies will not be the same. But yet they cannot belong at the same time to him in whom they were first formed and him who afterwards inherited them. Besides, what sort of a body will it be in which the just will be clothed? Will it be one in early youth, or strong manhood, or ripe old age? Will it be one palpable and solid, or one made, as it were, of shining air, in which the sense of touch will find no resistance?

These and many similar questions come crowding upon us, and it is necessary that we should, as far as is possible, form

some definite notions respecting them, that we may at the same time ourselves realize the resurrection of the body, and be able to give a reasonable answer to the objections of the materialist and the unbeliever.

But we must always remember that the resurrection is, if not a miracle, at least a mystery. "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed," says St. Paul. It is a mystery of which we can apprehend the fact, but we cannot comprehend the manner in which it will come to pass. We only know that He who first fashioned the body out of nothing can refashion it at His pleasure; that He can summon once more from the four quarters of the earth the material particles which once constituted it, and can reunite them in a body which will be the same, and yet how different. "It is sown in corruption; it shall rise in corruption. It is sown in dishonour; it shall rise in glory. It is sown in weakness; it shall rise in power. It is sown a natural body; it shall rise a spiritual body." (1 Cor. 15, 43, 44.)

We will speak first of the matter of which the body will be formed after the resurrection and then of the form or shape that it will assume. The principle which we have to keep before us is that it will be literally and truly the *same* body. "All men will rise," says the Creed of St. Athanasius, "with their own bodies." The Fourth Lateran¹ Council is still more explicit. All, both the wicked and the just, will rise again with their own bodies which they now wear. There must be a physical identity. We cannot give the name of resurrection to a change in which that which rises is not the same as that which has been laid low. Now, in order that a body may be the same, it must be formed of the same materials. Some theologians have asserted that it will be enough if the soul is the same after the resurrection, and if it is provided with a suitable body made of the dust of the earth, in which it may dwell and of which it will be the form, imparting to it its shape and its distinguishing qualities, so that the new body will resemble

¹ Conc. Lat. IV. cap. "Firmiter Omnes (tam reprobi quam electi) cum suis propriis resurgent corporalis quae nunc gestant."

the body which it inhabited on earth. But this is not sufficient to satisfy the condition of physical identity. The different material will constitute a different body. It is not enough that the form should be *the same* and the material *similar*. Form and matter alike must be the same, else the body will not be literally and truly the same.

But how is this possible, says the objector, if the same material particles have belonged to more human bodies than one? This objection, when we look into it, is a very foolish one, it is, as one writer says, an *objectiuncula* rather than an *objectio*—a very minute objection indeed. Identity does not mean an integral absolute identity in every minute particular. It means, by the common consent of men, a *substantial, general* identity. We should not say that we are not inhabiting the same house that we dwelt in a few weeks ago, because we have made some little alterations in it. We do not say that a garden is not the same, because we have dug up some flowers and planted others. We do not deny the identity of our own bodies with those which were ours a week ago, although, forsooth, many a change has taken place in their structure and substance. As long as the body which rises again contains substantially the same material elements as those which crumbled into dust, we should still, according to the universal custom of human language, call it the same, even though some portions of it may have to be supplied from elsewhere. There must, of necessity, be some change in the material of the body when it rises again: sometimes a limb has been lost, hand or foot has been cut off; old age has caused some integral parts of the body to crumble away. The bald head and the toothless jaws will not so remain at the resurrection; disease has filled the body with corruption, perhaps has eaten away bone or tissue, and its ravages must be obliterated in that body when it rises from the dead. The martyr or confessor of Christ has been cruelly mutilated, his tongue has been torn out from the roots, his eyes torn out, his ears cut off; that disfigured form which was laid in his holy tomb not only will not reappear in its imperfect and disfigured state, but will receive a fresh glory and brilliancy from the

fact of its mutilation. All will be supplied; yet the natural body will remain entirely, truly, really the same. We must remember, too, that whatever is lacking in the body at the resurrection, need not be supplied by any extraneous matter. The materials of our bodies are not confined to that which is laid in the grave, they are strewn in every locality where we have dwelt. In every breath we breathe, in every tear we drop, in every drop of blood we shed, in every function of life, some portion of the material of our bodies passes back to its mother earth. From our infancy we have been scattering them everywhere, in some form or other. Whenever we bathe our limbs, or comb our hair, whenever the honest sweat flows from our limbs, some portions of the matter composing them is given forth from the surface of our bodies and through the pores of our skin, and it is but reasonable to suppose that anything that is wanting will be supplied from those portions of matter which once were a portion of the body, and to which we may almost say that the body has a right, in order that its needs may be provided for. How foolish, then, is the objection that some particles of the bodies of men have passed into the bodies of those who lived after them! At most these formed but an infinitesimal portion of the body into which they passed. Even in the case of cannibalism it would be but one or two minute atoms which would be found at his death incorporated in the body of one who had partaken of the loathsome banquet. If there are in our bodies any tiny grains of matter which perchance may have rested at some time or other in the body of some former inhabitant of earth, it will be no more than such a portion as we give out with every breath, or as we cast aside when we shred our nails, or ply our limbs in healthful exercise—a portion, too, which may be supplied ten thousand times over from those materials which once formed portion of our bodies, though they passed away from us before our death.

The material of the body will remain thus the same—in the sense in which we use the word in ordinary language—that is to say, it will be the same substantially, but not in every single particle. It will not only be formed of the

dust of the earth, but of that dust which once constituted the matter of our bodies either at the moment of death, or at least at some period or other of their existence. Some philosophers have asserted that in this dust, which once was human, there remains a certain virtue or dignity which renders it, and it alone, appropriate matter for the bodies of those who have risen again. But such a notion seems to be without any solid foundation : it is the dispensation of God's providence, the arrangement of the Divine decree, which will be the only cause why the bodies of men will consist of the same materials of which they are fashioned now.

There is one other question on which we may pass a word, before passing on to the form or shape of the body after the resurrection. If our bodies are to be materially the same, will they be palpable to the touch as now or will they be spiritualized and etherealized, made, as it were, of the thin air, bright, living, shining phantoms? This latter opinion cannot be held by any Christian. It is in contradiction with our Lord's words to the Apostles who doubted the reality of the resurrection—"Handle me, and see—a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see me here." (*St. John*, 21-39.) It is on the opinion of one Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the days of St. Gregory the Great, who alludes to it in one of his writings, and says, that though the bodies of the just will be spiritual, by reason of the Divine power communicated to them, yet they will be palpable by the truth of their nature. We learn, however, that Eutychius renounced his false opinion before his death, for St. Gregory tells us that whenever he was visited during his last sickness by any who had been conscious of his former error, he used to take hold of the skin of his arm before them and say, I confess that in this flesh we all shall rise again.

II. We now turn to the form and appearance of the body after the resurrection. Here, too, there cannot be an exact correspondence between the moment of death and the moment of resurrection. It would be absurd to suppose that men will rise, in each little contrast, as they were at the time when soul and body were separated from each other. Will the poor, old man, scarce able to totter along under

the infirmities of old age, be still encompassed with all the miseries of senile weakness, will the skin still hang loosely upon his bones, the dim eyes still see but feebly, and the deaf ears scarcely perceive the sounds around him? Will the helpless cripple be a cripple still? Will the ungainly boor still appear in all his ungainliness? Will the poor sufferer, dying of consumption, have the same hectic colour, the same sunken cheeks, the same worn, pallid, anxious look? Everyone will acknowledge that there will be some change in all. What change this will be it is not so easy to imagine. He who first fashioned the body will refashion it so that every defect will have disappeared, and yet it will remain the same. It is sown in dishonour; it shall rise in glory. It is sown in weakness; it shall rise in power. Still we can form our own experience from some ideas of the wonderful transformation.

We sometimes, in the studio of some skilful artist, see the likeness of one whom we well know by sight. In the body our friend is far from attractive, the features are ill-formed, the expression a disagreeable one; there is no sort of comeliness in him. The thick lips, the ill-shaped nose, the small eyes and narrow forehead form an almost repulsive picture. But as we look on the canvas and see his portrait painted by that master hand, the change is miraculous. Our friend is there, and we cannot deny that it is wonderfully like him, but all the defects seem to have disappeared. The artist's genius has idealised him. The unattractive face has become positively handsome.

If human skill can work such a marvel as this, how much more the omnipotent hand of God. All that is beautiful in us will remain, nay, will shine with supernatural light; all that was ungainly in these bodies of ours will have disappeared; all that was painful and disagreeable and unseemly will be gone; brightness and symmetry and delicate beauty, and a supernatural attractiveness will take their place without in any way marring the likeness between the corruptible body which was sown in the earth and the incorruptible body which will rise again. "God will reform the body of our lowliness." (*Phil.* 3, 21.) Or we may look

at the matter in another way. We, most of us, know some one on earth in whose features there is not a trace of physical beauty. Forehead and nose, and mouth, and ear are, when we examine them in detail, moulded on no lines of beauty; they violate every rule of harmony. There is no proportion between them, they are all ill-formed and unsymmetrical. Yet, the face is an attractive one, in spite of the unattractiveness of the details. The expression is such a beautiful one, there shines through the eye such a tender compassion, such a depth of sympathy, such a fund of love and gentleness, that an object of genuine admiration is to us the man. The sweetness of the soul shines through the rest of the body that enshrouds him, and we forget the coarseness and roughness of the exterior by reason of the dazzling beauty of the soul that it contains. But in heaven the body will not only have lost all its imperfections, and will be in itself comely and glorious, but it will then no longer be a veil which hides the soul, but a sort of transparency through which the glory of the soul will manifest itself. St. Thomas has a beautiful illustration of this. He compares the body after the resurrection to a transparency of glass or crystal, through which and in which is seen the rich, bright colours or some luminous body within. The splendour of the shining body within reflects itself through the crystal case in which it dwells, imparting but its own brightness, and thus rendering it glorious to behold. So, too, the risen body will at the same time transmit and reflect the brilliancy of the redeemed soul within it.

But here another question suggests itself. What sort of body will be the glorified body after the resurrection; will it be the body of childhood, or of youth, or of manhood, or of ripe old age? On earth we are accustomed to associate various and incompatible types of beauty with the different periods of life. There is the unformed beauty of the infant, the sweet simplicity of childhood, the delicate grace of youth, the strong strength of manhood, the venerable dignity of old age. To us one of these seems to exclude the other. We should not admire an old man who had the external qualities of the child; a second childhood is not beautiful to

look upon. Nor should we find satisfaction in the child who had the appearance of age. But in Heaven it will not be so. There will be united in the bodies of the just all the respective graces of the different periods of life. In that man who died at four score years and ten, his mother will still see the laughing guilelessness of the child who danced and chuckled in her arms and loaded her with sweet caresses. The companions of his boyhood will still behold the innocent features of one whose very look told of the spotless soul within. The friends of his youth will admire the undiminished purity which made him reject and turn away from all that could lead to sin. His loving wife will look with joy on the undiminished manhood and strength of him whose every joy and sorrow she had shared on earth. His children will behold the gentle dignity of one who was at the same time their playmate and their friend, their counsellor and their guide. His grandchildren will see in him the venerable glory of those white hairs which they regarded with reverence on earth and which they will regard with a thousand-fold more reverence in Heaven. All will be contained in the body after the resurrection. Just as the manna had in itself every sort of delicious flavour, containing the taste at once of apple, peach, and pear, of plum, strawberry, and melon, and pine-apple and apricot, so the bodies of the just will bear in them a combination of every type of beauty that we witness upon earth. I do not say that this will be the case with those who died in childhood or early youth. On this point we have no ground for any sound opinion. Common belief expects, and not improbably, that the baptized infants and innocent children will still retain their childish bodies. But, at all events, those who are grown up, those who die in manhood or old age, will not lack any of the soft, delicate, graceful bloom which distinguished the comeliness of early life.

Our last thought respecting the resurrection body is one which has a very practical aspect. The beauty of the body in Heaven will depend upon the beauty of the soul. Every additional degree of virtue will make the soul more beautiful in the sight of God and the Holy Angels, and of all the redeemed

in Heaven. In the first place, everything that we have suffered in the body for the love of God will be a decoration to our body then. Just as the sacred wounds of our Divine Master will shine with ineffable brilliancy, so those who had undergone pain or torture, or mutilation, or martyrdom for Him, will, in their own degree, share this brilliancy. With what a soft, delicate brilliancy, the bruised limbs of St. Stephen will shine in Heaven? On the bleeding back of St. Paul, not one of those forty stripes will have lost its mark of beauty. The body of St. Bartholomew, from which all the skin was barbarously torn off, will be bathed in glory as its reward. Every hour of torment will be recompensed in kind, so that those around will be able to see in the varied beauties of the bodies of the saints, and confessors, and martyrs, what were the special mode of sufferings which each of them endured. Those who had voluntarily inflicted pain on their bodies, who have scorned delights and lived laborious days for the love of their crucified Lord, will then have compensation for each pang of suffering, for each act of self-denial, which will make them forget and despise, as a contemptible trifle, all that they submitted to on earth.

Besides this, each virtue of the soul will manifest itself in the body. Not only will the glorious soul, shining through the transparency of the body, be more glorious by reason of every good thought, every holy aspiration, every struggle against evil desires and impure imaginations, but it will also add something, in reward for each, to the beauty of the body itself. So, too, those virtues which regard others will have some effect upon the body. He who has helped to save others from sin will not only hear them singing their grateful praises of him for all eternity, not only will rejoice with joy unspeakable at the glory done to God and at the knowledge of their eternal happiness, but his charity will crown him with a share of the Divine beauty of Him who came to seek and to save the lost. He who has built a church or endowed schools, will not only contemplate with exultation the good they have done, not only will receive the tribute of rejoicing gratitude from all who thereby have been saved from hell, and raised to a higher place in Heaven,

but there will be hung around his neck a jewel commemorating his generous endowment, or his liberal alms, by which a fresh house of God was raised to His glory and for the good of man. No sort of virtue, whatever it may be, will be without its bodily reward, manifested to all the just by some special traits in the body of him who performed it. He, therefore, who truly loves his body will not be so short-sighted as to sacrifice its eternal interests in order to afford it a temporary gratification. Those who indulge their bodies will receive no thanks from those bodies in the end. Just as we sometimes see a pampered child, who has been petted and spoiled by a selfish and foolish mother, will, in after life, turn round and almost curse his mother for the misguided folly with which she yielded to his every whim, and by her culpable neglect allowed him to entangle himself in vice and sin; so one day the pampered body will turn round and curse the soul which dwelt in it, and will inflict a cruel vengeance on one who ought to have been its master, and instead of that was its slave. On the other hand, that body which the soul, like a prudent and wise father, has checked and controlled, and corrected and chastised, will one day offer its grateful thanks to its benefactor, and will promote his happiness for ever.

Preachers sometimes tell us that we ought to treat the body as our enemy. This is not true; it should be treated with the true friendship of one who desires to make it happy by forcing it to minister to the soul. We should, as far as we can, ignore the body, except as the servant of the soul, and able to promote its interests. The perfection of a well-dressed woman is that we do not notice her dress at all, that it simply serves to set off her beauty. Just as there is something vulgar in a dress which calls us to admire the brightness of its materials, or the costliness of its materials; so the body ought simply to be used to set off the beauty of the soul, and he who attends the body for its own sake, makes the same fatal mistake as one whose dress calls our attention to the dress and not to her who is clothed in it. The true interest of the body is, therefore, to ignore it. The only way to render it beautiful for ever is by denying it whatever is

contrary to the interests of the soul. Christ will reform the body of our lowliness, and make it like to His divine body, just in proportion as the renewed soul is like to His. Our Blessed Lady will have the most beautiful body in Heaven, because her soul is most closely conformed to the soul of her Divine Son. If men love their bodies, and are anxious to do the best they can for them, they have only to copy Him who is the perfect wisdom. He loved His sacred body ten thousand times more than any inhabitant of earth ever loved the body which clothes his soul. He had for it so intense an affection that He determined to exalt it to the right hand of God in Heaven, and to make it the object of the same adoration that is offered to God Himself. In order to promote its interests, and win for it this position and honour, He subjected it to treatment so cruel that none but a God could have borne it, and even He had to exert the power of His Divinity to enable His body to endure to the end. In return for this, God not only gave Him a name above every name, but a body, the beauty of which will hold entranced a seraph's gaze to all eternity. Here is a legitimate object for the ambition of those who cherish the thought of personal comeliness. The only means of obtaining a beauty, which will never fade, is to follow in His sacred footsteps, to suffer for Him and with Him on earth; for, if we are made like to Him in the likeness of His death, we shall also be made like to Him in the glory of his resurrection.

R. F. CLARKE.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE LAND.

MR HENRY GEORGE has been again upon us, and with him the millennium has come. The landlords have all disappeared: not the big ones only, who drew ten thousand a year from their lands, but the small ones, who drew little or nothing. Not a peasant proprietor is to be seen; not a "middle man." Like the morning mist before the rising sun,

all the owners of land have melted away in presence of the new light shed upon the earth by the American. All have fallen down into a common grave, and if they rise again they will have neither ancestral parchments, nor title-deeds in their hands.

And the lands they held, or occupied, how changed are they! The old demesnes are no longer to be seen. Their surrounding walls have crumbled, and the *débris* has been removed. The mansions, which stood in their midst, are patchy and tottering. Their day has evidently gone by. They look weird and weary of existence, and would fain follow their former owners to obscurity, for the public eye is now too much for them.

A race of men, peculiar looking in such a position, have squatted here and there over these gardens of pleasure, in trim and well-built cottages. These are the superfluous labourers of the great cities, who, by a touch of Henry George's magic wand, have been transformed into farmers. They are quaint enough in their city costumes, which some of them have not had time to change, and in their city ways which have not prepared them for the pike or plough. The hod-man is there, and the walking placard man, the corner-boy, and the poor deserving "out of work;" and they are all seated under their own fig-trees, in the open air, far from the crowded alley, or the suffocating city lodging.

The city is the better of their departure, if the country has gained by their advent. The superfluous urban population has been reduced, if not removed altogether. London, Birmingham and Dublin have little more than the number of working hands they require. There is no squalidness in the city, while the area of industry is much enlarged in the country. And over city and country alike a fostering government is watching, with the eye of a fond parent, ready to distribute nuts and crackers to her children, when they exhibit the slightest symptom of hunger.

A set of men whose faces were, in the past, familiar enough, are not seen in this happy picture. There is no rent-warner, eves-dropping about the homes of these happy

agriculturists. The gauger is a reminiscence—a creature of romance associated with the Kerry mountains, or the bogs of Connemara. A man can now drink his cup of tea for next to nothing, and buy his pound of coffee, without chicory, for fourpence. Even the luxuries of life are within the reach of every industrious man.

Need I say that the *ideal* state of agricultural life which I have traced is presumed to be the result of the adoption in the British empire of Mr. Henry George's sympathetic theory of "land for the people," or the "nationalization of the land of the Three Kingdoms"—"*Deus hoc otium fecit.*"

Of Mr. George's ability there can be no question. Of his adroitness in laying down premises, and drawing conclusions from them, there can be no doubt. His information is drawn from many sources. The most profound political economists are at his fingers' ends, as well as the liveliest of romance, and the gayest of travel-writers. He is one of those ubiquitous Americans who is at home in an Irish cabin, in the wigwam of a prairie Indian, as in the pointed cottage of a Norway peasant, or the flat-roofed house of a Kurdish chieftain. A writer of great power in illustrating and groping, he never fails to carry his readers agreeably along, even when his subject is dry and profound. Nor can we refuse to give him credit for his gropings after the happiness of the outcasts of society, while we are free to admit that, though his doctrines are eminently revolutionary, he will not force them on the world in the train of outrage or even illegality.

His theory may be summarized in a few words. He will have no private property in land. He wants the land, he says, "for the people: not for some, but for all." "The land has been usurped by the landlords. The landlords, one and all, must give it up. There must be no property in land apart from labour and industry." Still the reformer has some compassion for those who are to be dispossessed. He will not put them out on the road-side at once. But, if he will not take them off the land, he will take the land from under them, and he will leave them standing, like the glass of water from under which a card has been removed by a dexterous stroke of the fist.

“By all means,” he says, “let the landowners remain as they are for the present. We will get rid of them bye-and-bye, by throwing all the taxation of the country on their land incomes.” “I do not propose to take anything from anyone. What I do propose is an improved method of taxation.” The state is, in the system of the American, ultimately to become the sole and universal landlord; but with the obligation of expending the rents received from the land cultivators in the payment of import, state, and other taxes, and thereby relieving and benefiting every class in the empire. The system provides for the relief of congestion by distributing the idle hands of the great cities as cultivators over the parks and preserves of the landowners, and is presumed to work so evenly and beneficially as, to use the words of its author, “to enable nations to progress in material prosperity without a corresponding increase of individual poverty.”

The land system by Mr. Henry George is supposed to have the charm of novelty by himself and his followers, and that it is, in the main, a new system cannot be denied by his bitterest opponents. Still it must be said that systems of holding land by a tenure somewhat akin to that of his cultivators, have been, from time to time, cropping up in the history of the past. Abraham and Lot had a sort of communistic right to the fertile lands about the Jordan at first. They disagreed about the management of this common property, divided the country, and each of them took a share which he called his own. A community of goods, if not of lands, was adopted by certain fervent converts in Jerusalem and Alexandria in primitive Christian times. The arrangement was scarcely made, when the cupidity of individuals destroyed it. In the tribal system, as it existed long ago in Ireland and elsewhere, we discover a settlement, which is still more like that which this reformer would introduce. It consisted in this:—That the lands belonged to the tribesmen, and that even the chieftain of the tribe was not an owner in perpetuity, nor by any title similar to fee-simple. But who will now say that the tribal system was a happy one? Men living under it may have had enough to eat and drink, but, as they were unable to rise above a common level, their mental

powers remained undeveloped, and ultimately a state of society which did not distinguish the heaven-gifted man from the dolt, was necessarily displaced by another which gave to some position, rank, riches, even land, while leaving others in the place, to which inertness or stupidity or ill-luck had consigned them.

But, perhaps, no system of land nationalization that has previously existed, so nearly resembled the "land for the people," of the transatlantic reformer, as that which was devised by the Jesuits for the Indians of Upper California, before the fall of that country under the dominion of the United States. Wild and heretofore migratory hunters and warriors were located and formed into small states by religious and semi-political "padres," who constituted themselves the heads of these communities, and governed them in the interest of all the members alike. There was no private property in land, nor was cupidity encouraged by individual hoarding. All that was made by flocks or agriculture was put into a common stock, from which every family received what it required—food, raiment, and the other necessities of life. The experiment, so far as it went, was eminently successful. Population increased; cattle multiplied; sheep grew into flocks of enormous magnitude; cereal crops gave an immense return; families were comfortable and happy. Here, if anywhere on this globe of ours, was seen the successful issue of a land nationalization scheme. Yet the government of that great country, of which Mr. George is a distinguished native, was not attracted by the picture presented by these Californian mission settlements. Objections were made to them on the grounds that they brought into existence a community of dependent, child-like innocents, but not of energetic, advancing men. They were condemned by the state as unsuited to modern wants and aspirations. The "padres" were removed from their patriarchal position, and a form of society devised with infinite skill by some of the best and ablest men of their age, fell at once to pieces, and was never resuscitated.

There are, however, differences—striking differences—between Mr. George's scheme and all of those we have been

reviewing. Ancient plans of land nationalization arose quite naturally from the position of primitive communities. Men knew no better than to put their wares into a common stock, and live upon the proceeds. They were the devices of children. No one in these ancient communities cared to be higher than his neighbour, or richer, and every member was well contented if his daily wants were provided for. There were no wealthy classes in these old world tribes to fire the agriculturists with a longing for good things. In truth, there was no circulating representative of food and drink and raiment to be grasped and hoarded. Minds were as quiet as stalwart arms, and no one, in these old co-operative communities, felt a want of an opportunity to rise in the world.

We should not, therefore, authoritatively condemn the Georgean plan on the principle that it has been often tried and failed. If modern nations were composed of agriculturists exclusively, we might be justified in coming to such a conclusion. But our present civilised communities include workers at the loom, at the coal seam, at the potters' clay, in the smelting forge, as well as on the soil, and over these, the capitalists who profit by their labour; and hence the introduction of a scheme of land nationalization for the benefit of all these classes would not form a society like the Irish tribe, or the mission settlement of the Jesuits in Upper California.

Still the comparison of one to the other is not without significance. And Mr. Henry George may be reasonably asked to tell us why it is that "land for the people" has been heretofore found among primitive peoples only, is seen in the infancy of society alone, is a garment thrown over the needy and hard-working by feeble communities on their onward and upward march, but abandoned and thrown aside, in every case, as the nation attains to manhood. Can that be a beneficial system which up to this time, when once abandoned, has never been resumed by any empire, kingdom, or radical republic in any part of the civilised world?

The friends of Mr. Henry George, at this side of the Atlantic, regard his system as eminently progressive. From the position they assign to land nationalization, in comparing it to tenure by lease or settlement, or even to a peasant

proprietary scheme, they evidently look upon it as the most advanced, if not the final condition of popular emancipation. But there are some unprejudiced social economists who condemn nationalization as a reactionary move, if not a return to old and long exploded autocracy.

In early forms of government, as far as we can trace them, the ruling power, whether king or council, was absolute; and under them neither courtier nor plebeian could liberate himself from a strong hand that held him down. The restraint became unbearable, and, as time went on, combinations were formed, first among the nobility, and later among the populace, for the purpose of curtailing the power of the despot. In England the barons rose in arms, and wrested certain concessions from the king; and subsequently the populace awoke to a sense of its power, and, in its might, demanded and obtained from the king and nobility exemptions and rights; and it is on the ruins of absolutism and excessive privilege that modern society, in these countries, has been formed.

Now, Mr. Henry George does not travel on the line of popular emancipation: for while he is held up as the people's advocate, the terror of the aristocracy, the leveller of the barriers that divide class from class, he would, if his system was adopted in the British Isles, throw all power again into the hands of the government, and give it the absolute disposal of the subsistence, liberties and lives of every class in the community. This is undoubtedly a strong affirmation; yet, I believe, that we need not go very deeply into the Georgean scheme to find ample grounds on which to justify it.

The government will be the universal landlord when the Georgean millennium comes. Therefore all the cultivators of the soil will be immediately dependent on the government. The government will be the benefactor of all the non-cultivating classes, in as much as it will pay their taxes by an assessment made on the occupiers of the soil. Farmers, traders, manufacturers and labourers will recline on the bosom of the government, and draw therefrom nutriment and strength. What a source of governmental power must this

dependence be ! What an engine of oppression may it become ! I will be told that the system will provide a peculiarly mild and amiable administration, a governing body without selfishness, a tender nurse, that will have one object only in view--namely, the health and well-being of her children. This disinterested government will have no desire to perpetuate its tenure of office. Therefore it will ask for no political support from its dependants ! It will have no followers to provide for ; therefore no necessity for increasing the public purse ! It will incur no expenses, save those of administration, and they will be moderate and fixed ! There will be no occasion for raising rents, as there will be no speculations, no annexations, no wars, foreign or domestic, involving uncommon expenditure.

But, is such a government possible ? Does it fall within the range of our experience or observation ? Our very idea of government, derived from history past and present, is of an expensive engine of state, with relatives that must be fed, with supporters that must be rewarded, with opponents that must be crushed, with wars that must be waged, with taxes that may increase, with a budget that must vary, and with a standing and menacing debt that must be provided for under pain of dishonour and national bankruptcy.

Put all the landholders of the country permanently into the hands of such a government, and you make them its political slaves. Make this government the cess-gatherer and the tax-payer of all the other classes in the community, and you make them its obsequious and unemancipated adherents.

It will be in vain for the American to plead that in his system the government will not be strictly the landlord of the cultivators and occupiers of the soil, but the imposer and collector of a land tax. As well might the feudal landlord of the middle ages, while crushing his tenants with a poll (personal) tax, excuse himself from the charge of exaction and tyranny on the ground that he did not raise the rents.

The privilege of manipulating a land tax of enormous magnitude, the necessity, in this system, of making it stand for excise and custom duties, local and county, as well as

national cesses, would give to the administration a preponderance which, while it may, like an irresponsible landlord system, ruin the industrious sons of the soil, must necessarily deprive them of that manly independence in political life, which is the cherished heirloom of British subjects, gained for them by their ancestors through long years of agitation and sacrifice.

Mr. Henry George supports his advocacy of his pet plan for the relief of humanity by an argument drawn from S. Scripture, which, from the assiduity with which he repeats it, must appear to him conclusive and unanswerable. He couches it in the following enthymeme:—"My view on the land question is this: Who made the land? There can be but one answer—the Great Creator God. Whom did He make it for? He made it for the children of men—not some, but all. Therefore the right of men to the land of the country in which they are born, must be equal and inalienable. That right could not be given away or sold. One generation could not give away that which belonged equally to the next generation."

This argument, which has more of the platform than of the study-hall about it, is both inaccurate and misleading. To say that men have an equal right to the soil of the country in which they were born, because the Almighty gave dominion over the earth, as well as over animals, birds, and fishes to Adam, and presumably to his descendants, is a strained and curious deduction. There is nothing in this donation, as we read it, in the first chapter of *Genesis*, of a definitive character. Man is, by the Divine permission, to take the earth and use it, in any legitimate way he thinks fit, for his support. The donation is not accompanied with any conditions, such as dividing the land into small slices for individuals, or larger parcels for families, clans, or nations. There is no injunction to keep all men closely connected with the soil, and no prohibition against arrangements that would put many members of the community off the soil, and allow them to receive its bountiful support mediately and through other hands.

The only ground on which Henry George could possibly

found an argument in favour of nationalization on the gift of the earth to man, would be the assumption that, under every land system hitherto in operation, men have been, for the most part, deprived of their earthly inheritance, and have not been supported by the soil. But who does not see that this is a mistake, and a thinly-veiled fallacy? Have the majority been subsisting on air suction? Have they been exclusively confined, as regards sustenance, to the birds of the air or the fishes of the sea? Has corn been playing no part in the great game of human support? All men have been receiving of the earth; some a little, some a great deal. Some have feasted sumptuously on earthly products; others, plainly and poorly. But every man that has lived on the surface of this terrestrial globe, from the days of Adam, has subsisted on the fruits of the earth coming to him mediately, if not immediately; and to the end of time, under any and every land system that may be adopted, he must depend upon the same source for the ultimate supply of his wants.

We freely admit that there has been among the children of Adam much selfishness in respect to the allotment of the land; that there has been much injustice in the appropriation of the soil of the world, and that reforms in land holding and owning have been loudly called for. But that land reformers should quote an altogether general gift of the earth to man, as favouring a plan of land settlement devised six thousand years after that donation was made, is a singular error of judgment.

We are in favour of the establishment, in Ireland, of a peasant and yeoman proprietary, as an instrument for a far-reaching distribution of the soil's teeming wealth among all classes of the community; but we should be slow, indeed, to infer the necessity of such a system from the primitive donation of the earth to the first representatives of the human race. We are not aware that the advocates of a reformed and legally restrained landlord and tenant system have made such an inference from such a premise for their end, though they have painted attractive pictures of model landlords taking from farmers and giving to domestic servants, outdoor labourers, gardeners, gamekeepers, stable hands, trades-

men, shopkeepers, and all classes, and so distributing, on the largest scale, the food and drink that the earth supplies. If there be any inference to be deduced from this Divine gift it must be, like the gift itself, of a generic and not of a specific character. It might be just to say, as God has given the earth to the human race, rulers and governments are bound to see that men do not starve, that the soil should not be too much locked up, and that the occupations of industry and the means of livelihood are put within the reach of individuals composing the community. This would be even, perhaps, a strained deduction from such premises: but forced or natural, it would be the strongest that should be drawn, or that the circumstances would, in any way, warrant.

Though Mr. George's enthymeme may claim the privilege of looseness so often allowed to platform arguments, it is, even under this aspect, in excess of all that can be tolerated. The validity of its conclusion depends on the truth or admission of its suppressed minor proposition. And this minor proposition, "God could not make the earth for all men, unless men had equal rights to the land of the country in which they were born," contains the point in dispute between him and his opponents, and, as far as he is concerned, the "*quod est demonstrandum*."

The plea for nationalization is propped up by axioms as well as arguments; and, of the former, none is presumed to be more probative and self-evident than the now celebrated saying that "there is no property in land apart from labour and industry."

If land separated from labour and industry has no value, it follows, as a consequence, that those who are named land-owners have been really living on the industry of others, while professedly supporting themselves on the proceeds of the soil; it follows also that the individual who is known as a landed proprietor is an anomaly and a mistake, and that there can be no injustice in removing him from the false position he has occupied.

It is a fine pregnant sentence in the mouth of a leveller, this "no property in land apart from labour and industry." But one feels tempted to inquire if the socialist, who uses it,

will accept its converse, and admit that "there is no value or property in labour and industry without land." To us it appears that there is quite as much of the axiom in the latter sentence as in the former; for if the land can produce nothing without the application of labour and industry, labour and industry are valueless, unless they have the land or something derived from the land to work upon. There is no vacuum into which the labourer can precipitate himself; and, if there was, he could not work these profitably. Everything within his reach is the land or of the land; and if we conceive him occupied in air condensation or some other atmospheric task, he must work from the land, or, if above it, from some floating or flying machine, the materials of which the land alone can supply.

We will, for the sake of contrast and argument, accept the socialistic view of the value of land apart from labour, on condition that our estimate of the value of labour, apart from land, with its consequence, be admitted. I say pointedly—*with its consequence*—for the result of the admission of our axiom will be a more revolutionary state of things than that which follows from the socialists' *eureka*.

If the landowner must give up his land because it is valueless without labour and industry, the labourer and artisan should throw their wares free and without cost on the market; for, in their case, too, a great mistake has been made. They have been paid for their work as if it was an independent marketable commodity, and no account has been taken of the value it derived from the land. They, too, have been exacting money under false pretences, and for the future they must make, for the public good, a sacrifice as great as that which the landowners are called upon to undergo in the same interest. This certainly looks very like what logicians name a "*reductio ad absurdum*;" but we are not responsible for it. Rather should it be attributed to those who, in the interest of a foregone conclusion, have not scrupled to lay down as an incontestable axiom—a purely indefensible fallacy.

If from its consequences we turn our attention to the substance of the axiom we are examining, with a view to

test its intrinsic value, we will find, on close examination, that it is neither accurate nor wholly true. There is a certain amount of value in land generally apart from labour and industry. Land, for the most part, will produce grasses and herbs spontaneously, and, in many cases, flowers and fruits, and nutritious esculents as well. These products have each its special value, and hence it cannot be said, with truth, that there is no property in the soil that produces them. Moreover there is property in land, in its *capability* of being worked and made productive, though, without labour and industry, this capability cannot be put into action. The *capability* of being made to pay is a something valuable, even when it lies in a dormant state. I may illustrate this by an example:—Hair and other perfectly indigestible commodities are, in their used and unused state, valueless as human food. But will anyone say that corn and wine, which are digestible materials, and which are obviously of high nutritious repute when used—are, in their unused state, of no more value as regards human sustenance than hair? Does not the *capability* they possess, of being converted into flesh and blood, give them a present value independently of their future destination? So it is with land. Worked and unworked it is valuable: there is a property in it, and so conscious are men generally of this, that, if put into the market, it will be bought for the *potentia* it possesses of responding to the action of labour.

The “*posse*” and the “*esse*” of the schools represent states of the same subject; yet each has a distinct appreciable value. And as it cannot be said that the power of earning (the “*posse*”) by the use of one’s strong arms, is not, in itself, a property, even when these arms are idly folded on the breast, so it should not be said that there is no property in land, before the application of the spade or the plough has stirred into life its sleeping property of fertility.

The system of land nationalization, as propounded by Mr. Henry George, has many advocates in the United States and Great Britain; and it appears to gain in popularity among a certain section of the Irish people. Consequently it cannot be considered premature to submit the scheme to crucial

and far-reaching tests, or to point out what appear to be its radical defects and shortcomings.

Others, with larger information on the subject, and more time at their disposal, may combat the gist and arguments of Mr. George's large work on Progress and Poverty. Ours has been a less ambitious rôle ; and we have not gone outside his published lectures to search for weak points in his system, and weaker arguments by which he has sought to advance it.

In these days of political surprises, it is quite on the cards that the socialist may, at any moment, push his platform in among the masses of the labouring population of these islands ; and when his views will have been expanded before them, and his humanitarian aims put in their most attractive form, by men of position and ability, who can say that his will not become the popular view also of a final settlement of the land question ? And if he should succeed in persuading the distressed that he has come as an apostle to relieve distress and the heavily taxed, that he will abolish taxation and the idly-disposed, that all are to be supported from the land, then will he have on his side the surging, seething crowd of unemployed labourers, hungry idlers, reckless tramps, greedy loungers, and badly-off cess-payers, while the sympathies of many worthy but struggling families will be with him, not to speak of the revolutionary press that will favour him, or of the socialists of every clime that will back him up.

Then will it be late to endeavour to stem the advancing tide of revolution. Then will it be idle for an opponent to plead that he has on his side the landowners, great and small, that he has, in favour of his views, that large class of all ranks, that abstains from agitation, fears revolution, and is satisfied with safe and gradual reforms. It will be vain for him to urge that he is as much interested in the general prosperity of the country and the happiness of all ranks of the people as the nationalizers or any other class. The awakened, greedy crowd will not believe him. They will call him a landlords' advocate, an enemy of the working man, and they will shout loudly ; he has no following, until

he begins to doubt if all the people, under the upper ten, have not gone over to the revolution.

So it would appear that it is not inopportune at present to shiver a lance with the nationalization reformer, and to proclaim that his system is objectionable on many grounds, and notably because (1st), it would enslave all classes to the government; because (2nd), it is a return to the family system, which is the elementary state of society, and which has been everywhere abandoned except among primitive races; because (3rd), its *principia* are uncertain, if not unsound; because (4th), it is not sustained by any Scriptural argument, and, I will add (5th), because it provides only a temporary relief for congestion.

The object of nationalization, as claimed by its greatest advocate, is to purify the moral and social atmosphere that surrounds the working man, and to enable nations to progress without an increase of poverty. No objects can be more praiseworthy; but will they be attained by nationalization?

If population continued stationary, and if the surplus hands of towns and cities could be put upon the land to cultivate it, then would the object of this class of land reformers be attained. But has population ever yet remained stationary? Has it not grown with prosperity, diminished with adversity? Has it ever been possible, consistently with sound morals, to say to the children of men:—So far you shall increase and no farther?

Where there is plenty of employment for the working classes, there is an increase of wealth. Where there is an increase of wealth, there is an increase of population. Where there is an increase of population, the chance of employment for the individual diminishes. Where individual employment decreases, poverty sets in and prevails.

It is preposterous to think of limiting the number of working hands in London, Manchester, or Glasgow, or even in such comparatively quiet places as Dublin, Limerick, or Wexford. Clear out the slums of London, and they will soon begin to fill up again, as disappointed men, and idle men, and vicious men seek a place to hide themselves, from which they can solicit and beg and thief from the wealthy and

industrious classes. Two sources will always pour in streams of men on great communities—one the too rapid increase of population arising from prosperity; the other, the spirit of migration which is developed by disappointment and adversity.

Every effort should be made to ameliorate the condition of the working man. Nor are we blind to the necessity that exists of devising plans for the prevention of the physical and moral mischief that arises from overcrowding; but we cannot admit the necessity for destroying modern society, and obliterating the land marks of ages, for the purpose of opening the way to a system which, so far as we can see, can only end in wrecking popular aspirations on the rocks and shoals of anarchy.

H. E. DENNEHY.

ST. PATRICK'S WORK PAST AND PRESENT.—II.

PERHAPS the reader has had enough of Mr. Froude. Prosecutors, as a rule, find it easy to be at once brief in their proofs, and comprehensive in their indictments. It is time to begin the case for the accused, although the mind revolts at the thought that it should be necessary to answer such accusations; and strange to say the first witness that appears is Mr. Froude himself. This prolific writer has taken up the subject of Ireland at intervals during the last twenty years. He has certainly run through her history, as is evident from the labour it has cost Mr. Lecky to refute him; but when we set his pronouncements at different periods one against the other, we are fain to ask, is Mr. Froude really in earnest? Up to September, 1880, the Irish Celts, in the many coloured pages of Mr. Froude are the same unredcemed monsters, in the past as well as the present, but at this date he breaks out in the following strain:—

“The Irish people are said to be unfit for freedom—of course they are, but it is we who have unfitted them. It is our bitterest reproach that we have made the name of Irishmen a world's

byword. There is no reason in the nature of things why Irishmen, whenever they are spoken of, should suggest, the ideas of idleness and turbulence. The Celts of Ireland, before the Teutonic nations meddled with them, were not a great people; they had built no cities, &c. . . . They quarrelled and fought; war was their glory, and the killing of enemies the single theme of their bard's triumphal songs. But contemporary nations were not very far in advance of them. English life in those times has been described by high authority as the scuffling of kites and crows; before Charlemagne, France and Germany and Italy were but stages on which each summer brought its scene of battlefields. The Irish were no worse than their neighbours, and they had the germs of a civilisation of a peculiarly interesting kind. Their laws, however afterwards corrupted, were humane and equitable as they came from the first Brehons. They became Christians sooner than the Saxons. There were schools of learning among them, where students gathered from all parts of Europe; and Irish missionaries carried the Gospel into Scotland and Germany. Their literature speaks for itself; the ancient Irish hymns and songs compare not unfavourably with the *Edda*; their Latin hagiology, their lives of St. Patrick, and St. Bride, and St. Colomb, contain, amidst many extravagances, genuine and admirable human traits of manner and character.

Again of Ireland in the last century, he writes:—

“Excellent schools were established, where brilliantly-gifted men were trained to do honour to their native land. Strike the Anglo-Irish names from the rolls of fame in the last century, and you lose our foremost statesmen, scholars, soldiers, artists, lawyers, poets, men of letters.”¹

Such were Mr. Froude's opinions in 1880, three years subsequent to the appearance of his *English in Ireland*. Then, in 1884, after an interval of four years, the *English in Ireland* again makes its appearance in a new edition, and in 1889 is born the loathsome *Romance* of which I have given an analysis. I repeat, either Mr. Froude is making sport with English prejudice, or else he is himself subject to intermittent attacks of that anti-Irish insanity so graphically described by Sydney Smith. “The moment the very name of Ireland is mentioned,” says the Canon of St. Paul's, “the English seem to bid adieu to common feeling, common prudence, and common sense.”²

¹ *Ireland*, by J. A. Froude, “Nineteenth Century,” September, 1880, pp. 342, 358.

² *Works*, Vol. III., p. 291.

Here, then, we have the only "scientific" historical antagonist of Ireland, and his statements at different periods are so irreconcilable, that we have two authorities instead of one, in such manifest contradiction, that were Mr. Froude capable of a calm survey even of his own work, the writer of 1887-1889, if I may be allowed the simile, could not possibly look the writer of 1880 in the face without laughing. The mental equilibrium of the author of the *Nemesis of Faith* is evidently disturbed. He seems to be in terror of the Church: tormented by that power which once nearly subdued him. In 1877 he writes: "From a combination of causes—some creditable to them, some other than creditable—the Irish Celts possess on their own soil a power greater than any other known family of mankind of assimilating those who venture among them to their own image." Here it is plain that he does not fear "assimilation" to that "roll of statesmen, scholars, soldiers, &c., whom he hails as "foremost" in the empire: it is the dread fascination of the Irish Catholic Celt which appals him; like the pagan in Callista who cries out "No one's safe; any one may be a Christian; it is an epidemic. Great Jove! I may be a Christian before I know where I am."

Mr. Froude is right when he says, that the Irish Celts exceed all other nations in their power of assimilating strangers. It is historically true. Danes, Normans, Elizabethan and Cromwellian Settlers, and German Palatines have all become *Hibernis Hiberniores*; and yet, humanly speaking, the odds were always on the side of the strangers, and that in an ever increasing ratio as time went on until the eighteenth century, when the last spark of Celtic life seemed extinguished in Ireland.

The question we have now to answer is, What is the nature of this conquering moral influence; is it the result of an immortal principle, or is it merely decay and death involving successive generations of victims?

If we regard merely the surface of things, it seems plausible enough to say that like drowning men the Irish have pulled down all who came amongst them; but as has been

¹ *English in Ireland*, I., p. 22.

seen, in his lucid intervals even Mr. Froude will not allow this, and on this point all unprejudiced writers agree with him. The miseries of Ireland have been made for her. For more than a thousand years every successive invader brought destruction and death in his train, and life has ever re-appeared like the verdure on the desolate battlefield. Her history has no parallel. Spain bears the nearest resemblance; but Spain was only partially in the hands of the Saracen, and Christian France, close at hand, was alternately an auxiliary and a basis for retreat, while Crusaders flocked to her standard from the most distant provinces of Christendom;¹ but Ireland in all conflicts has trodden the wine-press alone.

Mr. Froude is not the first who has been amazed at the inherent power of assimilation possessed by the Irish Celts. Augustin Thierry alludes to that *penchant irrésistible à l'assimilation*, which subjugated the Norman knights in Ireland.² It has continued in force to our own times; and no one seems to me to interpret the mystery better than Mr. Lecky. Referring to "those qualities that attract and fascinate the stranger," and "brighten and soften the daily intercourse of life" in Ireland; he observes:—

"It was impossible, as we have seen, that the habits of respect for law, which had already been created in England, and which were gradually forming in Scotland, should have grown up under the shadow of the penal laws. . . . But qualities, which are, perhaps, not less valuable, were developed under the discipline of sorrow. . . . Under the influence of the religious spirit, which was now pervading the nation, a great moral revolution was silently effected. A standard of domestic virtue, a delicacy of female honour, was gradually formed among the Irish poor, higher than in any other part of the empire, and unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in Europe. The very extension of poverty and mendicancy had produced among them a rare and touching spirit of charity, readiness to share with one another the last crust and the last potatoe. Domestic affections were more than commonly warm. The memorable fact that in the present century not less than twenty millions of pounds have been sent back in the space of twenty years, by those who went for the most part as penniless emigrants to America, to their relatives in

¹ Prescott, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, i. p. 11.

² *Conquête d'Angleterre par les Normands*, iv. 241.

Ireland, illustrates a side of the Irish character which was already noticed by many observers; and in modern times, concerning which alone we can speak with confidence, infanticide, desertion, wife-murder, and other crimes indicating a low state of domestic morality have been much rarer among the Irish poor than among the corresponding classes in England."¹

We have here not the enthusiastic panegyric of a fervent Catholic, but the deliberate judgment of a man very far removed from sympathy with Catholicism. He has compressed into a few paragraphs ideas which we find in various forms in many other writers as little favourable as himself to the Catholic Church. When strangers and outsiders give us the results of their speculations on the fruits of Catholicism, there is a reality, and vividness of colouring, in their pictures, which cannot be found in the writings of Catholics. The principle of *nemo judex in propria causa* is true of nations and communities as well as of individuals, and human virtue can never praise itself with propriety; even under unjust accusation defence is its only privilege.

The evidence of the morality of the Irish poor has so accumulated in our own times, that I believe the common judgment of mankind goes beyond that of Mr. Lecky, and is ready to acknowledge, without any qualification, that in the domain of domestic morals, and of female honour, they are not merely unsurpassed, but absolutely unequalled amongst the nations of the earth.

The antagonism between the statements of Mr. Lecky and those of Mr. Froude, who, it should be remembered, are dealing with the same period of Irish history, is so very extraordinary that honesty can hardly be attributed to both writers; we must make a choice. If style, the *oratio cultus animi*

¹ *England in the Eighteenth Century* II., p. 315. In a preceding page, 281, Mr. Lecky says of the penal code: "All the higher and nobler life of the community lay beyond its pale. Illegal combination was consecrated when it was essential to the performance of religious duty. Illegal violence was the natural protection against immoral laws. Eternal salvation, in the eyes of the great majority of the Irish, could only be obtained by a course of conduct condemned by the law. . . . It rendered absolutely impossible in Ireland the formation of that habit of instinctive and unreasoning reverence for law which is one of the most essential conditions of English civilisation."

of Cicero, is an index of the state of the mind, the judgment will certainly be in favour of Mr. Lecky. Moreover, he is only one amongst many grave authorities, while Mr. Froude is the solitary spokesman of that insane and one-eyed monster—popular bigotry. We shall find that all those exalted moral qualities which Mr. Lecky has concentrated in a few paragraphs, have been observed in detail, and described by a *catena* of writers reaching back for more than a century—a period which ought to be enough for our argument, and the following table may help the reader in estimating the value of their evidence :—

ARTHUR YOUNG, F.R.S., <i>Travels, 1776-1779.</i>	{ Although this writer deals principally with economical questions, the few remarks he makes on the moral condition of the Irish are quoted by all modern writers.
JOHN CARR, <i>Traveller in Ireland, 1805.</i>	{ In a quarto volume of 530 pages he gives the result of a very careful study of the Irish national manners at a period when Ireland was almost forgotten in the midst of the uproar that followed the French Revolution.
DENIEL DEWAR, <i>Traveller in the Character, Customs, and Superstitions of the Irish, 1812.</i>	{ A Scotch traveller, and no admirer of the Catholic Church, which enhances the value of his favourable evidence.
MR. & MRS. S. C. HALL, <i>Ireland, 1825-40.</i>	{ This work, in three quarto volumes, contains matter collected in five several tours, during a period of fifteen years, and as a monument of prolonged and patient investigation of the manners and customs of the poor, it is probably unapproached in literature.
<i>Memorandum made in Ireland.</i> JOHN FORBES, M.D., F.R.S., Hon. D.C.L., Oxon, &c. 1852.	{ Dr. Forbes was a man of singular intellectual powers, and his work is thoroughly "scientific," in the proper sense of the word.

ARTHUR YOUNG.

Introducing the subject of "manners and customs," he observes (p. 178): "This section would not have found a place in my observations, had not some persons, of much more flippancy than wisdom, given very gross misrepresenta-

tions of the Irish nation." He then remarks, on the way in which the "conduct of certain classes may have given rise to general and consequently injurious condemnation," and he instances the "little country gentleman," whom he styles the "vermin of the country," and he concludes (p. 191) with the following character of the nation: "Their talent for eloquence is felt and acknowledged in the parliaments of both nations. Our service both by sea and land, as well as that [unfortunately for us] of the principal monarchies of Europe, speak their steady and determined courage. Every unprejudiced traveller who visits them will be as much pleased by their cheerfulness, as obliged by their hospitality, and will find them a brave, polite, and liberal people."

MR. CARR.

This writer begins by observing: "The character which I have attempted to pourtray is too frank to conceal its own failings," and it must occur to every one that this is the explanation of the interest so many people take in the study of Irish character. "In the course of my tour," he continues, (p. 52) "through different parts of Ireland, although I was frequently alone, and had no other weapon than a toothpick, I never met the slightest molestation. The principal murders and depredations which are stated to have been committed in Ireland for some time past, have been manufactured by the editors of English newspapers to fill up a vacancy in their prints. Upon these occasions Limerick, and its neighbourhood are generally selected for the scene of blood and outrage. The arrival of the mail frequently astonishes some of the inhabitants with an account of their own throats having been cut, their cattle houghed, and their houses plundered." Of the character of "low Irish," as he styles them, he writes: "His wit and warmth of heart are his own, his errors and their consequences will not be registered against *him*."

¹ A great advocate of the Irish poor, on a memorable occasion, has, I think, attached too much importance to some immoral boasts uttered by certain licentious Irish landlords, in the presence of Arthur Young (p. 136). Such "vermin," to borrow Young's expression, are prone to exaggerate their obscene domination.

I speak of him in a quiescent state, and not when suffering and ignorance led him into scenes of tumult which inflamed his mind and blood to deeds that are foreign to his nature. We know that the best when corrupted become the worst." At pp. 265, 292, 405, he pays the usual enthusiastic homage to what he styles the "inviolable sanctity of Irish purity." He admired "the urbanity of the people," and says "I have frequently seen two boors take off their hats, and salute each other with great civility." His remarks (p. 289) are a striking corollary to those of Mr. Lecky on the subject of law in Ireland. "I believe," says Mr. Carr, "that the low Irish are no more naturally prone to rebellion than the ladies are to the forgery of franks." History makes honourable mention of their love of justice, and their submission to the laws. Baron Finglas, in the days of Henry the Eighth, thus spoke of the Irish: "The laws and statutes made by the Irish on their hills, they keep firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward."—(Baron Finglas's *Breviate of Ireland*.) Sir John Davies (Attorney-General in the reign of James the First), too, acknowledges: "That there is no nation under the sun that love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with execution thereof, although it be against themselves."—(Davies' *History of Ireland*.) Coke also says, "For I have been informed by many of them that have had judicial places there [Ireland] and partly of my own knowledge, that there is no nation of the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice than they are; which virtue must of necessity be accompanied by many others."—(Coke's *Institutes*, c. lxxvi.)

MR. DEWAR.

Mr. Dewar, after the manner of Mr. Carr, went down into the depths of Irish life. With Mr. Baron Fletcher, in his famous address to the Grand Jury of Wexford, in 1814, and Gustave de Beaumont in 1835, he points out (p. 22) that as a rule it is impossible to obtain correct information about the "aborigines" from the Anglo-Hibernian in Ireland. "He heartily hates their language, their customs, &c. . . Possessed of this violent antipathy, he is little qualified to receive

accurate information, or to entertain a just opinion respecting them; and accordingly, while he thinks he perfectly understands their character, he is really much more ignorant for the most part on this head, than the intelligent, the candid, and the unbiassed traveller."

At (p. 37) he defends the Irish against the charge of deceit, and very pertinently observes; "The truth is, the people of Ireland [I mean the aborigines] have for many centuries been placed in peculiar circumstances: they have been often deceived, often insulted, and often ridiculed. It was natural for them, therefore, to be rather jealous, not to be too ready to place confidence in strangers, &c," and (p. 49) he sums up as follows: "The Irishman, as well as the Highlander, possesses, with some limitations, 'the generous and chivalrous spirit, the self-subdued mind, the warm affection to his family—the fond attachment to his clan—the love of story and of song—the contempt of danger and of luxury—the mystic superstition equally awful and tender. . . ." Campion, with all the prejudices of an Englishman of the sixteenth century, confirms this view of the Irish character, if, indeed any confirmation, be necessary, on a point so obvious though not generally understood, "The people are thus inclined: religious, frank, amorous, ireful, sufferable of pains infinite, very glorious, delighted with wars, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. The same being virtuously bred up, or reformed, are such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that other nations retain but a shadow or show of devotion in comparison of them."—(Campion's *History of Ireland*, p. 19.)

MR. AND MRS. S. C. HALL.

Anything even approaching an analysis of this truly extraordinary work in an essay, is out of the question. The writers remark, that "Nowhere, is human nature so infinitely varied,"¹ as in Ireland, and the proofs of this assertion are found in their work of more than fourteen hundred quarto pages. And yet throughout they are dealing with the poor and the illiterate—with a people who as far as

¹ Vol. III., p. 392.

external circumstances go, have been for centuries, and are now, reduced nearer to the miseries of savage life than any nation in the civilized world, past or present—this is the strange ground which they have found strewn with spiritual flowers. There have been many searching investigations into Irish life and character; but if all the reports of commissions, too often impregnated with sectarian and party fury, were put in the balance against the work now under consideration, they would kick the beam. From the first page to the last, embracing as it does the laborious investigations of many years in thirty-two counties of Ireland, this work is one long chain of evidence in illustration and confirmation of that beautiful and exalted character which, as we have seen, the unenthusiastic Mr. Lecky attributes to the Catholic peasant of Ireland.

For simple records of heroic self-sacrifice and charity see Vol. I., pp. 167, 170, 177, 268, 360; Vol. II., pp. 324, 329, 381 (n.); Vol. III., pp. 45, 182 (n.), 329 (n.), 354 (n.), 356 (n.), 477. With these proofs of the royal virtue, which is “strong as death,” are intertwined the evidences—

“Uttered not, yet comprehended,”

of that beautiful virtue which, in domestic life, is ever the bride and mother of heroic and constant love: evidence which (Vol. II., p. 314) is thus summed up, “The women of Ireland—from the highest to the lowest—are most faithful; most devoted; most pure; the best mothers; the best children; the best wives;—possessing, pre-eminently, the beauty and holiness of virtue, in the limited, and in the extensive meaning of the phrase;” and again (Vol. III., p. 292) “men and women, of whom it is no exaggeration to say, the former are brave to an adage, and the latter virtuous to a proverb.”

DR. FORBES.

This writer takes up the theme in the same spirit, and with great clearness and vigour of demonstration. He tells us (Vol. I., p. 251 n.), “I did not bring a single introduction

with me into Ireland, my intention and desire being chiefly to communicate with them who require no such passport to their presence—the lower, and the middle class of persons—cottiers, labourers, artisans, farmers, shopkeepers, priests.” His evidence (Vol. I., pp. 56-81) as to the “unrepining content,” “absence of bitterness,” and the generosity with which the poor “urged the claims of their yet poorer neighbours,” is wonderfully true to life. But perhaps the most striking part of his work is that in which (II., 244,) he gives a table showing the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children in the workhouses of Ireland, England and Wales, as follows :—

		Illegitimate.		Legitimate.
Ireland	. .	1	to	16·47
England	. .	1	to	1·49
Wales	. .	1	to	0·87
England and Wales	. .	1	to	1·46

Moreover, he goes on to shew in the next page, that the proportion of illegitimate children coincides “almost exactly with the relative proportion of the two religions in each province, being large where the Protestant element is large, and small where it is small. Thus, in Connaught, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is only as 1 to 6·45, the proportion of illegitimate children to legitimate is only as 1 to 23·53; while in Ulster, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is as 1·42 to 1·00, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate is as 1 to 7·26.”

The Scottish solidity of Dr. Forbes' work was probably the secret of the extraordinary effect it produced at a very critical period. In 1853 the religion of Ireland was on its trial on the occasion of the infamous Nunneries Bill of Mr. Chambers; and I well remember the profound sensation when a Fellow of the Royal Society, “one of Her Majesty's

¹ A fact which has escaped Dr. Forbes, increases the honourable balance in favour of Ireland. It is well known that dishonoured women, and their wretched offspring in Catholic Ireland, have no home save the workhouse; while in Protestant communities, the “love child,” whose title is a sad revelation of moral decay, and its mother, more easily escape unobserved. Baptismal registries would probably show a still larger proportion of legitimate children in Ireland.

Physicians," informed his English and Scotch friends (Vol. II., p. 81) that it was his deliberate opinion that the superior morality of Ireland was chiefly owing to the practice of confession, and that the Irish Nuns, "though looking cheerful, as busy people generally are, had something in their bearing which inspired at once reverence and awe;" people of whom "it may be truly said, that they accept, and follow to the letter, the precepts, and the practice of the great Founder of Christian religion." (Vol. I., 148; II., 27.) It is certainly remarkable that for the last hundred years it seems easier to Scotchmen than to Englishmen to do justice to Ireland. Perhaps it arises from the fact that they have not been so long her hereditary foes. Anyhow it is a suggestive subject for reflection, when we find such men as Sir John Moore, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and General Gordon, imbued with an almost passionate sympathy for the Catholic poor of Ireland.

W. B. MORRIS.

(*To be continued.*)

RÉNAN'S "ISRAEL" DOWN TO THE TIME OF THE KINGS.

THERE is no assertion that the advocates of modern rationalistic Biblical criticism are so fond of making as that the traditional view of the character of the Old Testament is shown to be completely erroneous, and that there exists amongst the followers of the "higher criticism" a practical unanimity as to results. Thus, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, speaking through Merriman, in the *Nineteenth Century*,¹ says, that "It has taken some thirty years for German critical science to conquer English opinion in the matter of the Old Testament. But, except in the regions of an either illiterate or mystical prejudice, that conquest is now complete." Bishop Colenso, writing some years ago, held the

¹ March, 1889, p. 466.

same opinion. "For whilst religious teaching," he says in his *Pentateuch* and *Book of Joshua*,¹ "is connected inseparately with traditionary belief in the historical truth of all parts of the Bible—a belief which the advance of knowledge in our days shows to be utterly untenable, &c." Finally, to take one more instance, Professor Kuenen, in the introduction to his work on the *Pentateuch*, writes as follows:—²

"Some eminent scholars still hold out against the "Grafian hypothesis," but it is no longer possible to count its supporters, or to enumerate *seriatim* the works written in its defence or built upon its assumptions. In setting forth in this treatise, for the first time, its complete and systematic critical justification, I am no longer advocating a heresy, but am expounding the received view of European critical scholarship."

What Professor Kuenen understands by the "Grafian hypothesis" is of course the theory that would place the Torah in order of time posterior to the Prophets of Israel, and this theory he considers to be the received view of European scholarship.

When a science has been thoroughly investigated, and has reached the stage of demonstration, the next step is to spread a knowledge of its tenets and doctrines among the people. This is done for the most part by means of popular treatises. The science of "Biblical Criticism" having, according to its advocates, passed the stage of hypothesis and doubt, and reached the luminous regions of certainty and truth, one of its most brilliant devotees has been told off to popularise its results, in fact to write a popular History of Israel from the new point of view. Than M. Renan no one more likely to captivate the popular imagination could have been selected. Witty and fascinating in his style, he has devoted his life to an attempt to undermine and subvert the belief of millions in the supernatural character of the religion of Israel and that of Christ. As a man of deep learning, he would not be likely to command the confidence of the wise, but the music and the rhythm of his style are calculated to carry away many that would be impervious to the hard logic of more reliable

¹ p. 288,

² Translation by P. H. Wickstead, p. xxxix.

though less seductive writers. His rôle has been well chosen. The Germans, painstaking and ponderous, have laboured to supply the necessary "facts": M. Rénan has clothed this skeleton with flesh and blood, he has animated it and sent it forth among the throng of men. The result is his *History of Israel*, of which—though it is not yet complete¹—we now possess a sufficient instalment to form a fairly accurate opinion of the whole.

In the preface to the first volume M. Rénan expresses a fear that, despite the efforts he has made, "not to sacrifice admiration to critical examination,"² his work will be distasteful to two classes of persons: firstly, to those whom he calls "uncompromising Israelites," who consider that a history of the Jews ought to consist of one sustained eulogy of that people; secondly, to certain narrow-minded persons who imagine that no history can be written of times concerning which we are not in possession of a "series of material facts to relate." What to us seems remarkable, and will no doubt seem strange to many readers, is that M. Rénan does not add a third class to the two he has enumerated, of those, namely, that will think themselves outraged by the wantonness and levity with which he speaks of the beliefs of hundreds of millions and by the blasphemous tone that pervades his remarks in regard to the Divinity. Like Voltaire, he is never able to withstand the pleasure of raising a laugh at the expense of sacred things, but turns everything into ridicule, apparently unconcerned at the pain he is causing so many of his fellow-men. If we give here a few specimens of the kind of thing to which we refer, it is with no feelings of pleasure, rather of pain, and to hold up the passages that we bring forward to the reprobation of our readers. Thus speaking of the God of Israel, he says:—

"Jahveh is not just, being monstrously partial towards Israel, and cruelly severe upon other peoples. He loved Israel and hated the rest of the world. He slew, lied, deceived, and robbed all for the benefit of Israel."³

¹ Two volumes out of four have appeared.

² P. xiv. The references throughout are to a translation issued by Chapman and Hall.

³ p. 149.

Again, in another place—

"A deep feeling of rancour appeared to be the prevailing sentiment of this God, too capricious to be a just judge."¹

Giving again a description of Jahveh, which is a ridiculous caricature, he says :—

"The real form of Jahveh, in fact, was never human. He was a kind of dragon, roaring thunder, vomiting flame, causing the tempest to howl; he was the universal *rough* under a globated form, a kind of condensed electric mass. Jahveh acted like a universal agent. He ate the sacrifice at the moment that the flame devoured it. In that case the flame was often spontaneous; it licked up the morsels of the victim stretched upon the rock and made them disappear. Sometimes two large nostrils were dilated over the smoke of the sacrifice in order to inhale it."²

Finally, to give but one more instance of this levity with which the God of Israel is spoken of throughout: "His customary Olympus," he says,³

"Was Sinai. There he resided in the midst of his thunderbolts. . . . He came from the south, from the direction of Seir and Paran; he shone like an aurora borealis."

We pass from this part of the subject with pleasure. It illustrates the animus with which M. Rénan has entered upon his labours, and the class of readers for whom he is catering. It is unnecessary to comment on the passages; they speak for themselves; though perhaps the view that M. Rénan takes of ancient history, and the amount of importance he attaches to actual fact, which we are presently going to speak of, may throw some light upon the possibility of their appearance in this work.

What, then, is the outcome of modern Biblical criticism according to its adherents? We have had the writings of the Old Testament analysed and tested, compared and rearranged; what result, then, has all this had upon the history of the Jewish people? We have been informed that the old views held upon the Sacred Scriptures are quite untenable, that rationalistic critics are now quite agreed as to their real

¹ p. 235.

² p. 239.

³ p. 223.

character, and that the only reasonable thing for one to do now is to cast aside his long cherished beliefs, and adopt the conclusions of modern Biblical science. What view, then, is adopted by these new teachers as to the history of the people of Israel? Here are the words with which M. Rénan prefaces the history which he has written upon the most approved scientific principles:—

"I have said elsewhere, we do not need to know in histories of this kind, how things happened; it is sufficient for us to know how they might have happened. What was not true in one case was so in another. I admit that any opinions as to individuals are, save in exceptional cases, only possible within an historic period, either very rich in documents or very near our own. And even then how many gates are opened for the entrance of illusion! In such cases, every phrase should be accompanied by a "perhaps." I believe that I have used it pretty freely, but if the reader thinks it does not occur often enough, he can fill it in at his own discretion. If he does this, he will arrive exactly at what I think."

Such being the opinions that M. Rénan holds on the correct method of writing history, and on the character of history itself, we cannot be astonished at the somewhat startling results at which he not unfrequently arrives. For with him it is unnecessary to know how the events related really happened. It is enough to know how they might have happened. If the reader objects to any of the facts stated, why, M. Rénan will not quarrel with him. Let him imagine the obnoxious passage qualified with a "perhaps," and so, with peaceful mind, pass on, remembering that the object of the history is not to write down the actual manner in which the events related happened. If this is the result of the years of toil that have been spent in rectifying our views on Jewish history, in truth, we have not gained very much by it; but, if ever the words of Horace applied, it is here:—

"Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus."²

A note to the passage quoted above throws new light upon the author's meaning. "The most perfect method to adopt

¹ p. xvii.

² *Ars Poetica*, v. 139.

[he says], in a case of this kind, would be that of polychromatic printing, in which each part of a page, or even of a phrase, would be printed in inks of different shades, from very black ink, to mark certainty, down to the lightest possible tints, to mark the various degrees of probability, plausibility, and possibility." We shall only remark of this method that, if it had been adopted by M. *Rénan*, his history would undoubtedly have presented a gay and cheerful appearance, much at variance with the sad and deplorable character of a great part of the subject matter.

In sum, then, what do we find in M. *Rénan* in regard to the history of Israel? We find that the general outline is the same as that given in ordinary text-books of Bible history. In the far-off vista of the past we have the Hebrews dwelling in tents; we have the sojourn in Egypt, and the hardships which the Hebrews had to endure there; we have the exodus, the passage through the desert, the occupation of Palestine; and we have finally the period of the judges, and the establishment among the Jews of the kingly office. With the general outline we have no fault to find, and, no doubt, when in a new edition M. *Rénan* adopts the polychromatic system, all this will appear in very black ink; but when he comes to fill in the picture, we can have little sympathy with his views. Here he will have to use largely the lighter shades of which he speaks, and we should require to use a much stronger qualification than "perhaps" to mark our appreciation of his views.

There is no more important question in relation to the history of Israel than the date of the introduction of writing among that people. M. *Rénan* assumes throughout his work that writing was introduced among them at a comparatively recent date. Thus, in one place he writes:¹ "Hand-writing was not known in Israel until three or four hundred years after the time of Moses and Joshua. The ages which do not possess hand-writing transmit only fables;" and the same opinion he repeats over and over again throughout the work. It is indeed a very obvious position for the modern

¹ p. 155, note.

critical school to take up; for, if the Hebrews were not unacquainted with the art and practice of writing in the days of Moses, one of the strongest, if not the strongest argument against the traditional teaching in regard to the Old Testament falls to the ground. Still, it is not easy to see, even upon M. Renan's own showing, how we are to deny a knowledge of the art of writing to the Hebrews at a date long anterior to that at which he fixes it. We know, beyond all question, that at the period when the Israelites entered Egypt, that country had already grown old in civilization. Indeed, M. Renan would call that civilization already from two to three thousand years old at the time of "the arrival of the Semites in the regions of the Mediterranean."¹ Further, we know for certain that, at the time when the Hebrews were dwelling in the land of Goshen, the Egyptians, in whose land they were living, had for centuries been familiar with the art of writing. But this is not all. As early as the year 2000 B.C. the Hyksos, or "Pastors," who were undoubtedly of Semitic extraction, entered Egypt and founded the City of Zoan (Tanis, near the isthmus, which became the centre of a powerful Semitic state. These Hyksos were apparently Canaanites, closely connected with the Hittites of Hebron: so that, in fact, there seem to have been close relations between Zoan and Hebron. Now, it appears that it was in the City of Zoan that Semitic writing was first invented, and that Hebron obtained a knowledge of it from this source: and so "possessed writings from a very remote date." "This [says M. Renan] was probably the source whence the Moabites and the Israelites derived it, unless we prefer to suppose that they copied it direct from Zoan, which is assuredly not an inadmissible hypothesis."²

Far from being an inadmissible hypothesis, it appears to be much the more natural and probable explanation. We know that the Hebrews lived upon terms of friendship with the Hyksos, and M. Renan admits that "the Hyksos of Zoan could not fail to exercise a great influence upon the Hebrews." Now, the question to decide is, whether it is at

¹ p. 113² p. 115.

all likely that the Hyksos and the Hebrews should have been brought into such relations in the highly civilized country of Egypt, and, after a long lapse of time, the Hebrews should have departed with absolutely no knowledge of writing. The remoteness of the period of which we are speaking has no bearing upon the question, seeing how much anterior, in point of time, was the civilization of the East to that of the West. Neither can the uncultured state in which, it may be objected, the Hebrews entered Egypt, in any way weaken the force of our argument. For we know that it is no uncommon thing, in the case either of nations or individuals, for the uncultured, coming among the civilized, to take up and even excel in the arts and accomplishments of their teachers. Furthermore, it is not necessary, from our point of view, that a knowledge of writing should have become general among the Israelites at this early period. It is enough that it should have been known to a few of the leaders of the people; especially to Moses, who was, according to the *Pentateuch*, instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. At all events, it is not easy to see how M. Rénan can declare, without any practical qualification, that, till centuries after this, writing was unknown to the people of Israel.

How long did the Hebrews remain in the land of Israel? "The peaceful sojourn of Israel in the land of Goshen may have been a somewhat lengthy one; but infinitely less so than is generally supposed. I will put it at a century."¹ There is a thoroughly dashing method of writing history! M. Rénan, in a note, observes there is no reliable chronology: still he ventures to fix a period. For, after all, if it be not the right length of time, still it might have been so; and then, by fixing this period, he is going in opposition to the usually received Bible chronology. At all events, the Hebrews sojourned a long time in the land of Egypt. Now, M. Rénan, after pointing out that "Egypt had possessed, from the earliest times, sacred texts and a somewhat extensive religious literature," goes on to assert that "there

¹ p. 121.

is no ground for believing that these texts had the slightest influence upon the Israelites. The latter did not understand Egyptian; and, even if the alphabet of twenty-two letters existed, they did not make use of it.¹ From the point of view from which M. Rénan regards the matter, we are not concerned to know whether the religious ideas of the Egyptians, or those of the Babylonians, contributed most to form the religion of Israel. We regard the religion of Israel as the special work of God; but still we cannot see the force of M. Rénan's argument, as given above, nor do we see that it is consistent with the views that he himself expresses elsewhere. What proof have we, in the first place, that the Hebrews did not understand Egyptian? Dwelling, as they did, in the land of Egypt for at least a hundred years, it is not easy to conceive that at least some of them did not learn the language of the country: especially on account of their intercourse with the Hyksos, who no doubt had a good deal of connection with the native population. And, moreover, we know that they were brought into contact with the natives towards the end of their sojourn, as slaves working for hard task-masters; so that, so far as language is concerned, there seems no reason why the Israelites should not have obtained some knowledge of the religious tenets of the Egyptians.

But we are not left by M. Rénan without means of deciding this question against himself; and though perhaps, on the whole, we agree with the conclusion to which he arrives, viz., that the religious literature of the Egyptians had no effect upon the Israelites, still it will not be uninteresting to set forth briefly how he proceeds to refute this statement of his own, as a specimen of the loose logic he makes use of throughout. We say that we agree with the statement on the whole: though, of course, we have no reason to doubt that much of the leaning to idolatry that the Jewish people manifested in the desert, and after they had arrived in Palestine, had its origin in what they learnt in the land of Egypt. What we deny is, that the religious

¹ p. 122.

teaching of Egypt entered at all into the recognised faith of the chosen people.

What then, says M. Rénan? To Egypt he traces the ark of the covenant which "we shall find assuming extraordinary importance, and becoming the cradle of all the religious institutions of Israel."¹ To the same source he traces the loaves of proposition, the serpent god, the *cherubin*, the *ephod*, and the *urim* and *thunmin*, the idea of an hereditary priesthood, and finally the "golden calf." Moreover we have to remember that M. Rénan makes no distinction in regard to these things between abuses and things permitted by law. He would not, for instance, admit that the ark of the covenant was an institution according to law, but that the "golden calf" was a gross abuse, entirely at variance with the religion of the people of Israel. Far from it. He even goes so far as to say: "It is doubtful whether Moses was so much opposed to this idolatrous worship as was afterwards asserted, for we find that a brazen serpent, said to have been set up by him, was in existence until the time of Hezekiah, who broke it in pieces."² But then the objection that we put to M. Rénan is this: How can he, seeing that he traces to Egypt all these important institutions, assert that the religious teachings of the Egyptians had no influence whatever upon the Israelites?

The question at once arises, how far we are prepared to admit the influence of Egypt upon Israel as regards religious matters. The reply seems clear, that the "golden calf" without a doubt derives its origin from Egypt. Moreover, there is no reason to deny, that much of their architecture and the form of the vestments of the priesthood were suggested to the Jews by what they saw among the Egyptians. That many abuses to which the people were prone may be traced to Egyptian reminiscences, there is every reason to suppose, but that any of the doctrines of Judaism sprang from the same source, we can most emphatically deny. There is one institution, which some suppose to have been suggested to the Israelite by what they saw in Egypt,

¹ p. 124.

² p. 152.

concerning which it is important to say something, that is, the ark of the covenant.

M. Rénan tells us that in processions and on journeys the Egyptians made use of a kind of portable ark or *vaós*, to carry their gods, and thus were not prevented from continuing their devotions when absent from home. Archbishop Smith prints, in his work on the *Pentateuch*, certain representations of these arks as carried in processions, and it does not seem unlikely that the Israelites may have dedicated to the service of the true religion the ark of which they had learnt in an idolatrous country. To Egypt, at all events, M. Rénan traces the ark, and it is a fact of very great significance that he does so.

"The *aron*, or ark," he says in one place,¹ "in the course of these peregrinations, became more and more the central piece of the tribes." And again, "The probability is that where a halt was made the ark was placed outside the camp under a tent. This was what they called *ohel mo'ed*, the tent of meeting, or *ohel edouth*, the tent of the covenant. Perhaps they already went there for judgments, divine oracles, and to take oaths. God was supposed to be there in person. They believed that a cloud descended, remained at the entrance, and conversed with the leaders. . . . The *tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus* existed from that moment."²

In the passages just quoted—with the tone and language of which we are far from being in sympathy—M. Rénan clearly points to the tabernacle of the covenant, as being already at the time of the exodus the centre of the religious life of the Israelites. But still the existence of any centre of unity for the Hebrews at such an early date in their history is a stumbling block to the advanced critical school. Their view is that the idea of a single sanctuary is one of comparatively recent date. Thus Wellhausen³:—

"But this oneness of the sanctuary of Israel was not originally recognised either in fact or in law; it was a slow growth of time. With the help of the Old Testament we are still quite able to trace the process. In so doing, it is possible to distinguish several stages of development."

¹ p. 153. ² p. 178. ³ *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 17.

Such being the view of Professor Wellhausen as to the existence of a single sanctuary in Israel, it is clear that the apparition of the *ohel moëd* in the very earliest days of Jewish history, presents itself to his eyes as a very obvious impediment to the complete and satisfactory development of his idea. He accordingly proceeds to remove the obstacle; literally to relegate the ancient tabernacle of the covenant to the realms of fable. Hence the importance of the fact that M. Rénan finds a place for it in his history, tracing its origin to the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt. Here are Wellhausen's words in regard to the tabernacle of the covenant:—

“Until the building of Solomon's temple the unity of worship according to it had, properly speaking, never had any existence; and moreover, it is easy to read between the lines that even after that date it was more a pious wish than a practical command. The Priestly Code, on the other hand, is unable to think of religion without the one sanctuary, and cannot for a moment imagine Israel without it, carrying its actual existence back to the very beginning of the theocracy, and, in accordance with this, completely altering the ancient history. The temple, the focus to which the worship was concentrated, and which in reality was not built until Solomon's time, is by this document regarded as so indispensable, even for the troubled days of the wanderings before the settlement, that it is made portable, and in the form of a tabernacle set up in the very beginning of things. For the truth is, that the tabernacle is the copy, not the prototype, of the temple of Jerusalem.”¹

If this contention be accurate, it pretty effectually disposes of the *ohel moëd*, and the argument to be drawn from it in favour of an early single sanctuary among the Jews. It seems clear, however, from the words of M. Rénan, that he, no hostile critic, has not been convinced by the arguments of Professor Wellhausen, and so the influence of Egypt upon Israel does not seem to have been entirely for evil, after all. Indeed the arguments by which Professor Wellhausen seeks to get rid of the *ohel moëd* are not of any great weight. The chief one, which he really owes to Graf, is based upon the frequent reference to various parts of the tabernacle as the north, south, or west sides, terms, which he contends, are not

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 36.

applicable to a portable but rather to a stationary building. As if this usage might not have arisen from the fact of the tent being always pitched facing the east ; in much the same way as we speak of the east and west ends of a church, or again of the north and south transepts, quite regardless of whether the church is built to face the east or not.

How long did the children of Israel sojourn in the desert ? " Perhaps," says M. Rénan,¹ " only a very short time. We may willingly suppose a year or eighteen months. It was a passage, not a sojourn." In another place he says it would have been a miracle " if the Israelites were able to live in the desert of Sinai, if they had been as numerous and their sojourn had been as long as the legend asserts."² We shall not enter into a discussion as to the length of time that the Israelites spent in the desert, but we shall say that, notwithstanding M. Rénan's words, it is clear that he does not take as gloomy a view of the desert of Sinai, or its possibility of supporting human life as did the late Bishop Colenso. Indeed his remark as to the necessarily miraculous character of the sojourn in the desert, as related in the *Pentateuch*, is rather a recurrence to the familiar expedient of drawing a red herring across the track ; so as to divert attention from his own position. Speaking of the character of the peninsula of Sinai, he says in one place,³ " Perhaps the peninsula was not so denuded three thousand years ago as it is now. The vegetable mould appears to have formed wadis in the neighbouring plains. Certain valleys were formerly dammed, so as to serve as a reservoir for the winter rains." This is an important admission, but quite necessary for M. Rénan in conjunction with his view of the exodus. He has already told us⁴ that during its sojourn in Egypt, Israel had " multiplied exceedingly." In another place⁵ he says that " in fact Israel was no longer a tribe but a nation." So that, according to M. Rénan, this tribe that had multiplied exceedingly, in fact become a nation, accompanied by the " mixed multitude" of the *Book of Exodus*,⁶ which, he thinks, may

¹ p. 176.

- p. 145.

- p. 145.

⁴ p. 130.⁵ p. 135.⁶ Ex., xii. 38.

have been made up of "a few of the free Egyptians who had reason to be discontented with the dynasty," having made good their escape from the house of bondage, were able to subsist for eighteen months in the desert. We repeat, then, that M. *Rénan* does not take so very gloomy a view of the deadliness of this wilderness. But why does he not go a step further than he has done, and admit the possibility of the Old Testament account of the exodus? At least if he will not do so, we may fairly say that, after all, there is not nearly so great a gulf between the conclusions of modern critical science on this subject and our own as we had imagined. Nor can M. *Rénan* afford to reduce the numbers of this nation passing through the desert. For, according to his own account, the fighting men alone were sufficiently numerous to engage in fierce and bloody conflicts with the nations about Canaan, not many months after they had left Egypt, and then to cross the Jordan, and in the face of far more civilized and better armed troops to take possession of the Promised Land.

It was, says M. *Rénan*, in the year 1350 B.C., that the Israelites came in sight of the land of Canaan. We pass over the question as to how long the Israelites took to obtain possession of this inheritance. At all events they established themselves in Palestine, and then succeeded the period of the judges, when "there was no king in Israel." M. *Rénan* seems to be filled with the utmost enthusiasm in regard to this epoch both in Israel and in Hellas.

"Ruth and Boaz [he says]² are immortalised alongside of Nausicaa and Alcinous. The further humanity recedes from primitive life, the more pleasure it finds in these charming contrasts of modesty and artlessness, in manners at once simple and refined, when men, without obeying any superior authority, or law, or city, or king, or emperor, or religion, or priest, lived nobler, greater, stronger, than when fettered by a thousand conventions, and when moulded by successive centuries of discipline."

What we ask here is, what M. *Rénan* really wishes us to understand by the above passage. It certainly looks as if he were carried away by the rhythm and music of his words so

¹ *Judges*, 18, i.

² p. 297

as to overlook the sense that they conveyed. The story of Ruth and Boaz is narrated in the *Book of Ruth*. The charming episode of Nausicaa and Odysseus in the Island of the Phœacians, and the description of the doings of Odysseus at the Court of Alcinous and Arete, the parents of Nausicaa, are given in the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth books of the *Odyssey*. But is it possible that M. Rénan wishes to convey the idea that in those days men lived without paying obedience to king or city, or religion, or priest? It is incredible that he can imagine the Homeric times without the *ἄναξ*, the *βασιλεύς*, the *κρείων*, and the *ἱερεὺς*. It is inconceivable that he can mean to convey that in those days men lived free from all control, in the light of the very plot of the *Iliad*, according to which Hellas, *en masse*, encompasses the destruction of Troy, in punishment of Paris' breach of confidence, when enjoying the hospitality of Menelaus, King of Sparta; in the face of the unjust and despotic power exercised by Agamemnon even against Achilles, and of the sorry figure cut by Thersites, when he ventured to raise his voice in opposition to the chiefs; in a word in the light of the great reverence for authority, both civil and religious manifested throughout the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But even allowing that men did not pay obedience in those days to any superior, how can he assert that they lived nobler and greater than in later days. According to his own account the terrible oath of extermination, the *herem*, existed among the Israelites and among the Greeks; human sacrifices were by no means unknown; the state of society was brigandage, and though a Danite would not slay a Danite, still he would ill-treat a Zebulonite. Such is the picture of the times when men lived thus nobly and great; and, indeed, it might be made much more vivid by drawing from the Homeric poems did space permit. We, however, doubt very much whether M. Rénan, if he had his choice, would not prefer the lesser degree of nobility and greatness which we now possess, fettered though we are by a thousand conventions.

"Thanks to the Homeric poems" says M. Rénan, "we have the picture of the life of the Greek tribes at an epoch

parallel to that of the Judges. The analogy is striking."¹ Doubtless there were many points of resemblance, and, indeed, the same in all probability might be said of any two races at an early period of their development. But the points of divergence between Israel and Greece were more remarkable still. The Israelites were, as M. Rénan assures us, nomadic in their habits; "although definitely established on the soil, Israel in reality continued to lead a nomad life. The family was the only group which existed."² In Greece it is different. The remains of Tiryns and Mycenae belong to this period, and testify to the progress already made in social life by the people possessing the industry and skill to erect them. In fact among the Greeks everything centres around the town, as we see in the case of the various places we come across both in the *Odyssey* and in the *Iliad*. Again, the Israelites had a natural aversion to the sea: the Homeric poems, on the contrary, are both taken up with the narration of events that imply a knowledge of navigation; indeed, the *Odyssey* is largely taken up with adventures by sea, and it is known that the Greeks at this early period were thoroughly familiar with the use of vessels. M. Rénan, it is true, admits that "the Greeks believed in a greater number of divinities more entirely distinct than the Israelites;"³ but this is not a fair statement of the case. The Greeks believed in a vast multitude of gods; the Israelites worshipped but one God, and if idolatry was rife at any time among them it was not the recognised worship of the nation, but a passing abuse which was contrary to their law. Among the Jews at this time, it is true, there was no regular temple, but it is not so clear that this was so in the case of the Greeks. M. Rénan indeed observes in a note that "the temple among the Greeks was still only the high place, βωμός and τέμενος." But this is not evident, as we seem to have in Homer more than one reference to real temples. Thus in the *Iliad*—⁴

οὐδ' ὅσα λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔργει,
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρηέσση.

Commenting on these lines the late Professor Paley

¹ p. 298.

² p. 247.

³ p. 298.

⁴ Book ix., 404, 405.

remarks, "the wealth of the temple of Apollo at Delphi may have been great even in the Homeric age." At least we may be permitted to conjecture that a temple of some sort existed there in those days. Finally, to take one more point of resemblance, insisted on by M. *Rénan*, he says, referring to both peoples: "the sacrifice was not separated from the religious feast: the share of the gods was set apart in a set form."¹ In these words M. *Rénan* does not set forth the true idea of sacrifice, as it was understood by the Israelites. Indeed he is not alone in his error. The same opinion is held by others of the rationalistic school. Thus *Wellhausen*: "A sacrifice was a meal, a fact showing how remote was the idea of antithesis between spiritual earnestness and secular joyousness;"² and, again: "the regular form observed is that a meal is prepared in honour of the Deity, of which man partakes as God's guest."³ It would be impossible to bring forward here the various passages from the Old Testament cited in support of this view. Many of them are weak in the extreme. But we wish to call attention to two narratives in Jewish history that seem completely at variance with this idea. They are, in fact, the accounts of the sacrifices of Isaac⁴ and of Jephthah,⁵ the antiquity of which neither M. *Rénan* nor Professor *Wellhausen* is likely to call in question. Can we imagine anything in the form of banqueting or feasting in connection with either of these mournful events? And, further, even admitting for the sake of argument the mythical character of these narratives, still, dating as they do from a very early age, do they not clearly show that the writers had ideas of the nature of sacrifice quite different from those held by modern critics?

On the whole, then, we do not think that the resemblance between Israel and Hellas, at the time of the judges, was so striking as it is sought to represent it. Some likeness there undoubtedly was, but it was a superficial one. "The child is the father of the man," both in the case of nations and of individuals, and as the Greeks were developing into the

¹ p. 299.² *Prolegomena*, p. 76.³ *Prolegomena*, p. 62.⁴ *Gen.* xxii., 2 *seq.*⁵ *Judges*, xi.

greatest artistic and literary nation of antiquity, so the Hebrews were being moulded by the hand of God to be the instruments of His revelation to men, and to give to the world the Saviour of mankind.

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

CHAPTER III.—SOLEMN REQUIEM MASS.

SECTION I.—INTRODUCTION.

There are only a very few days in the year on which Solemn Requiem Mass cannot be celebrated when the corpse is present in the church. These days are—(a) the last three days of Holy Week; (b) doubles of the first-class which are either Sundays, or feasts of obligation; (c) the feasts of the principal patron of a place, or of a church. In the last case, however, it is only in that church that a Requiem Mass is forbidden.

In the Missal four Masses of *the Dead* are given which bear the following titles:—1. *In commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum.* 2. *In die obitus seu depositionis.* 3. *In anniversario defunctorum.* 4. *In Missis quotidianis defunctorum.* The first of these, besides being the proper Mass for the commemoration of All Souls, is to be said also for a deceased Pope, Cardinal, and Bishop, on the day of death, or burial, on the third, seventh and thirtieth day after the death or burial, and on the anniversary day. It may likewise be said for a deceased priest on the privileged days as above; or instead of it the second may be selected. The second, then, *may* be said for a deceased priest, and *should* be said for deceased clerics, who are not priests, and for all lay persons, on the day of death or burial, and on the third, seventh, and

thirtieth day. For the anniversary of a priest, the first Mass, as has been said, may be selected; but for the anniversary of a cleric, not a priest, or of a lay person, the third—the proper anniversary Mass—should be taken. The fourth Mass should be selected whenever Requiem Mass is to be said outside one of the privileged days already mentioned, no matter what may have been the rank or dignity of the person for whom it is offered. It should be noted, however, that these four Masses differ only in the prayer, the Epistle and Gospel, and that the Rubric expressly states that the Epistle and Gospel of any one of them may be said in place of the Epistle and Gospel of any other.¹

The altar for Solemn Requiem Mass is prepared as already described, the credence being covered with a white cloth, which does not, as for another Mass, reach to the ground on all sides, but merely covers the table itself. On the credence are placed the chalice, prepared, and covered with a black veil, the cruets, &c.; but the large veil is not spread over all, because it is not required during the Function. Near the credence stands the processional cross on its staff.

If Mass is celebrated immediately after the Office, the ministers vest, and the acolytes light the candles during the chanting of the *Benedictus*. When the priest presiding at the Office has read the prayer, all in choir stand up, and the celebrant, preceded by the ministers, comes to the altar, saluting the choir on the way. Having made the proper reverence to the altar they begin the Mass.

SECTION II.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF MASS TO THE OFFERTORY.

The Celebrant of a Solemn Requiem Mass omits all the parts omitted in a private Mass of the same kind, and makes all the changes which a Requiem Mass requires. Hence, having made the sign of the cross at the words *In nomine Patris*, &c., at the beginning of Mass, and having said the antiphon *Introibo*, &c., he omits the psalm *Judica*, and immediately says *Deus in adjutorium*, &c., while again signing him-

¹ Epistolæ et evangelia superius posita in una missa pro defunctis, dici possunt etiam in alia missa similiter pro defunctis.

self. At the words *vobis fratres*, and *vos fratres* of the *Confiteor*, he turns, as usual, towards the deacon and sub-deacon. There is no incensation before the *Introit*, and the celebrant does not sign himself at the beginning of it. Instead, while saying the first words, he places the left hand on the altar, and with the right makes the sign of the cross over the missal. The *Gloria* is omitted, only one prayer is said, and the sub-deacon is not blessed, nor does he kiss the celebrant's hand after the Epistle. When the celebrant has read the *Dies Irae* he may seat himself.

When the choir has still a few strophes of the sequence to sing, at a sign from the master of ceremonies the celebrant goes to the altar *per longiorem*,¹ saluting the choir on the way. Arrived at the centre he inclines profoundly, and says the *Munda cor meum* without the *Jube Domine*, and immediately proceeds to read the Gospel. At the end of the Gospel he neither kisses the missal nor says *Per evangelica dicta*,² but having saluted the cross at the centre of the altar he goes to the epistle corner, where he stands facing the altar until the deacon begins the Gospel. The missal is not brought to him at the conclusion of the Gospel; he is not incensed, nor is the *Credo* said. Having, then, sung *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus*, and, having read the offertory, he makes the oblation of the host and chalice in the usual way. He does not, however, bless the water which is put into the chalice.

The Deacon and Sub-deacon will follow the rules given for the ordinary solemn Mass, with a few obvious and necessary exceptions. As there is no incensation before the *Introit*, they do not mount the predella along with the celebrant. Each of them mounts, the step on which is his accustomed place. When the celebrant kisses the altar, they do not genuflect³ but, having made a simple reverence to the altar, they accompany the celebrant to the epistle corner and take their places. They do not sign themselves at the beginning of the *Introit*.⁴ If the celebrant sits during the singing of

¹ Martinucci, l. 2, c. 10, n. 36. Wapelhorst, n. 94, 3, against Baldeschi, Vavas seur, Favril, &c.

² S. R. C., September 11, 1847. *In Veronen ad* 12, *apud* De Conny, l. 2, ch. 1. Art 3

³ Martinucci, *loc. cit.* n. 23.

⁴ Authors generally.

the *Kyrie* they also sit with him, taking care to observe, in sitting down and going to the altar, the directions given for the ordinary solemn Mass.

When the celebrant is singing the prayer, the deacon takes the place of the master of ceremonies, at the missal, and the sub-deacon sings the Epistle, making the customary salutations to the altar and the choir. At the conclusion of the Epistle he does not go to get the celebrant's blessing, but having handed the book to the master of ceremonies, takes his place at the epistle corner.

When, towards the conclusion of the singing of the Sequence by the choir, the celebrant goes to the altar to read the Gospel, the deacon and sub-deacon accompany him as usual. While he is saying the *Munda cor meum*, the deacon goes for the book of Gospels, the sub-deacon transfers the missal from the epistle to the gospel side. The deacon lays the book on or near the centre of the altar, and during the reading of the Gospel he and the sub-deacon stand in their usual places. When the celebrant, at the conclusion of the Gospel, comes to the middle of the altar, the deacon kneels on the edge of the predella and says the *Munda cor meum*; then rising, he takes the book from the altar, and, without asking the celebrant's blessing, or kissing his hand, he descends the altar, and stands at the centre, turned towards the altar, having the sub-deacon on his left.

At the conclusion of the Sequence, the deacon and sub-deacon, with the other ministers, genuflect to the altar, salute the choir, and proceed to sing the Gospel. The book is not incensed, nor is it carried to the celebrant, nor is incense offered to the celebrant; but, as soon as the singing of the Gospel is finished, the sub-deacon closes the book, hands it to the master of ceremonies, and goes, in company with the deacon, to the centre of the altar, where, having taken their places, both genuflect. When the celebrant has sung *Oremus* they again genuflect; the deacon goes up to assist the celebrant, and the sub-deacon goes to the credence for the chalice, which he carries to the altar, without removing the small veil or burse.

The deacon takes the burse, removes the corporal, places

the burse against the *gradus*, and spreads the corporal, and having removed the pall, hands the paten to the celebrant without the usual *oscula*. The sub-deacon, meantime, removes the veil from the chalice, and hands it to one of the acolytes to fold and carry to the credence. He then receives the cruets from the acolyte who brings them to the altar, and hands the wine cruet to the deacon. He puts water into the chalice without asking the celebrant to bless it.

The *Master of Ceremonies* must carefully note all the points of difference between a Requiem and an ordinary Mass, so as that he may be able to prevent any of the others engaged with him from falling into mistakes. Incense is not required during this part of the Mass—namely, until after the offertory. The *Gloria* is omitted, and only one prayer is said. Consequently, as soon as he has pointed out the prayer to the celebrant, he makes a sign to the deacon to come to the missal, while he, himself, goes to bring the book of Epistles to the sub-deacon. Along with the sub-deacon he salutes in the usual way the altar and choir before and after the reading of the Epistle; but, instead of conducting the sub-deacon to the epistle corner, to get the celebrant's blessing, he receives the book from him, and makes a sign to him to resume his place at the epistle corner.

When the choir is within a few strophes¹—five or six—of the conclusion of the Sequence, the master of ceremonies invites the celebrant to go to the altar to read the Gospel. During the reading of the Gospel, he brings the acolytes without their candles to the centre of the altar, where he, himself, also remains. The deacon and sub-deacon having also arrived at the foot of the altar, all arrange themselves as already explained, and at the conclusion of the Sequence the master of ceremonies makes a sign to them to genuflect, and salute the choir, in which actions he accompanies them. He occupies his accustomed place during the singing of the Gospel, at which he should bear in mind neither lights nor incense is used. At the conclusion of the Gospel he at once receives the book from the sub-deacon, and carries it to the

¹ “At the words *Oro supplex*,” Baldeschi, Vavasour. “Circiter ad stropham *Inter ovis*,” Wapellhorst.

credence. During the offertory, he discharges the usual duties.

The Acolytes, when coming to the altar, carry lighted candles as usual. They salute the choir and the altar, along with the sacred ministers, and having placed their candlesticks on the credence, they kneel for the beginning of the Mass. The only point of difference between the Requiem and the ordinary solemn Mass, to which it is necessary to call the attention of the acolytes, is that they do not carry their candles during the singing of the Gospel.

The Thurifer having his hands joined, precedes the others to the altar, salutes the choir and the altar with them, and takes his place at the credence, between the acolytes. After the singing of the Gospel he goes to the sacristy to prepare the censer.

The Choir returns the salute of the ministers when they are coming to the altar—kneels when they salute the altar, and rises again when they go up to the altar. During the singing of the *Kyrie* the choir may sit whether the celebrant sits or not. At the collect all in choir kneel; during the reading of the Epistle and the singing of the Gradual, Tract and Sequence they may sit. At the words, *Oro suplex*, of the Sequence, and at the Sacred Name, the clergy remove their birettas and incline.

Towards the end of the Sequence, candles are distributed to the members of the choir, which they light during the singing of the last strophe, and hold in their hands until the Gospel has been sung. At the conclusion of the Sequence they rise, return the salute of the ministers, and remain standing until the celebrant sings *Oremus*, when they may again sit.

SECTION III.—FROM THE OFFERTORY TO THE END OF MASS.

The Celebrant, when he has offered the chalice, and said the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis*, turns by his right, puts incense into the censer, and incenses the *oblata* and the altar in the usual way. The *Gloria Patri* is not said after the psalm. *Larabo*. The common preface is always said or sung

in a Requiem Mass. In the *Agnus Dei* he says, *dona eis requiem*, instead of *miserere nobis*, and *dona eis requiem sempiternam*, instead of *dona nobis pacem*. He omits the first of the three prayers usually said between the *Agnus Dei* and the *Domini non sum dignus*, and does not give the *Pax* to the deacon. He says *Requiescat in pace*¹ turned towards the altar, and having said the prayer, *Placeat*, without giving the blessing, goes at once to the gospel corner to read the beginning of the Gospel of St. John.

The Deacon having covered the chalice with the pall, after the celebrant has offered it, assists at the incensation of the *oblata* and altar. He incenses the celebrant, and him alone, and, having handed the censer to the thurifer, he receives the finger towel from an acolyte, and ministers to the celebrant at the washing of the fingers. He then takes his place behind the celebrant and responds to the *Orate fratres*.

He goes up to say the *Sanctus* with the celebrant, and during the Canon observes exactly the directions laid down for the ordinary solemn Mass. After the *Agnus Dei*, at which he does not strike his breast, instead of kneeling on the edge of the predella, he changes places with the sub-deacon, that is, he goes from the right of the celebrant to his left, taking care to genuflect in both places. He sings *Requiescant in pace*,² with his face towards the altar, and assists at the reading of the last Gospel.

The Sub-Deacon, having handed the cruets to an acolyte, goes to the left of the celebrant, making a genuflection when passing the centre of the altar. He assists at the blessing of the incense, and at the incensation. After the incensing of the altar he accompanies the deacon down the steps on the epistle side, and stands at his left while he incenses the celebrant. He then receives the vessel of water with the basin, and pours water on the celebrant's fingers. After this he takes his place at the centre of the altar behind the deacon. He genuflects at a sign from the master of ceremonies and goes up to say the *Sanctus*, and, having found the beginning

¹ S. R. C., Sep. 7, 1816, 4376, *ad.* 36.

² Always in the plural.

of the Canon, he returns to his place. When the deacon genuflects at the left of the celebrant, just before the consecration, the sub-deacon also genuflects, goes to the epistle corner, and there kneeling on the lowest step, his face towards the gospel side, having received the censer from the thurifer, he incenses the Blessed Sacrament at each elevation with three double swings, making an inclination before and after each incensation. After the elevation he hands the censer to the thurifer, and returns to his place at the centre of the altar, where he genuflects.

At the *Pax Domini* he goes up to the left of the celebrant and says the *Agnus Dei*, but does not strike his breast. After the *Agnus Dei* he genuflects at the left of the celebrant, and, as the *Pax* is not given, passes to his right, where he again genuflects. As there is no blessing he does not kneel after the *Requiescant in pace* has been sung, but goes direct to the gospel corner. During the reading of the last Gospel he holds the chart in a convenient position for the celebrant.

The *Master of Ceremonies* has merely to note during this part of the Requiem Mass, that the sub-deacon incenses the Blessed Sacrament during the elevation, though he himself, and not the sub-deacon, replenishes the censer with incense.

The *Acolytes* give the finger-towel to the deacon, the water cruet and basin to the sub-deacon for the washing of the fingers, and receive them from them again. They provide torches for the consecration, and remain kneeling with their torches lighting until after the communion of the celebrant.

The *Thurifer* carries the censer to the altar, making the usual salutations to the choir and the altar. While the celebrant is saying the prayer after the offering of the chalice he mounts the predella by the steps on the epistle side, in company with the master of ceremonies, holds up the censer to receive incense, and hands it to the deacon. After the deacon has incensed the celebrant, he receives the censer again, and carries it to the sacristy. When the acolytes go for torches before the consecration, the thurifer accompanies them, and returns with them carrying the censer. He goes to the master of ceremonies to get incense put into the

censer, and then proceeds to the epistle side, where he kneels beside the sub-deacon, to whom he gives the censer. After the elevation of the chalice he receives the censer from the sub-deacon, and retires with it to the sacristy.

As the acolytes may be engaged with their torches he will assist at the ablutions, and, if necessary, will carry the small veil of the chalice to the sub-deacon.

The Choir rises at the beginning of the preface. As soon as the clergy kneel after the preface they again light their candles, and keep them lighting, and remain on their knees until the *Agnus Dei*. At the *Agnus Dei* they rise, but do not extinguish their candles until the celebrant has consumed the Precious Blood. They may sit from this time till the celebrant, after reading the *Communion*, is coming to the centre of the altar to say *Dominus vobiscum*. They now rise, and at the *Oremus*, before the *Post-Communion*, they kneel, rise again for the last *Dominus vobiscum*, and remain standing till the last Gospel is read.

WHEN SHOULD THE "DIES IRÆ" BE SAID?

"REV. SIR,—Please kindly explain in the I. E. RECORD for next month, when the *Dies Iræ* may be omitted in Masses of the Dead, as I am aware of a diversity of opinion and of practice in this matter. An explanation will oblige

A SUBSCRIBER.

The Rubrics of the Missal give the following very clear and precise answer to our correspondent's question:—*Sequentia pro defunctis dicitur in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum, et depositionis defuncti, et quodcumque in missa dicitur una tantum oratio: in aliis autem missis pro defunctis dicatur ad arbitrium sacerdotis.*¹ The *Dies Irae* is, therefore, to be said in all Requiem Masses, in which only one prayer should be said; in Requiem Masses, in which more than one prayer should be said, the *Dies Irae* may be said or omitted at the will of the celebrant. Only one prayer is said on All

¹ *Tit.* v. n. 4.

Souls' Day, on the day of death or burial, on the third, seventh, thirtieth, or anniversary day. This rule holds for the above days, as well in a private or low Mass as in a solemn Mass. Moreover, in every solemn Requiem Mass, on whatsoever day it may be celebrated, only one prayer is said. Consequently, on all these occasions the *Dies Iræ* must be said. But in ordinary private Requiem Masses, celebrated on semi-doubles throughout the year, the *Dies Iræ* is not of obligation.

NUMBER OF WAX CANDLES IN EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

REV. SIR. — What rule is to be followed with regard to the number of wax candles to be used in case of Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament—say for one day, as it frequently happens? Is it the rule that is observed for the *Forty Hours*, which requires twenty wax candles by day, and ten by night; or is it the ordinary rule for Benediction, which requires only twelve?—Yours,

SACERDOS.

The point raised in our correspondent's inquiry would not seem to have at any time formed a subject of special legislation. It is not difficult, however, to determine both from analogy and approved practice what should be the law. The *Instruction Clementina* prescribes at least twenty wax candles for the Exposition of the *Forty Hours*, and a decree¹ of Innocent XI. orders at least ten such candles to be lighted during solemn Benediction. Now, Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for only one day, or for merely a private cause, such as our correspondent contemplates, is not so solemn as the Exposition of the *Forty Hours*. It is, then, but reasonable to infer that it is not necessary to light so many candles during the former as during the latter.

On the other hand, whenever the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, unveiled in the monstrance, the Exposition is, at least, as solemn as that for Benediction, and, consequently, at least an equal number of wax candles should be lighted. And as there is no trace of an express law requiring a larger number in the case of the prolonged Exposition, we consider

¹ May 2), 1682.

it quite safe, in practice, to follow the rule laid down for Benediction, *i.e.*, that ten or twelve will suffice. This is the opinion of Gardellini, with regard to all places outside of Rome.¹ Moreover, St. Charles Borromeo, in giving rules for an Exposition, such as we are discussing, requires only ten or twelve wax candles;² and a like number satisfied Benedict XIV., when Bishop of Bologna, for similar Expositions.³

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY OF ROME.

Rome, *January 14th*, 1890.

REV. DEAR SIR,—It may be of interest to many of your readers—I am sure it will be to some of them—to hear of the present condition of the famous Gregorian University, founded three centuries ago by Pope Gregory XIII., and conducted by the ablest representatives of the Jesuit Order.

The actual number of students frequenting the Gregorian University is not far from eight hundred. Of this number, unparalleled and prodigious for a strictly ecclesiastical university, four hundred and forty-seven attend the theological department; three hundred and six the triennial course of philosophy, chemistry, higher mathematics, and sacred eloquence; the remainder pursuing the special course of canon law.

Shortly before the Piedmontese entered Rome, the regular attendance averaged seven hundred and eleven. At that period, not only the higher branches, but even the humanities and primary courses, were taught in the university. During the scholastic year of 1870-71, the faculty of teaching the primary branches was taken from the Jesuits, only to be monopolized by the State and its godless instructors.

Notwithstanding these sad events, the zealous followers of St. Ignatius were not dismayed, but continued the courses of philosophy and theology privately in the sombre halls of the

¹ *Instructio Clementina.* Sect. 6, n. 6. ² *Apud Gardellini, ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Palazzo Borromeo, otherwise known as the Antico Germanico. Their patient efforts were soon rewarded.

When Pope Leo XIII. exhorted bishops and clergy throughout Christendom to a strenuous reaction in philosophical and theological sciences, the regulars, whose characteristic is obedience, hastened to answer the Sovereign Pontiff's appeal.

Cardinal Mazzella, then a celebrated Professor of Dogma in the Jesuit College of Woodstock, Maryland, was instantly recalled to Rome and designated Prefect of Studies in the Gregorian University. He continued his lectures on dogmatic theology at the same time. Padre de Maria, an eminent Professor of Philosophy *ad mentem Angelici Doctoris*, Fr. Cornely, the renowned exegetist, together with several other distinguished Jesuit professors, were ordered to Rome. On the 7th of June, 1886, Professor Mazzella was made cardinal. Padre de Maria succeeded him as Prefect of Studies. As professor, the cardinal was replaced by Fr. de Augustinis, who formerly taught at Woodstock. Under the careful management of Padre de Maria, seconded by the combined efforts of Frs. de Augustinis, Billot, Cornely, Bucceroni and others, all eminent professors of their respective branches, the university speedily regained what it had temporarily lost. At present it is actually eclipsing its ancient splendour.

If you visit the lecture halls of a class day, you will find the benches thronged by energetic youths from Europe, North and South America, Asia and Africa. Representatives of seventeen diverse nationalities, having nothing in common but their faith and an ardent desire of being soundly instructed in its divine mysteries, are daily assembled, or rather crowded together, in the vast auditorium. Thirty-five religious congregations and fifteen national colleges, not to speak of the *alumni externi*, help to compose this variegated audience. Here, in truth, a fascinating image of the Church's unity is vividly depicted. Here no pecuniary fee, but a very familiar acquaintance with the sciences taught, is the unique requisite for the attainment of degrees.

Among the students of the present term can be noticed the young Prince Ferdinand de Croy, who dwells in the Belgian College. Last year he was an officer in the Imperial Guard of the German Emperor at Potsdam. Another conspicuous member of the student body is Monsieur l'Abbé George Frémont, from the diocese of Paris. He is a celebrated preacher, and has already published several volumes of the conferences which he held in the capital, as well as in the other principal cities of France.

Many are the talented young men annually sent forth from this renowned fountain of science, in order to teach in various parts of the globe.

Four of the professorial chairs in the university, lately inaugurated by the Oblates at Ottawa, Canada, are occupied by students who recently completed their studies at the Gregorian University. Among these, Rev. Dr. Henri Lacoste is worthy of special mention. He made the entire courses of philosophy and theology in the above-named institution, and passed a brilliant examination for the doctorate last summer.

In the various dioceses of Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and South America, countless distinguished professors are to be found, who claim the Gregorian University as their Alma Mater, and who teach in the local seminaries scholastic philosophy and theology, according to the pure, unadulterated doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Not a few of the actual students have made the ordinary curriculum of studies elsewhere; but these frequent the Gregorian University in order to acquire a solid foundation in the philosophical and theological sciences, which are thoroughly expounded by the choicest talent of the Jesuit Order.

In conclusion may be added that, if anywhere, at least in the Gregorian University is fully realized the long-cherished hope of the gloriously reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., who ardently desires an animated progress of philosophical and theological sciences among the secular as well as regular clergy. E. M. D.

DOCUMENTS.

CONGREGATION OF THE PENITENTIARY.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CLAUSE "REMOTO SCANDALO, &c.," IN A CERTAIN MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION.

SUMMARY.

Meaning of the clause "Remoto, quatenus adsit, scandalo, praesertim per separationem . . . si fieri potest," found in Matrimonial Dispensations, "cum adfuit incestus publicus."

BEATISSIME PATER,

Rescripta S. Poenitentiariae, in causis matrimonialibus, cum adfuit incestus publicus, clausulam sequentem in praesenti

continent: "Remoto, quatenus adsit, scandalo, praesertim per separationem . . . si fieri potest."

Hisce miserrimis temporibus, non raro evenit ut separatio oratorum obtineri nequeat, aut quia plures jam habent liberos simul educandos; aut quia nusquam alibi habitare possunt; et tunc vix intelligi potest quaenam alia reparatio scandali exigi debeat, antequam dispensatio concedatur.

Rogamus igitur ut S. Poenitentiaria benigne velit declarare num haec clausula "Remoto scandalo" ita necessario debeat adimpleri, ut, illa omitta, dispensatio fuerit nulliter concessa, et quatenus affirmative:

P Cum pluries acciderit ut errore ducti, ita dispensaverimus, suppliciter petimus ut S. V. dispensationes hujusmodi benigne convalidare dignetur et, si opus sit, matrimonia exinde secuta in radice sanare.

2. Rogamus ut S. Poenitentiaria nobis velit indicare, quibusnam praesertim mediis remotio seu reparatio scandali, defectu separationis, procurari debeat aut possit. Sufficitne, v. g. ut in ecclesia inter Missarum sollemnia publice denuntiatur matrimonium, inter oratores contrahendum, vel ut oratores, aut alteruter eorum ante dispensationis executionem sua peccata confiteatur?

Quod Deus . . .

Sacra Poenitentiaria, mature consideratis expositis, Ven. in Christo Patri Archiepiscopo N . . . respondet:

Separationem praeferri aliis modis reparationis scandali; si haec fieri nequeat, scandalum esse reparandum, sed modum scandali reparandi remitti prudenti arbitrio et conscientiae Ordinarii, juxta cujusque casus exigentias. Casu quo omitta sit separatio et scandalum alio modo reparatum, acquiescat; secus, si aliquo in casu scandali reparationem omiserit, sileat, et in posterum cautius se gerat.

Datum Romae in Sacra Poenitentiaria, die 12 Aprilis 1889.

R. CARD. MONACO, P.M.

CONGREGATION OF THE PENITENTIARY.

DECISION REGARDING THE RATE OF INTEREST ALLOWABLE ON MONEY.

SUMMARY.

The Bishop of Marsica and Potenza explains to the Sacred Congregation that very frequently, even good Catholics of his

diocese, lend money at 8 or 10 per cent., and defend their action by saying that they would derive the same profit if they placed their money in the banks. In addition, they wish to have 8 or 10 per cent. net, and consequently oblige the borrower to pay the tax recently imposed by the Italian law, known as *ricchezza mobile* on floating capital. This practically raises the interest to $8\frac{1}{2}$ or $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

REPLY OF THE PENITENTIARY.

“Cum fructus pecuniæ taxare per modum regulæ periculosum sit, Ven. in Chto Pater Episcopus orator in singulis casibus rem decernat juxta praxim communem servatam ab hominibus timoratæ conscientiæ respectivis in locis et temporibus.”

NOTICE OF BOOKS.

ADDRESSES ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. By the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin. M. H. Gill & Son.

ALL who are interested in the great question of University Education in Ireland will welcome the publication, in pamphlet form, of the two splendid Addresses, delivered by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin in the Cecilia-street School of Medicine, on the 7th of November, and in Blackrock College, on the 5th of December last. This pamphlet will undoubtedly be looked upon as the most complete and unanswerable exposition of Catholic grievances, in the matter of higher education, that has been made in recent times; and the Catholics of the whole country must ever feel indebted to His Grace for the unceasing care and interest he has bestowed on this important subject. No detail of the whole case has escaped His Grace's searching investigation, and every point is sent home with a force and effectiveness which it is simply impossible to escape. These careful and exhaustive addresses, the eagerness with which they were listened to in Dublin, and the absorbing interest with which they were read throughout the country, are proof additional, if proof were still required, of the intense anxiety, the ever-increasing desire of the people of Ireland to be allowed to develop their intellectual life according to their

own notions, to pursue their own ideals of mental progress, and to cultivate the faculties with which God has endowed them, in the direction to which they are naturally inclined. Too long they have been handicapped in the race of life, and deprived of those higher blessings of civilization which are the share of every free people. In bringing the great struggle of centuries to a happy and final success, none will have done his part more faithfully than the author of this pamphlet.

That notwithstanding the professions of liberality by which Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges were thrown open to Catholics, these institutions have been effectively secured to the Protestants; that they have been maintained as strongholds of Protestant ascendancy, "antagonistic in their current of thought and in their general flavour and complexion to all that could be acceptable to the majority of the Irish people;" that, in addition, the Protestants, who are but one-fourth of the population, are allowed half the endowments of the Royal University, whilst the Catholics, who are four to one of the inhabitants, get only the miserable pittance which is not far in excess of the sum allowed as travelling expenses to the officials of the latest university institution, and that this gross and palpable injustice, standing in its general outlines, is by no means modified by an examination of the details or of the practical working of these establishments—all this is developed in the Archbishop's addresses with a vitality, a freshness, and often with a humorous touch, which make his speeches pleasant as well as interesting to read. We are almost sorry that the evidence given by His Grace before the Queen's College Commission in 1884 was not embodied in the pamphlet. But it is not likely he has done with the subject yet. He and every Irish bishop must feel that they cannot rest until the Catholic laity, who have made so many material sacrifices rather than yield to a system "intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals," have a centre of education, second to none in the kingdom, to which they may securely entrust their sons. They have had a long and weary struggle for justice; but we trust they will soon be rewarded for their patient suffering, for their noble attachment to the inheritance of their forefathers, and the truly Catholic docility with which they heard the voices of the pastors warning them against the "godless colleges" with all their worldly allurements and promises.

LEAVES FROM ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Selected and Translated by Mary H. Allies. Edited with a Preface by T. W. Allies, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1889.

THIS well-finished volume consists of more than fifty selections, translated from the numberless homilies, discourses, and letters of the great patriarch and doctor, whose "golden eloquence" long held the Eastern Church completely captive. In the preface we find a short but instructive sketch of the main features of the saint's wondrous and eventful life—his birth, his early years, his consecration, his exile and death—together with a summary of his numerous works. The book proper consists of three parts—the first, which is aptly styled "The King's Highway," has reference to the helps and hindrances of a Christian life; the second, entitled "The King's House," treats principally of the Church, the Eucharist, Priesthood, &c.; and the third, or "Personal," consists of letters addressed to various persons of importance.

A mere glance through the volume will suffice to show the vast richness of the treasure it contains. Loftiness of thought, depth and beauty of illustration, eloquence: in one word, sublime and irresistible are here expressed in every page. Preachers, especially, will find, particularly in the Homilies, abundant food for suggestion and consideration. English-speaking Catholics must, in truth, feel deeply grateful to the translator for the care and ability displayed in the production of this fitting companion to the *Leaves from St. Augustine*. T. C.

MANCHESTER DIALOGUES. By Father Harper, S.J. London: The Catholic Truth Society; Burns & Oates, Limited.

EIGHTEEN Dialogues, written by Father Harper, and published as separate booklets by the Catholic Truth Society, when bound together, make a very handy, interesting, and instructive little volume. Under such sensational catch-titles as "Bleeding Nuns," "Dogma up at the Police Court," "The Sentimental Claimant," &c., and by means of good-natured discussions between two Manchester merchants (a Catholic and an "Unattached Christian"), Catholic doctrine and practice on a variety of subjects are well explained and ably vindicated.

Some people may think differently, but in our opinion this kind of printed dialogue, when written by a priest of Father

Harper's well-recognised ability, is well adapted for conveying Catholic truth to non-Catholic minds.

It is a matter for congratulation that the Catholic Truth Society is continuing to do great service for the great cause which has given it alike its origin and its name. J. C. C.

LIBRARY OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. Translated into English by the Rev. Henry Benedict Mackey, O.S.B. Part IV., Letters to Persons in Religion. With Introduction by the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

THE above forms the fourth volume of the works of St. Francis, translated into English by the learned and zealous Benedictine, Father Mackey. As the title indicates the present volume contains exclusively the letters of the saint to persons in religion, arranged according to the following order:—I. These written previous to the founding of the Visitation (the order of nuns established by the saint himself); II. The earlier letters to the sisters of the Visitation; III. Later letters to the same; IV. Letters to religions outside the Visitation; V. General instructions to the sisters of the Visitation; VI. Letters for various festivals.

To those who study to acquire the true method of spiritual progress, the present volume must prove a welcome auxiliary. Subjects of every degree of importance in the way of perfection are here discussed with that energy and sweetness so peculiarly St. Francis's own. Few, indeed, can read his simple but impressive words without feeling insensibly drawn with him to a closer and more abiding union with the source of all true happiness and peace.

To Father Mackey, we feel bound to say, is due no small degree of praise for furnishing us in this, as in the preceding volumes, with a well-arranged and truly readable English version of the writings of St. Francis.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1890.

THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

DURING the course of the present century a great effort has been made to bring the study of language to the perfection of a systematic science. That this has been already done is the proud boast of many ardent philologists, who are confident of their own methods, and quite satisfied with the solidity of the principles on which they work; but that we are still far from having established to the general satisfaction those first and essential principles on which alone a science can be built, the more moderate and trustworthy students of language admit without much hesitation. The name, however, is of little importance. Certain it is that since the discovery of Sanskrit, or rather since Colebrooke, Burnouf, and Sir William Jones, introduced the study of Sanskrit into Europe, a more scientific classification of languages than was ever possible before has undoubtedly been made. The laws of affinity, the phonetic changes and rules of transit among all the languages of the Indo-European family have been traced with wonderful precision, whilst the resolving process which some of the older types of the family have undergone and their fruitful reproduction in so many forms, have been examined and brought under rule. When what has been done for the comparative and collective study of the languages of the Indo-European family shall have likewise been accomplished for the internal comparative study of the Semitic, Touranian,

and Egyptian groups, and materials shall have thus been obtained for the ultimate comparison of the oldest forms of these great branches of speech—then there will be no difficulty in admitting the existence of a “science of language.”

Philological progress has not, however, been the only result of the newly-acquired knowledge of Sanskrit. This hitherto unknown region was speedily explored in a sense hostile to revelation. The knowledge of the language itself became the key to the vast and ancient literature of the people who spoke it, and this in its turn revealed a whole system of laws, mythology, and religion, which by reason of their antiquity and of their perfection, were invoked to confirm the false conclusions of geology and ethnology on the one hand, and the absolute principles of evolution on the other.

Fortunately these studies were not left altogether in the hands of infidels. As a Carmelite missionary, Fra Paolino di San Bartholomeo, was the first to write a Sanskrit grammar in Europe, and the Jesuit scholars De' Nobili, Calmette, and Coeurdoux, were the earliest pioneers of the study, so the great Spanish Jesuit Hervás¹ was the first to apply it to the special purposes of philology with such happy results. The whole comparative study has ever since had its ablest and most competent expounders within the Church. In this department Cardinal Wiseman² was by himself alone a tower of strength against all who dared to attack the revealed Word of God. And even outside the Church grave and competent authorities are to be found at the present day who bear candid testimony that not only is there no contradiction between the results of all that has recently been discovered and the historical assertions of the Bible, but that the latter are confirmed in the most striking and unequivocal manner by everything that has come to light in recent years within the domain of philology and language.

But before we enter into a discussion of the special difficulties that arise in this connection we are naturally led to

Catalogo de las Lenguas, p. 133.

The Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, Vol. I., Lectures

examine a question which underlies them all, viz., how language first made its appearance in the world; what is its origin; how it came to be a specific property of man, the most apparent and perceptible barrier between him and the brute creation, in so far as it is the outward manifestation of his native faculty of reason. This question would seem to be of permanent interest. It was mooted in ancient Greece and Rome, in the middle ages and in the eighteenth century. Almost all the great philosophers have had their word to say upon it. In our own times volumes have been filled with it. In England alone it has recently exercised the ingenuity of Mr. George Romanes,¹ Dr. Mivart,² Judge Stephen,³ Mr. Max Müller,⁴ Professor Sayce, the Duke of Argyll, Archdeacon Farrar,⁵ and others. It is needless to say that the solution is not always the same. It would even be impossible in a short space to enumerate in full the various and contradictory theories that have been put forward from time to time to account for the original phenomenon. We can give only the principal ones, and these briefly.

The ancient philosophers of Greece generally believed that language was of *purely* human invention. Being ignorant of the divine origin of man, as it is revealed to us in the Bible, they thought that each people formed its own language, and their chief concern seems to have been whether words were only mere conventional signs, or whether they possessed some inward and natural conformity with the things they represented. Were they applied *φύσει* or *θέσει*? In this discussion Aristotle and the Peripatetics were all on the side of conventionalism. The Stoics were ranged against them. Plato alone seems to have gone to the foundation of the question. One of his works, *The Kratylus*, is devoted to the discussion of it, and although he only goes through the various aspects of the question, without

¹ *Mental Evolution in Man.* By George J. Romanes. Kegan Paul Trench & Co. 1889.

² *The Origin of Human Reason.* By Professor St. George Mivart Kegan Paul & Co.

³ *Art.* *Nineteenth Century*, April, 1888.

⁴ *The Science of Thought.* By Professor Max Müller. Longmans.
The Origin of Language. By Archdeacon Farrar. Longmans.

expressing a definite opinion of his own, yet, with his usual deep insight into the origin of things, he puts into the mouth of Kratylus words which show that he was by no means satisfied with the belief in the human invention of language. After laying down that there are certain root words or phonetic types from which all others are derived, he says of these verbal archetypes:—

“ I think, O Socrates, the truest doctrine on all this is, that there must exist some greater power than that of man which gave these primary names to things; names which they should have in order to be correctly represented.”¹

How far Plato's opinion harmonizes with Christian notions will afterwards be seen.

The Romans in this, as in all matters of philosophy, borrowed their ideas from the Greeks. According to Lucretius the same principle of nature that induces animals to express varied emotions by varied sounds, likewise leads man to name things by different words, according to the different perceptions he has of them. After enumerating different kinds of sounds uttered by dogs, horses and birds, in different circumstances, he concludes:—

“ Ergo si varii sensus animalia cogunt
Muta tamen cum sint varias emittere voces
Quanto mortales magis aequum est tum potuisse
Dissimiles alia atque alia res voce notare.”²

Language is, according to his theory, an organic and purely material faculty. That man could invent at the origin, without more ado, certain names of things according to his impressions, he asserts, but does not prove. *Potuit ergo fecit* is not a good argument even when the theory is conceded as intrinsically possible. But of man's powers of comparison, abstraction and generalization, of his faculty of perceiving relations, ordering his thoughts, and manifesting them by the use of articulate sounds, and how man received or

¹ Κρ. Οἶμαι μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν ἀληθέστατον λόγον περὶ τούτων εἶναι, ὃ Σώκρατες, μεῖζω τινὰ δύναμιν εἶναι ἢ ἀνθρωπίαν, τὴν θεμένην τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς τε ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι αὐτὰ ορθῶς ἔχειν. *Kratylus*, Edit. Stef., p. 424.

² *De Rerum Natura*, L. 1027.

acquired these faculties which distinguish him from the brutes, Lucretius says nothing, and, according to the principles of his master, Epicurus, could say nothing. It might, indeed, be very convenient for man to learn language, moved by nature, just as the birds sing or as the dog barks, but experience tells him that the process is very different.

A favourite theory in the eighteenth century was that supported by Hobbes, Condillac, Condorcet, Turgot, Maupertius, &c. Man spontaneously utters cries, sobs, and shouts, according as he is affected by fear, pain, or joy. These cries were represented as the natural and real beginning of language. Everything was developed from them by a slow and gradual process. Hence, when man, even in his present state of advancement, experiences any sudden or vehement emotion, he forgets for a moment the use of speech, returns to his natural state, and utters an interjection or exclamation of surprise, pain or joy, as the case may be. These natural sounds were in the commencement much assisted by looks and gestures; for in the words of Ovid:—

“ Verba superciliis sine voce loquentia dicam
Verba legam digitis.”

But animals also cry or scream when affected by pain, and though they cannot laugh they express their pleasure by sounds very different from those by which they express their pain; yet, for the last six thousand years they have never been able to improve upon their emotional cries, or to attempt to develop even an imperfect language out of them.

When the studies of comparative grammar had established that all words can be traced to a relatively small number of roots which may be regarded as the germs of all speech, it was held by many writers, and chiefly by the German Herder,¹ that these roots are imitations of sounds. It was supposed that man, being as yet mute, heard the voices of dogs, birds, and cows, the thunder of the clouds, the roaring of the sea, the rustling of the forest, the whispering of the breeze. He tried to imitate these sounds, and finding his mimicking cries

useful as signs of the objects from which they proceeded, he followed up the idea, and elaborated language. But the number of words formed by this process of onomatopœia is exceedingly small in every language, and many which would seem to be so formed, when comparatively studied with similar words of other languages, turn out to have a totally different origin. Mr. Max Müller disposes of the theory after a careful examination:—

“Our answer is [he says] that though there are names in every language formed by mere imitation of sound, yet these constitute a very small proportion of our dictionary. Scholars may differ as to the exact number of such words in different languages, but whatever their number, they offer no difficulty and require no explanation. They are the playthings not the tools of language, and any attempt to reduce the most common and necessary words to imitative roots ends in complete failure.”¹

Herder, himself, after having strenuously defended this theory, renounced it unreservedly towards the end of his life, and maintained that man was incapable by himself alone of inventing language without a special assistance from God, and that his faculty of speech would never have passed from power to act without some special intervention of Providence.

M. Rénan settles the question in his usual off-hand and authoritative fashion. Man, according to him, speaks just as he sees and hears. It is a natural, spontaneous act:—

“Il n’y a rien de réflex dans la formation du langage. Il naît spontanément. C’est un rêve que d’imaginer un état dans lequel l’homme n’aurait pas parlé, suivi d’un autre dans lequel il aurait acquis l’usage de la parole. L’homme parle comme il pense, c’est-à-dire naturellement.”²

This is M. Rénan’s usual style. He asserts, but gives no reasons. He supposes that the act of speaking is as simple and as spontaneous as the acts of seeing and hearing, thus confounding acts of direct perception with the complex action of seeking and *choosing* signs to express the conceptions of the mind. Besides, in developing his notions

Rénan ultimately agrees with the imitative theory which has been discarded by all writers of common sense.

In the opinion of the famous Jacob Grimm, language could not have been given to man by God. Man must therefore have invented it himself. For, if God had given language to the first man he would have conferred a special privilege upon him, and placed him in more favourable conditions than his successors. This would be opposed to divine justice. Besides, if, as the Bible asserts, God spoke to Adam, to Noah, to Abraham and the prophets, and then spoke no more, he would have changed his nature. But He is immutable. Therefore He did not speak at all. As a writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* so truly says: "Grimm should not have meddled in theology, about which he knows nothing."¹

He was a Protestant and a rationalist, who treated the whole book of *Genesis* as a series of myths and legends, yet he is obliged to admit that the origin of language is surrounded by mystery, and that the difficulty of the question arises from the want of historical documents relating to those primitive times when man appeared in the world.²

Passing over the subtle and certainly gratuitous theories of Steinthal³ and Heyse⁴ we come to the system which denies man all active part in the invention of language, and ascribes its origin to the direct magisterium of God. This theory was propounded by Eunomius in the early Church, and refuted by St. Gregory of Nyssa. It was revived in the course of the present century by M. de Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, Bonetty, the Abbé Bautain, De Lammenais, and the Traditionalists generally.

¹ Il povero Grimm non doveva entrare in teologia dove non intendeva niente, ma volle avventurarsi per darci lo spettacolo non raro à di nostri di quella semplicità in alcuni e di quello stolto orgoglio nè più, che basti sapere un po' di geologia, di chimica, di linguistica, per potere oracolare in divinità al pari, anzi meglio de' teologi e de' filosofi cristiani.—*Civiltà Cattolica*, 16 Aprile 1887, v. 164.

² *Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache*, p. 51.

³ *Ursprung der Sprache*, p. 17.

⁴ *System der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 157.

De Bonald laid down the principle, which was taken almost as the device of the school:—

“L’homme pense sa parole avant de parler sa pensée. Le langage est l’instrument nécessaire de toute opération intellectuelle et le moyen de toute existence morale.”¹

Thus man’s acquisition of knowledge is made dependent on his acquisition of language. But language is certainly traditional, therefore knowledge must be the same; and as by education only man can learn language in its full development, similarly all moral and metaphysical truths can only be acquired by social institution. In this way both one and the other must ultimately be traced to the direct teaching of God. The more moderate traditionalists, such as Gioberti, Rosmini, and Father Romano,² applied this theory only to reflex knowledge, and the directors of the *Revue Catholique* of Louvain³ only to the more complicated forms of reflex knowledge. Their error arose chiefly from a false notion of the relations between language and thought. For much of what they wrote of human reason is true of language, but not of reason. Language must be learned from others. The perception and conception of things must not. All will admit that language is of very great assistance to the mind in perfecting and putting in order the knowledge that is acquired, but it is not indispensable either to the direct or indirect acquisition of that knowledge. Language is not antecedent to thought, but just the reverse. It accompanies thought, and helps it, if you like; but, in reality, it is not essential to it. The “*verbum mentis*” precedes the “*verbum oris*,” and the former can exist without the latter. Hence we often hesitate and look for a word to express an inward thought, which must sometimes be left unexpressed until we learn the conventional word that would convey it to others. And, again, how often do we not meet words which absolutely convey no idea to our minds, until we gain some notion of the objects to which they refer. We must thus go back, in the case of language, from generation to generation, to the first man, and to God in a certain sense; but, in the

Recherches Philosophiques, p. 64.

² *Scienza dell uomo interiore*.

³ *Revue Catholique*, Février, 1852, pp. 70, 73.

words of St. Gregory of Nyssa,¹ "it would be a puerility worthy of the Jews to imagine God as an 'institutor,' who initiates man into the rudiments of his language." It is enough that God should have endowed man with the various faculties which are necessary to speech, and that He should have provided effective means for bringing these faculties into active exercise for one particular purpose.

Language has ever been acknowledged by the partisans of evolution as one of the most difficult obstacles in their way. They are therefore at their wits' ends to explain it. If they could once bridge over by sensitive power alone the abyss between percepts and concepts, or between perception and judgment, all their trouble would disappear. If brutes could form even imperfect concepts they could form an imperfect language, and in the course of generations both would develop. There, however, was the unfortunate missing link. Mr. Galton, and especially Mr. George Romanes, in his recent work on *Mental Evolution in Man*, have laboured hard to bridge over the chasm. Dr. Mivart has already done justice to their efforts. They have acknowledged that the abyss is there, called it by a newfangled name, and flattered themselves that they had solved the difficulty. Mr. Darwin himself, in his work on the *Descent of Man* lays down the groundwork of the doctrine which his disciples have so assiduously explored:—

"With regard to the origin of articulate language [he says] I cannot doubt but that it is due to imitation and modification of various natural sounds aided by signs and gestures. The strong tendency in our nearest allies, the monkeys, in microcephalous idiots, and the barbarous races of mankind, to imitate whatever they hear, deserves special notice. Primeval man, or rather some early progenitor of man, probably first used his voice in producing true musical cadences, that is in singing, as do some of the Gibbon apes at the present time; and we may conclude from a widely-spread analogy that this power would have expressed various emotions."

This idea is developed in his chapters on "Natural Selection," with the same unvarying list of probabilities, analogies and conjectures, as bind his whole theory together.

¹ St. Greg. Nyssenus, *Op.* Vol. II., p. 768.

Such men have no scruples about doing what they falsely attribute to others, and condemn so roundly. They appeal, when driven to extremities, to the *probable*, to what might have been, to the unknown, to the dim obscurity of the past.

The theory thus shadowed forth by the master is worked out, with the most wearisome diffuseness, by the disciple, Mr. Romanes. An almost interminable list of stories and experiments about apes, bees, dogs, elephants, and birds, is made the basis for his assertion that the lower animals are endowed with the rudiments of intelligence, and with imperfect elements of speech. Dr. Mivart devotes over one hundred and twenty pages of his recent work,¹ to an examination of his facts and reasonings in so far as they relate to language. He has, indeed, little difficulty in convincing his readers that Mr. Romanes is "saturated with prejudice," and that "it is impossible to place confidence in the narration of one to whom dispassionate consideration has evidently been impossible." The conclusions of the distinguished professor are as satisfactory as could be desired:—

"Having most carefully considered [he writes] every argument put forward by Mr. Romanes, and tried our best to weigh accurately every fact brought forward by him, we must confess ourselves more than ever confident of the truth of the judgment we have long maintained—the judgment that, between the intellect of man and the highest psychical powers of any and every brute, there is an essential difference of kind, also involving, of course, a difference of origin."²

With regard to the special assertion made by Mr. Romanes, "that language diminishes the farther we look back, in such a way that we cannot forbear concluding it must once have had no existence at all," Mr. Mivart replies:—

"We not only doubt it, but we deny it, and say it is demonstrably absurd. Besides, all that we should be warranted in concluding from such a fact—if it were a fact—would be that language, at its origin, was in a very undeveloped condition. . . . There was, we are sure, a time when language was not; but that was the time when man himself was not."³

¹ *The Origin of Human Reason*, chap. iii., "Reason and Language"; chap. vi., "Reason and Divers Tongues."

² *Origin of Reason*, p. 297.

³ *Origin of Human Reason*, p. 278.

Against the theory generally it is observed that besides the organic differences which separate the human species from the brute, man has ever been found, even in the lowest stages of civilization, capable of computing, perceiving relations, drawing inferences, choosing, abstracting, generalizing, *speaking*; whereas animals in their highest stage have been recognized as devoid of all these faculties. This is a question of existence and non-existence, and constitutes a difference of kind. From the beginning the universal law of homogenesis, or generation of like by like, has prevailed among quadrupeds and quadrumana,¹ and shows no signs of change or of modification. Therefore, this supposed progenitor of man either perceived the *relation* between the sign or articulatesound, or he did not. If he did, then he was a man, and may have been the progenitor of men; if not, he was a beast, and could only have been the progenitor of beasts. The only tangible proof the Darwinists give is characteristic of the theory. They say they have discovered the seat of language in the brain of the monkey; that the Chimpanzee has the germ of the faculty of speech, which, in the course of time, may be developed into a full-blown faculty. But according to the experiments quoted by Batman,² this portion of the brain in man can be bruised and impeded without his losing the power of articulate speech. "That animals possess not only 'the germ' of emotional language," writes Dr. Mivart, "but have it fully matured and developed, is certain, but that they have the minutest germ of an intellectual sign-making faculty is a theory we most strenuously deny."³

"Where, then [writes Mr. Max Müller] is the difference between brute and man? What is it that man can do and of which we find no signs, no rudiments, in the whole brute world? I answer, without hesitation, the one great barrier between the brute and man is *Language*. Man speaks, and no brute has ever uttered a word. Language is our Rubicon, and no brute will dare to cross it. This is our matter-of-fact answer to those who speak of development, who think they discover the rudiments at

¹ Agassiz, *De l'Espèce*, pp. 278, 279.

Darwinism tested by Language, Ch. V. and VI.

³ *The Origin of Human Reason*, p. 128.

least of all human faculties in apes, and who would fain keep open the possibility that man is only a more favoured beast, the triumphant conqueror in the primeval struggle for life. Language is something more palpable than a fold of the brain or an angle of the skull. It admits of no cavilling, and no process of natural selection will ever distil significant words out of the notes of birds or the cries of beasts."¹

If language were the product of development it would bear the natural traces of its origin. In reality it bears no such characteristics. For, as Cardinal Wiseman says—

“To speak of the secondary stages of language, or to suppose it must have required centuries for it to arrive at any given point of grammatical development, is perfectly against experience. Languages grow not up from a seed or a sprout. They are, by some mysterious process of nature, cast in a living mould, whence they come out in all their fair proportions; and that mould is the mind of man, variously modified by the circumstances of his outward relations.”²

Christian writers have ever considered that this question should be solved, as far as possible, by historical evidence.³ Without it we can only have conjectures and unsustained theories. Now the oldest historical monument in our possession which speaks even indirectly of the origin of language is the *Book of Genesis*. For us of course that work has the authority of inspiration. The rationalists deny it that authority, but many of them at least admit its historical value. Some indeed are unreasonable enough not to admit even that much; but the solution of the question suggested from that source will at the same time stand the test of reason much better than any theory of theirs. Now this ancient work which speaks of man's first appearance in the world represents him to us as speaking from the first. Adam was created perfect, and language was essential to his perfection. In the full and adult power of manhood he conversed with his Maker, imposed names on the birds of the

¹ *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Vol. I., p. 403. We cannot of course endorse Mr. Max Müller's confusion or identification of language with reason, but this does not detract from the value of his testimony against the Darwinists. See article by same author, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1888. Also article, *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889. “Can we think without words.”

² *Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, Lecture II., p. 78.
See *La Science du Langage*, par M. L'Abbé Gilly, pp. 180-200.

air and the beasts of the earth,¹ unfolded his inmost thoughts in the society of Eve and of his children. This was natural; for he was to be the chief of the universe, the author and instructor of the human race. Language would raise him high above the beasts and make him more and more to God's own image; for as the nature of every created being corresponds to the divine thought, so does the outward designation of things correspond to man's interior conception of them, and as God in His own ineffable life engenders His Word from all eternity, so the word, too, is the term of man's intellectual operation, and to exteriorize the "*verbum mentis*" he makes use of the very breath of life which puts his vocal organs in motion.

That the first couple thus appeared in the world, furnished with language, is duly recorded. How exactly they acquired it, is surrounded by the mystery which envelopes the origin of all things, and can only be a subject of rational speculation. Some hold that it was infused into man by the Creator as a special gift, others, that it was implanted in him in such a way as that he became, by the special assistance or concurrence of divine power, the natural and spontaneous instrument of its formation.² "Due sole ipotesi sono possibili e ragionevoli; che esso sia stato conreato co' nostri proto-parenti, cioè infuso loro da Dio; ovvero che sia opera e creazion loro, ma con ispeciale concorso ed aiuto divino." In either case it would have had with the first man a special origin, different from what it had with all others. We learned it. He received it, or at all events received the initial impulse by which it was brought into being. It was the natural concomitant of his reason, and was associated from the first with his free will, his morality and religion. The fact that all men must learn language from others, and slowly and gradually become acquainted with the names of the objects that surround them, will inevitably bring us back to the original couple beyond whom we reach the Creator. From experiments that have been made, man when isolated and left to lead a solitary

¹ "For whatsoever Adam called any living creature the same is its name."—*Gen. ii.*, 19.

² See Art. in *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 21st., 1887, p. 423.

life, has grown up mute, and though he have intelligence in common with all human creatures, he has no articulate language. He is, Whitney tells us,¹ as speechless as the lower animals.

Clearly, then, if such experiments can be relied upon, there must have been some special exercise of divine power in the case of the first man which has still its effects on mankind taken as a whole, but which is no longer directly necessary for individuals as long as they are constituted in society. This primitive exercise of power need by no means take the shape of elaborating a language and making a present of it to Adam as some theories would imply. Language would, on the contrary, be the work and creation of man, but it would be brought forth and developed in the first man by a special assistance of God. It is not necessary that it should be formed *per saltum* in an abrupt or sudden fashion. That is not the way in which the Author of our nature works as a rule.

This is the theory which is best supported by experience, and which is confirmed, as far as confirmation is possible, by historical proof. If it be denied, the others must be proved to our satisfaction. It is not enough to say that they are *intrinsically* possible. That proves nothing, "*A posse ad esse non valet illatio.*" We have seen how groundless and contradictory they are. The last explanation satisfies our reason, and has the additional advantage of being in accord with Revelation. That is of course its great disadvantage in the eyes of infidels. They have lost the blessing of faith and their reason becomes dimmed by prejudice. Their minds are baffled and obscured in proportion as they depart from God. With the belief in God all things are simple and clear; without it all is confusion and vexation of spirit—"Accedite ad eum et illuminamini," says the Psalmist.² This is true of the origin of language as it is of the origin of all things.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ See Whitney, *Origin and Growth of Language*, p. 286.

² Ps. 33.

THE PLEDGE IN PRACTICE—THE DIFFICULTIES THAT BESET IT—THE HELPS TO KEEP IT.

“**A** TERRIBLE battle lies before us.” Such are the pregnant words in which Father Bridgett, after reviewing in his learned and instructive book, the *Discipline of Drink*, the Church’s legislative action in the past in regard to intemperance, and the fatal influences in its favour at present, states the position of Catholics in regard to it. Yes, a “terrible battle,” and one that is not likely to diminish, but rather wax hotter as years run on. For, whether we look around us at home, or cast a glance at the neighbouring nations, the signs of the increase of intemperance are becoming more and more manifest. Not only is this so in England and Scotland, but also in Germany, in whose capital city—according to recent statistical returns—the number of public-houses was doubled within five years; and in France, in certain parts of which one-half the labourer’s wages is expended in drink.

Such being the state of things abroad, what is to become of Ireland? And if, as every Irishman must hope, the star of his country’s fortune is soon to be in the ascendant; and that, as a consequence, some degree of temporal prosperity will set in, that industries will multiply, trade and commerce develop, that wages will rise higher, and money circulate more freely; that factories will spring up here and there, beside which is sure to be the inevitable beer shop; what, then, is to be the pulse of battle in regard to, intemperance in this land? Are we to think it will go down? Rather are we not to think it will beat stronger and higher, if intemperance is to be brought under in the fierce struggle that must be undergone to dislodge so powerful a foe?

With the prospect, then, of such a battle before us, is it not fit to examine well the quality of one of the chief weapons to be employed in it, to improve it, as the world now-a-days would say of its weapons of war, so as to make it effective for the hour of combat? To come then to the special object of this paper. Although several learned contributions have

appeared in the I. E. RECORD on temperance lately from earnest and able advocates in the cause, still on account of the great importance of the subject a few remarks on the practical aspect of the question may be of use.

BREAKING THE PLEDGE, SEASONS IN WHICH IT IS BROKEN.

The pledge, that is, an earnest and expressed resolution of abstaining totally from the use of intoxicating drinks, or partially, by restricting their use to a certain fixed quantity, may well claim a place in every temperance movement; as without it there can be but a mere general purpose, which, as it defines nothing, will do but little. The pledge is not altogether a modern thing. Its lines were laid down long ago by St. Edmund, where he says "to overcome gluttony a man ought to fix to himself a certain quantity of food and drink, but especially drink." It is of the greatest consequence that he who takes the pledge should make an earnest effort to keep it, even though he know the breaking of it not to be a mortal sin; because by his breaking the pledge he becomes in so far a demoralized and dispirited man, and less fitted to keep it for the future. Hence, in a town where there are many pledge-breakers the wave of drunkenness dashes on farther than ever. They not only break the pledge, but they sink down to a lower depth of intemperance. This is a view of the case that is sometimes overlooked. Hence, in the interests of the pledge it will be useful to pay some attention to the reefs and quicksands ahead, to try and pilot it in safety around the ecclesiastical year.

Let us begin, then, with the Advent. The good, honest working man has kept his pledge faithfully the half-year previous. Never once has he gone beyond his allowance of sixpence worth in the day. But as Christmas Day is drawing nigh there begins to be a greater stir in the streets, the air is keener, there is a great display of the holly and ivy all around, the strain of the year's work is over, the words of the friend he meets are more cheery. In a word, that good man feels that a great festive season is at hand, and feels also a corresponding spirit moving within himself. He begins to think—he feels that the miserable sixpence worth which

was enough in the dull working days of the past half-year is not enough for him now. He gets into a frame of mind by which he is predisposed to transgress the limits of his pledge, and to transgress it precisely on account of its narrowness for him *then*. Accordingly, with the first friend that comes in his way, he breaks the pledge, and once broken, on he goes in his reel of intemperance through the whole season. He is joined by hundreds—aye, by thousands of others. The result is that it is not merely the temperance pledge that is broken, but it is a great part of the temperance sodality that is shattered, as priests of any experience in towns, and as even the records of police courts can testify. It is not merely the wreckage of a vessel that one meets with then, it is that of a great part of the fleet; not only has the temperance cause met with a check, it has sustained a serious overthrow. The lines of the poet how applicable then—

“Like the leaves of the forest when summer was green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen :
Like the leaves of the forest when autumn had flown,
That host on the morrow lay shattered and strewn.”

Now in practice the question arises. Is there any way of helping the man we speak of, and men like him, to get through the Christmas season in sobriety? Any means of tiding them over the Christmas difficulty? A very simple and convenient way it would seem is suggested by the practice of some who come to the priest for an extension of the pledge allowance during the Christmas week—say by one-half—or from sixpence to ninepence worth in the day, and thus, having got what is enough for a little conviviality at home, they become satisfied, and care less for the dangerous conviviality elsewhere. One cause of breaking the pledge was its narrowness for the Christmas festivity, and therefore by removing that cause it is in so far helped to be kept. It is the argument for Home Rule: grant us Home Rule, and you make us more loyal; grant the festive extension of the pledge allowance, and you make people more faithful in keeping it. As a matter of experience the writer has witnessed the beneficial results of it in several cases.

And what holds for Christmas week might also be extended to Easter, Patrick's Day, the wedding feast, the christening, the parting of friends for America, and to all lawful but extraordinary occasions, forbidding it of course to sinful ones. By all means let the Three days' Truce be urged on the people, but for those who will not take it up, the above extension of the pledge cannot be looked upon as a bait to allure them into the indulgence of drink, but as a guard to protect them from the dangerous excess.

THE PLEDGE IN THE DOMESTIC QUARREL.

But let us follow the pledge in practice a little further. The working man comes home in the evening. Something displeases him. The domestic quarrel begins. His wife's tongue, always bitter, is excessively so this time. The man is worried, and walks out. That walking out for him in such a mood is equivalent to his walking into the public-house, breaking his pledge, perhaps getting drunk, and then going on to the round of drunkenness. Now, if at that moment that poor man had another place to which he could go to read the paper, have a smoke, or enter into conversation with a friend, would there not be a good chance that, when the storm within his bosom had found time to subside, he would have gone on keeping his pledge? Hence the utility of the club-room, with its places for reading, smoking, and playing the harmless game.

Some say you can help that man to keep the pledge by making his home more comfortable, by lifting it out of poverty and misery. No doubt there is something in this view, but inquiry into the matter would go to show that the *home cause* of breaking the pledge is not the poverty or misery (except, of course, where there is a drunken wife), but the domestic quarrel in nine cases out of ten. The misery around somewhat disposes a man, but the real stinging cause of his breaking the pledge is the bad tongue and bad temper. Hence the utility of the club-hall will remain, whether the homes of the people be comfortable or miserable.

THE YOUNG MAN AND THE PLEDGE.

Again, there is another class for whom it would be useful and a great safeguard. Take the youth of eighteen. He is at work with his father, and earns good wages, of which he gets a shilling or two for pocket money. He has been well taught by the Christian Brothers, likes reading; and in the evening, when his work is done, he is occupied at home in devouring a good story book. His little brothers are playing around, and slap him on the knee to come and play with him. He is heedless, one of them squirts at him with a goose-quill. A blow on the cheek from the side of the book makes the little fellow scream. The mother's tongue is loud in censure and malediction. That young man closes his book, and walks out. That walking out for him means his joining the corner-boys a few perches away. Like them he learns to put his elbows on the window-sill, and his hands in his pockets. The tips of his fingers just touch the two shillings. His companions go to drink, so does he. These two shillings mean for him, one for each of the two great vices. Now, if that young man had his club-room with its ball-court and library to go to, might he not have avoided the shipwreck that came upon him from going to the corner-boys? And, if attached to it were a saving's-bank (as is the case in some places), where he would be encouraged to fund his pocket-money, might he not soon be able to buy fishing tackle, a new suit of clothes, and, perhaps, before long find himself in shorts and on a bicycle?

But where, it may be asked, get the money to procure such a room? The answer is obvious. If only a small rivulet of what flows into the public-house could be diverted for this purpose (and the progress of the temperance movement should naturally and of itself make such a diversion), the club-room would be built and fitted up in a very short time. A zealous priest makes the statement that he once invested a small sum of money for a purpose of this kind, and that it brought him 80 per cent. It is right to add that it all went in charity.

SATURDAY EVENING.

But yet, further, let us pursue the pledge. It is Saturday evening. The week's work is done. Five or six men, who have toiled together during the week, find themselves near the tavern. They go in. After a few rounds of drink a man finds he has got to the limit of his pledge allowance. What is he to do? Stand up and walk out, after having drunk at his workmate's expense? Far be from him such unpardonable meanness. If a dozen pledges stood in his way, he breaks them all, in order to stand his round like a man. On then, the drinking goes until it reaches the tenth or eleventh round.

Now, clearly, if that class is to keep the pledge, it must be at the cost of giving up the Saturday evening, or other convivial glass. No doubt, this is hard to Irish nature. So it was so in the days of St. Cummian, and must have had something to do with the framing of his Penitential:—"He who forces another to get drunk must do penance as if he got drunk himself." To give up the convivial glass, is it not to go back again to that most trying season in Irish history called the "Summer of slight acquaintance," when people were so reduced by famine as to pass by without being able to recognize each other? No doubt it is something like this; it is a step in that direction; but this it is that must be done in order to keep the pledge: this is the cost that has to be counted.

Now, is there any sound principle dictated by nature itself which, if carried out, would save people from the evils of convivial drinking? It would appear to be in the confining drink as much as possible to meal times. This is the great principle to regulate it in ancient and modern times in monastic establishments. Moderate drinking, and at meal times, was looked on as sufficient for nature's needs. Anything beyond this is regarded as unnecessary indulgence. Now, while we are not to expect from the world the discipline of the cloister, this is one of the lessons which a Catholic population can and ought to try to copy. Its great motto then for spirituous drinks might be: enough and no more,

and this at meal time; if any drink be required at other times, let it be water.

TEMPTATION—ASSOCIATIONS.

But we have not yet done with the difficulties in the way of the pledge. It is sure to be attacked by temptation, strong and direct from hell. So fruitful a cause of sin as the breaking of the pledge will not be let alone by the arch-enemy of man. He that tempted our divine Lord to change the stones into bread, will tempt his followers with drink. Temptation then will surely come, and the moment arrive when a sharp struggle goes on in the inner depths of the soul; in which, if a man is worsted, out he goes forthwith and breaks his pledge; but over which, if he is victorious, it is on account of the sacramental grace lately received, or on account of the daily prayer faithfully said. To keep the pledge then, recourse must be had to the two great channels of grace; prayer and the sacraments. As to prayer, a recent example of its efficacy will convey what is to be said on it. A certain man, long a great drunkard, having broken pledges and oaths against drink, at last resolved to say a Hail Holy Queen every day for grace to keep his pledge. The grace that he asked every day was given him every day. Seven years have elapsed, and he has not once broken his pledge.

The sacraments are the other great sources of strength, and, in order that people avail themselves of them, it would be well to join a pious association, which would bring its members a twofold grace—internal through the sacraments, and external through the help to be derived from the union of many for their common good, and the mutual encouragement and good example which they afford each other. Now, as regards temperance associations—without at all going into the question of the relative merits of the total abstinence and temperance pledges—do not those act more comprehensively who go to work not *subjectively* but *objectively*? Not *subjectively*, *i.e.*, not setting to work with a preconceived plan in their minds, to which all would be called on to comply, no matter what their own inclinations or wants might be; but *objectively*, *i.e.*, working according to the material to be found

in the parish. And now, as in a parish there is a certain number that ought to become total abstainers, *i.e.*, those who cannot taste drink without going too far; others, who would become such through zeal in the cause, and to give good example; then, again, children and youth who positively dislike the taste of drink: for these there could be a total abstinence association.

But, while full credit is to be given to the total abstainers, while they are to be looked upon as the flower of the flock, the vanguard of the army, the standard bearers in the cause of temperance, it must be said that there will yet remain a large section of the people who will not become total abstainers, and to go on urging them to become such would be for the priest a task of much labour and little fruit. For these, then, would it not be well to have another association—the temperance one? Each association to have its own banners and guilds quite distinct, but their meetings to be held together in the church, to save the overworked priest the labour of separate addresses.

As there is nothing in the nature of pious sodalities already established in a parish—for instance, that of our Lady of Perpetual Succour—to prevent their becoming Temperance societies also, total or partial, as the members may wish, a difficulty in practice arises as to how this may be done. The total abstainers always like to get together, and in so laudable a wish they ought to be gratified. But, then, is the pre-existing old confraternity to be broken up and recast to afford them this advantage? It is for the pastor, of course, after he has felt his way to determine; but experience would appear to point to the expediency of bringing the total abstainers together.

Thus, then, through well-organised confraternities, a two-fold grace is conveyed to the members, whereby these are strengthened against those strong temptations that are sure to come upon them from the devil and from the world, to break the pledge.

THE PLEDGE IN COUNTRY PLACES.

A word on the pledge in country places, although much

of the preceding regards these also. Though not so frequent as in large towns, the inducements to break the pledge in the country, are in many cases far more dangerous and deep-rooted. Let us glance at a few of them, and then come to the chief one. The practice among cattle-dealers and others, who start before dawn, in order to reach the fair or market at an early hour, of taking a glass of raw spirits before breakfast, is one that imperils the limited pledge and leads to other evils; as also the custom of some athletic associations of meeting near public-houses. Those who remember the hurling fields before the famine, can testify how far intemperance has advanced since then. In those days the hurling field was chosen for its size and convenience to the two contending parishes; now it is chosen for its convenience to the tavern.

To the old dangers for the pledge at weddings and christenings is added a new one in certain parts of the country, closely resembling the “*Bidales*” of mediæval England, as we have them described by Father Bridgett. It consists in the neighbours meeting in the house of some friend in difficult circumstances, who has procured a quantity of porter for the occasion—sometimes a half barrel—to which they help themselves freely, in order to help him liberally with the proceeds.

But the greatest danger of all is—and that which is the most general—when friends meet at fair or market, race or pattern; and when the treat of friendship is offered and accepted. Their fathers have often met in that very place before, and never separated without the friendly treat. For them to act otherwise, would it not be to forget the old traditions, to rend the old ties of friendship, aye in some cases to give deep offence? *In* they go, and what becomes of the pledge? Agamemnon, in one of his harangues to the Grecian chiefs before the walls of Troy, tells them they ought to fight bravely, because when others had to be content with half-filled goblets theirs were always filled to overflowing; the Irish peasant will not be less royal than Agamemnon, when he has sold his lambs, sees his friend before him, and a treat-jug on the table between them.

Manifestly here is an over-powering danger to the pledge. It is friendship itself that is converted into an agent of intemperance, and one that is most powerfully used by the arch-tempter for the ruin and wreck of many, not only of the humbler, but of the more respectable classes. What sad spectacles may be witnessed here and there through the country? The fine old places, once owned by Catholic families that had given nuns and priests to the Church, and distinguished members to other professions, now in ruins or in other hands; and, if you ask the cause, how often has your car-driver the short, but significant answer—*the drink*.

Such the evil, but now what of the remedy? [It is of course for those who have the pastoral charge to determine and to apply which remedy they deem most efficacious to meet the wants of their flocks; this paper only offers an opinion on the merits of a remedy *in se*.] Evidently of this stamp—that, as the evil arises from a vicious state of thinking in the minds of many, whereby they cling to convivial drinking as a means to foster and preserve friendship; so the proper remedy for correcting that vitiated state of mind is to be found in instruction and preaching. And as the evil is deep-rooted, so should the remedy continue, till it be eradicated “*in omni potentia et doctrina*.” The vicious notions should be attacked persistently, till they are dissipated, and sound ones established instead, *v.g.*, that friendship-drinking is a national evil—that it does not argue a want of kindly feeling to refuse a treat—that one should not be ashamed to rise and leave after a moderate share of drink has been taken—how wrong it is to yield to human respect and break the pledge—that he that presses another to drink and break his pledge becomes an *Advocatus Diaboli*.

THE PLEDGE TO WOMEN.

As the time has come, unfortunately, when pledging and joining temperance associations is as useful and as necessary in many places for women as for men, a word on the practical view here may be useful. As all are aware the cure of drunken women is far more difficult than that of drunken men, the effort to prevent their getting into habits of

intemperance should therefore be the greater. The total abstinence pledge then should be largely administered to women. In cases where they take the partial pledge are they, as a rule, to have as large an allowance as men? It would seem hardly fair that the woman who is inside doors all day should have the same quantity of drink as the man who is hard at work outside. As women, when they begin to get into habits of intemperance, generally like to drink in each other's company—just as when advanced in the habit they like to take it all alone—the practice of not taking drink but at meal time would be a salutary one for them.

Their devotion to our Blessed Lady as a means of saving them from intemperance is a mine unworked. Fr. Bridgett has a strong opinion on this subject in his *Discipline of Drink*. Women, as a rule, spurn the idea of having the scapular duty—abstinence from flesh meat—commuted into prayer. If called upon in our Lady's honour, they would be equally zealous in abstaining from drink. Here, then, is a mine unworked—a mighty lever for good unmoved.

On women particularly devolves the duty of saving the children from intemperance, and hence they ought not send them to fetch drink from public-houses, particularly with open vessels. The little ones soon learn to “sup it in the hall,” and thus lay the foundation of a life of intemperance.

In a certain town in England, one passing through lately, was surprised to notice a regular army of children coming along the streets at the dinner hour, each with a jug of beer in hand. How many of them “supped it in the hall?”

TEMPERANCE CARD.

To sum up then, for the real practice of temperance, it will not be enough to take the pledge, it will be furthermore necessary to resolve on adopting the means to keep it, and on avoiding those rocks on which it is too often dashed and broken. That is, if the pledge be taken, it should be taken *efficaciter*. We know what would be the value of the Sacrament of Penance to a soul if it had not the *propositum efficax*. But now, as people generally, when taking the pledge, either do not sufficiently advert to the

dangers ahead, or, if they do, do not resolve with sufficient firmness on avoiding them, and on adopting the means necessary for this, would it not be well to have some short formula or card to be given to each pledge-taker, containing in a few words the principal rules or practices on which the keeping the pledge would mainly depend, and to which he should bind himself when taking it? Such card, hung in his room, would serve the double purpose of instructing and reminding. Might not a first draft of it run thus:—

1. The quantity of spirituous drink (*quid*) not to exceed sixpence worth in the day (a lesser quantity for women), which might be increased by half on Christmas week, Easter, Patrick's Day, at the wedding or christening feast, the occasion of friends going to America, and the like, but never to go beyond that quantity.

2. The place, the time (*ubi quando*), at home, or when and where dinner is taken.

3. Means to keep the pledge (*quibus auxiliis*). Daily prayer—one Our Father, and three Hail Marys in honour of the Sacred Thirst of our Lord, and of the compassionate Heart of Mary; for strength to keep the pledge; or a Hail Holy Queen, or a *memorare*; to approach the sacraments every . . . months.

And, as the practice of drinking in each other's company, and of pressing to drink is a frequent occasion of pledge-breaking and intemperance amongst Irishmen, to promise to oppose such practice by word and conduct, and to be ready to forfeit such friendship or companionship as would depend for its continuance on drink.

From this it will be seen that successful pledge-taking means work. It has an eye to business. It not only proposes an end, but adapts the means to the end. It essentially means work, daily prayer, organization, approaching the sacraments, setting aside old drinking customs, trampling on human respect. It does not rely on an impulse of enthusiasm alone. Enthusiasm is good for the start, but for no more; that made its work is done. It means to sustain that good start by diligent application of the means.

But, if successful pledging means work for the people, a

fortiori, it means it also for priests, the mainspring of the movement, the salt to flavour it, the light to lead it, the hand to till it, the "*operarios in messem suam*."—*St. Matt. xx., 1.*

Good, honest, persevering work then in all its details on the part of priests and people is evidently requisite for victory in the "terrible battle" against intemperance. The pledge has not only to be given and taken; it has also to be *worked*. The pledge says a thing; it must be made to mean what it says. We cannot expect success, in it or in anything else, without placing the necessary conditions for that success. The great victory which Ireland is on the point of winning, politically and nationally, is being won by these means—wise leading, hard work, close application to business in all its details, unfaltering perseverance. Are we to doubt that she will gain a great victory, morally, over intemperance by these means also? The nations around about are falling under the slavery of intemperance, but they are outside the control of the priesthood—indocile to its voice—the voice of the *salvatores mundi*. *Felix Hibernia* in this respect, her children are, as the late Dr. Murray has said, "*totaliter in manu sacerdotis*." Can we doubt, then, that, while a dismal gloom hangs over the other nations, Ireland is bound to win a brilliant victory, that victory to be won through her plighted word against intemperance, with a zealous clergy responsible for giving her the means to keep it?

M. GEOGHEGAN, C.S.S.R.

THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

"Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas :
Magnus ab integro seclorum natus ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo; redeunt Saturnia regna,
Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto."

INSTINCTIVELY, these prophetic words of Mantua's magic bard, come to the memory as we reflect on America, as it was and as it is, and picture to ourselves its future. We have reached the end of a period in the world's history,

and are about to enter on another great epoch. The series of revolving years begins anew—*magnus ab integro seculorum nascitur ordo*. A flood of influences, hitherto unknown, are pouring in upon Europe from the New World—influences which are destined to work great changes. Already a new order of things is taking the place of the old. The currents of human thought no longer flow in the old channels. Old institutions are giving way to more modern ones. The echoes of that magic word “liberty” have reached our coasts from Columbia’s land, and have been taken up by European peoples, who have discovered that they have in them a latent power, which only needs developing to render them independent of oligarchical tyranny. Those who have crossed the ocean come back and tell us, that the men who dwell beyond, have formed a powerful nation, by uniting justice with liberty. Virgil’s fair Astrean virgin, Justice, first born of the imperishable Church, whom religion alone can preserve undefiled, has begun to reside in their midst, clad in her ancient beauty and bringing with her the golden reign of Jupiter’s sire:

“Jam redit et Virgo; redeunt Saturnia regna.”

Where must we look for the cause of the great success of the young American nation, if not to that undying power that first discovered her fertile plains to the world, and that inspired those who risked untold dangers to plant the tree of life on her soil? The unchangeable Church is there in the midst of American life, more American than the Americans themselves, jealous of their rights, and urging them on to perfect their national prestige, and raise their social position, warding off all bad elements and whatever tends to deteriorate morality; there she is, striving with the giant power that she alone possesses, to make America queen amongst the world’s nations!

We shall devote the present paper to some reflections on the present position of the Church in the States, and her prospects for the future.

A hundred years ago the Church in the United States was represented by 1 bishop, 30 priests and 30,000 Catholics.

To-day she has 13 archbishops, 71 bishops, and 8,000 priests, with 1,500 candidates for the priesthood; whilst the Catholic population has augmented to 10,000,000. The number of churches at that time—1790—was about 20, and they were generally small. To-day there are 7,500, many of which could compare favourable with European cathedrals. A hundred years ago there was not a single Catholic hospital or orphan asylum in the States, and only one seat of learning. To-day there are 520 hospitals and asylums, 27 ecclesiastical seminaries, 650 colleges for higher education, and 3,250 public Catholic day-schools with 600,000 pupils! Here is religious progress, within the span of a possible human life, not to be equalled since the days when Stephen's convert "carried the Lord's name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." This is still more remarkable when we consider that though the entire population has been rapidly increasing, the proportion of Catholics has been gaining still more rapidly. Thus, in the first decade of the century that has gone, the Catholics were $\frac{1}{170}$ of the entire population. In the second decade they were $\frac{1}{33}$, in the third $\frac{1}{18}$, in the fourth $\frac{1}{12}$, in the fifth $\frac{1}{8}$, in the sixth $\frac{1}{6}$, in the seventh $\frac{1}{4}$, in the eighth $\frac{1}{3}$, and at the close of the century they have become $\frac{1}{2}$ of the entire population.

During the past century great difficulties had to be overcome. National prejudices, poverty, want of priests, churches and schools, threatened to wreck the young American Church. It was considered dishonourable for men to join it. Societies, both public and secret, were formed to oppose it. Catholics were calumniated and persecuted on all occasions. The few zealous priests who sacrificed everything to devote themselves to the ministry, had scarcely the means of subsistence, and distances were so great that it was impossible to extend their ministry to all the members of their scattered flock. Differences of languages and character made their labours still more arduous. Thus the infant American Church began its eventful career. It had its time of trial, like the Church from which it received its life, and with which it exists in harmonious unity. Like her she was "tossed with tempest and without all comfort" for a time, but only that her

triumphs might be more glorious. She has now conquered those difficulties, and as she emerges from the first century of her existence, full of power and vigour, the first spontaneous accents of admiration and applause burst from her non-Catholic countrymen, and are echoed round the globe.

If such has been the progress she has made when difficulties that she alone could conquer, had to be overcome, what may we not expect in the coming century? All is now plain sailing. A hierarchy of eighty-four bishops has been established, and they command an army of 8,000 priests, spread over the States, and labouring with those giant energies that are characteristic of the American priesthood. They possess a Church property of about £20,000,000 sterling, and yet, strange as it may seem, the Church is still poor, for it cannot provide the Catholic population with ample churches and schools. Their 650 higher education colleges, and 3,250 parish schools, are not sufficient to educate the Catholic population. When we compare all this with the state of religion a hundred years ago, and keep in mind the difficulties under which this change was accomplished, may we not hope that at the end of the second century a future generation shall rejoice in still greater triumphs of the Church? Archbishop Ireland told us at Baltimore that the work of Americans in the coming century shall be to make America Catholic. American bishops are not given to making statements that are not practicable, least of all, the zealous Archbishop of St. Paul's. It has been calculated that after another century the population of the States will be upwards of 400,000,000. If so, supposing that even half the population were Catholic, there would be as much Catholicity in America alone as there is in the whole world to-day! This, at first sight, may seem an exaggeration, but a few considerations will show that it is far from being impossible.

In the first place the Catholic religion has become a necessity for the national unity in America. The people of the States, unlike any other nation in the world, are composed of every nationality, and speak every language. Their

characters and tastes vary accordingly, and tend to disintegrate the national unity, so that they require some common bond to neutralize this tendency, and to preserve their unity of spirit. The Catholic Church alone can supply such a bond that unites the hearts and minds of men of all nations in one harmonious whole.

Again, if we consider the prodigious increase of Catholics in single cities, we can understand that a proportionate increase throughout the States is quite probable. Sixty years ago there was not a Catholic in Chicago, and though the city was entirely destroyed by fire some twenty years ago, it contains a Catholic population to-day of 460,000. When the reigning Archbishop Williams went to Boston, there were 20,000 Catholics in that city. To-day there are over 250,000. Eighty years ago one small room contained all the Catholics of New York, and one Catholic priest ministered to their wants. To-day the Catholics of that city number over 900,000. Thus the Catholics have been increasing immensely in all the cities of the States.

Another consideration that may foreshadow the rapid progress of Catholicity in the coming century, is the perfect organization of the Catholic body, and their great harmony of spirit and action. As in the early ages of the Church, the bishop is supreme amongst his flock; he is beloved by his spiritual children, and they are his right hand in carrying on the work of his diocese. His wish, approval, or disapproval determines their acts. He has but to express his desire to build a Church, school, asylum or presbytery, and they do it for him. They are with him heart and soul. The bishop, on the other hand, shows himself to be the true father and friend of his spiritual children. No false dignity keeps him separated from them. He goes amongst the poor and the infirm like the humblest of his priests when not impeded by necessary duties. Every Sunday—as in the early ages of the Church—each bishop ascends the pulpit to preach a homily, nor will anything but necessity prevent him from so doing. Invariably he finds a crowded audience hungry for the Word of God.

The same unity of heart and spirit exists between the bishops and their priests, and the bishops among themselves.

In a meeting of the bishops at Baltimore this year, it was resolved, in order to procure still greater unity of action, that each archbishop shall hold a meeting of his suffragan bishops every year in their respective provinces, and then there shall be an annual meeting of the archbishops in one of the provincial capitals alternately. Thus the whole Catholic body acts as a single person. What a spectacle for the world! Ten millions of men acting in such perfect harmony, and such men! For them possibilities become probabilities, and probabilities accomplished facts. Of iron will and giant energies they perform their onerous duties with the same relish as their pleasant ones. Their own happiness is found in their endeavour to make others so. They lose no time in idle talking or planning, but if what they want is practicable, they go to work at once and do it. True apostles of the Gospel wherever they go, they carry with them the ancient faith. That same faith and charity that fill them produce their beautiful images in other men's souls. In their dealings with men they show that they have learned that great secret of humanity "that not the coolest head, nor the deepest knowledge, nor the greatest genius, leave such a deep impression on mankind, as the generous instincts, the warm sympathies, and the far-reaching pulsations of a large and noble heart."

Thus American Catholics perform prodigies, because they know how to labour, and they turn their knowledge to practical account. They build churches, asylums, schools and colleges all over their immense country, of a size and splendour that are to be found in America alone. From the newborn infant to the last stage of old age, they have provided splendid Catholic institutions for the various ages and infirmities of man, in which the inmates receive every possible care. All these institutions are placed under the charge of religious orders of monks or nuns, and the bishops may count on the hundreds of thousands sent out yearly to the world as good practical Catholics.

In the vicinity of New York there is an institution—the Catholic Protectory—which alone contains 2,500 poor children taken off the street. It consists of two magnificent buildings for male and female children, in the most picturesque

and healthful part of the country. The buildings, which even now are of immense proportions, are to be enlarged still more in the near future. Every modern invention that tends to cleanliness or personal comfort can be found in them. Nothing is wanting to procure the full development of their mental and physical powers. The children become greatly attached to this institution, to their teachers, and to that religion that sought them out in their young sufferings and provided a comfortable home for them. This institution supplies the place of a reformatory. If children are sent to gaol, or to state reformatories which are often practically the same, they commonly lose their moral character and self-respect, and are ever after lost to society and to themselves. On the contrary, if taken in hand and well treated they become excellent Christians and useful members of society.

This fact suggested the institution of the Catholic Protectory. In it the children are taught every description of arts and trades. Machinery of all sorts is provided for them. Few of them leave the establishment that cannot earn from £3 to £4 a week. In the shoemaking department, for instance, the raw leather is handed in at one side, and well-finished boots come out at the other end of the hall, after passing through three hundred pairs of hands. Between two and three hundred pairs of boots are daily finished. When the Papal delegate visited the female department all the children had been collected in the principal hall, and one of them came forward to speak a few words of welcome. Another took down in shorthand the words of the speaker, and before we left the room a printed copy was handed to each present, fresh from the printing machine. This one institution, which may be taken as an example of the many others that exist in each city all through the country, gives over 2,500 useful members to society every five or six years—all excellent Catholics. Veneration for the Supreme Pontiff may be taken as a test of Catholicity, and the veneration these children have for the Pope was shown when a young lad, not more than thirteen years old stepped forward from amongst his companions, and addressing the Papal delegate, exclaimed enthusiastically: “When your Excellency returns to Rome

tell the Pope that we are 1,500 strong; that we love him, and will, if he needs us, go over and shed our blood to defend his rights!" The vociferous cheers of his companions told that their young hearts were in it. Thus in the States the poorest children are provided with all the care and comfort that they could have in the houses of the rich. No country in the world can boast of such splendid institutions, and they are kept with scrupulous cleanliness.

The churches keep pace with the other buildings, and they are not mere ornaments or monuments, but the largest cathedrals can scarcely accommodate the crowds that assemble to assist at the various masses on Sundays! How edifying to see the devotion with which these crowds assist at the Holy Sacrifice! During the week busy in the midst of commercial clatter—on Sunday they seem to forget their various occupations, and assemble devoutly in church to keep the Sabbath. "They seem like a religious community," said the Papal delegate to me during the crowded ceremony at Baltimore.

The position of the Catholic Church in America with regard to other non-Catholic Churches is very remarkable. In Europe, State protection gives an appearance of unity to national Churches, and keeps the discordant elements from falling asunder. In America they have not that State protection, but must work out their own existence. The consequence is that the minister of each church is his own superior. No man can command him. He may teach what he wishes with impunity. Hence every church is complete in itself and has its special tenets. As you drive through the streets of an American city you pass many so-called Protestant churches, some of them very handsome. If you inquire about them you discover that each church is a sort of sect to itself, and that most of them were built, not with the generous contributions of a large number of adherents, but by the munificence of one or a few wealthy persons. Each denies some article or articles of Christian faith, and if we collect all the dogmas that are denied by the various Churches, not an iota of Christianity remains. This leads to indifferentism, so that those who are not Catholics in the

States, have practically no religion. An eminent New York citizen, whom I met travelling, told me that though he is himself a Presbyterian and freemason, he admires Roman Catholics, because they are men of character whose heart is in their work, and he believes that their religion is the only one worth calling a religion, for it is founded on principle. Several other Protestant Americans have spoken to me in similar terms, and I believe their views may be taken as representing the bulk of non-Catholic Americans. Many of them will not send their children to any but Roman Catholic schools, for they know that there only they can receive the moral training necessary to fit them for the world. There is little bigotry amongst Americans, and they lose no opportunity of showing their admiration for their Catholic countrymen. The President of the States and all the members of the ministry were present at the opening of the first Catholic University of America. When Cardinal Gibbons expressed a desire that the name of the station nearest the university, till then known as "Brooklyn station," should be changed for "University station," this was immediately decreed at Washington, and the first intimation of the change was sent to the Cardinal by telegraph. Again, when the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company knew that a Papal representative would be present at the centennial celebrations, they presented a special state car (containing drawing-room, dining-room, smoke-room, lavatory, bed-room and kitchen, with a servant to attend), to be at his disposal during his stay in the States, to travel wherever he wished. This noble act of courtesy on the part of a Protestant Railway Company speaks well for the generous feelings of sympathy that Catholics in the States share with their fellow-countrymen. There is often nothing more than misunderstanding to separate these noble-minded citizens from the true fold, and the more ties of mutual friendship shall bind Catholics and Protestants together, the less that misunderstanding shall exist. Many of them are Catholics at heart, and all have learned the Epicurean aphorism, that if we wish to enjoy life we must live honestly and justly : οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως, ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς : καὶ δικαίως ζῆω.

These few reflections will give some assistance in forming an idea of the power of the American Church, and in picturing to ourselves the bright future that awaits it. America is the land of great achievements and surprises, and the Church there shall not be behindhand.

Wonderful design of an allwise Providence! While the Church grows feeble in the old world, she springs up young and fair, full of youthful vigour in the new, yet always that same ancient and imperishable Church. Sooner or later the time shall come when America shall be a Catholic nation. It is a debt due to the toils of her sainted apostles. In those days the power and strength of the Church will be more manifest than it has ever yet been, for never yet has the Church gone down to the people, as she has in America. In European countries she has been fettered, endeavouring to keep on terms with a powerful aristocracy. They have come between her and the people, the object of her divine mission. The Church's power is in the faithful, and in America that power shall increase with the Catholic population, and shall be immense when America becomes Catholic.

The magnificent centennial celebration—which in a certain sense was universal, for all nations were represented at it—is a specimen of the power of the American Church even to-day. The effect which that event has produced on the world cannot be easily exaggerated. All men willingly or unwillingly have seen the power of God in it. It has gladdened the hearts of Irishmen, for the triumphs of Americans are mainly the triumphs of the sons of Erin. It has encouraged English Catholics to persevere in their arduous labours, to bring back the light of faith to their fatherland. It has awakened some continental Catholics, who seemed absorbed in lethargic sleep, to the fact that this is an age of action, and there is work to be accomplished even amongst themselves. It has consoled the heart of the venerable Vicar of Christ in the solitude of his sorrows! It is a memorable page in the history of the Church of which the great Cardinal who presides over the American hierarchy may well be proud. Hail fair young Church of Columbia! Hail Sion, city of the Lord's solemnity; tabernacle that cannot be removed—*Prosperere procede, et regna!*

M. HOWLETT.

MUSINGS ON ASH-WEDNESDAY.

“Der Mensch hat hier dritthalb Minuten; eine zu lächeln—eine zu seufzen—und eine halbe zu lieben; denn, mitten in dieser Minute, stirbt er.”—*Richter*.

THE greatness, the dignity, and the power of man, have in all ages formed the favourite themes of the poet and the rhetorician. “What a piece of work is man,” exclaims the immortal bard of Avon, “How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable: in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world, the paragon of animals.” (*Hamlet, II.*) Marvel at his ingenuity and dexterity, cries out the scientist. Who so skilled in all the arts and sciences? See how he guides the electric spark, and sends it to the uttermost bounds of the earth with declarations of peace or with threats of war. See how the most unruly forces of nature yield him service and call him master. As obedient slaves they bear him and his, mile after mile, along the iron-way, across distant continents, through mountain ranges, over foaming torrents and fordless rivers. Yea, they will carry him with safety even athwart the trackless sea, and bear him up amidst the most violent storms and tempests that ever wind did blow. Or turn to another witness of his genius. Consider his skill as exemplified in the gigantic structures that cover the land from shore to shore. Contemplate the palaces, the cathedrals, the public buildings and costly monuments of our great cities, that man’s cunning has devised, and man’s hands have so carefully and so wondrously woven together out of the hard stone or the solid marble! What is there that can resist his power or withstand his industry and intelligence!

Such is the language of the world: and, when not its actual language, such is at least its thought and opinion. In this age especially, when new powers are being unfolded, and fresh discoveries are continually coming to light: when, too, every department of science, of industry and art, is becoming more and more cultivated and studied; when education

s daily more and more extending its borders, and embracing a wider and wider circle, we are apt to lose ourselves in the thought of our supposed greatness, and to forget our inborn weakness, and misery—to be, in a word, so preoccupied with the fairy-like colours that play about this fragile bubble of life, as to forget how soon it is to burst, and all its glory to vanish away—

“Come la bolla, che da morta gora
Pullula un tratto, e si resolve in nulla.”

Hence it is with special reason that the Church, that great lover of truth, reminds us at this season of our real littleness and insufficiency. So that, while our ears are yet tingling with the sounds of praise and flattery concerning man's dignity and greatness, her solemn words of warning come stealing in upon us, like the dread and menacing tones of an alarm bell:—“Remember, man, that thou art dust.”

Dust! From the dust we come. Back to the dust we go. “The body shall return to the earth from which it was taken, and the spirit to Him who made it.” This is the grand truth we have to learn, the solemn fact to be kept constantly before us. Old and young, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, boast as you may of your fancied glories, your titles and your fame, back you must sink into the womb of earth from which you emerged, and mingle again with the dust.

What a stupendous lesson we are taught as we wander forth into the lonely cemetery, with the buried thousands slumbering beneath! Hush. Not a sound. Oh! how still, how silent lie the thousands, whose voices once formed the city's ceaseless roar, and whose hastening footsteps once made each street resound with the low, dull murmur of never ending toil! A century—perhaps two or three centuries ago, and that dust was animated by ten thousand principles of life. It moved amid animated scenes and along busy paths. It sauntered through the market-place, and lolled in the public squares. It stood behind the counter or at the desk; it declaimed in the courts of justice; it harangued in senate, it exhorted from the pulpit. It bought, it sold; it struggled and

fought; it eat and drank; it played and laughed and made merry. It travelled from place to place, and was dressed up and adorned; it was loved and cared for, and thought much of. And now? Now it lies at the mercy of every wintry blast.

Take up a handful of this dust. It is light and dry. See how the rude wind carries it off: see how it scatters it—now north, now south, now east, now west. Yet that handful of dust was once perchance a human heart that throbbed and panted with passion as yours, dear reader, may be throbbing now—a heart where love or hate, envy or ambition, had once made a home! This crumbling, powdery earth that now we tread so contemptuously beneath our feet, was once, perhaps, a pair of childish eyes, beaming with light and intelligence. Eyes that looked up with fondness into a mother's sympathetic face, and spoke a language which was the sweetest of all to that mother's heart. But now mother and son, parent and child, are resolved again into their primordial form.

They lived their span of life. They spent their short day. They strutted their brief hour upon the stage. Then, when the fever of life was over, they were laid to rest in the grave, and nature's alchemy speedily wrought the change; the industrious worms have dissected each limb and each bone: the rain has filtered again and again through the unsightly mass. Summer's heats and winter's frosts have been busy at work year after year, and now all that remains of what was once so surpassing fair, are a few ounces of dust.

Is not this a solemn, and at the same time a salutary reflection; teaching us the condition of human existence, and revealing to man his inherent nothingness, and vanity, and laying bare, as with the scalpel, the interior foulness of what is so beautiful without?

The reflection we make concerning others will in turn be made concerning ourselves. In a short space of time we, too, must pass on to the cemetery. Those youthful limbs that bear you now, dear readers, from place to place with such grace and ease; your countenances now lit up with pleasure, now cast down with sorrow; your hands and lithesome fingers, applied to so many wondrous ends and purposes, will

soon have nothing to represent them but a little dust: nothing better will remain to show what once had been but a shovelful of clay. "Dust to dust; ashes to ashes."

The soul of man has not its resting place here. But God would place it here for its trial and probation. As a mere spirit it would be neither seen nor heard, so God drew the dust of earth around it, and sent it, clothed in this earthly vesture to live and move for a while among men. What, indeed, are we; what is any man but an apparition? For what else is an apparition but a spirit, which takes to itself a visible form, and appears? Such is man. Is not the soul, that thinking, reasoning, knowing, and loving principle, a spirit invisible and spiritual? And is it not by taking a body, a visible and material form, that the spirit appears, is known, recognised, communicated with, and consciously approached? When the soul's term of probation terminates, it throws off this vesture, it casts aside the trammels of flesh and blood, and exists as a pure, unimpeded spirit. It throws off this vesture, never more to resume it *in its original corruptible state*. It will, in very truth, be one day clothed again in its body; but that body will be spiritualised, glorified, and in its qualities and attributes wholly changed, for "corruption will put on incorruption."

But in the meantime we are all hastening to decay. Every country, state, and city throws off its inhabitants as a tree or a shrub casts its leaves when autumn winds blow strong and cold. Generation after generation departs to make room for others. Like the waves of the sea, one follows after another, each in turn breaking and disappearing as it strikes against the eternal shore. The approach of one is but the signal for the departure of another. As we gaze around and see the new generation entering the world, we realize that *our* generation has nearly had its day. Every infant that is born, every child we meet upon the way, seems to say in unmistakable language:—"Make room," "give place," "you have had your turn." "Your day is waning; your evening is drawing to a close; your night is coming on; prepare to go, and give place to us."

But besides these external voices, we may hear the same

warnings from within. Our own frail being is ever reminding us of our approaching dissolution. Every pain, every ache, every sense of weariness, of lassitude, of depression and distress, clearly indicates disorder and decay in some part or another of our complicated system. Why do we take so much nourishment? Why eat and drink every day, and many times a day? But to repair the loss of tissue, and the wear and tear of life. So again: why rest and sleep? Why the darkened room, the soft couch, and the hush of sounds, when the day is done? Why, but to afford us the opportunity to recover our wasted strength, and to revive our flagging energies, that we may linger on a little longer. What does each beat of our hearts, each pulsation of our blood (every one of which is accompanied by some waste and wearing away of the organism) say, but repeat and re-echo in its own mute but expressive language, the warning of holy Church:—"Remember, man, thou art dust," etc. Thus all around, both without and within instructs us that we have not here a lasting city.

But if all things serve to remind us of this momentous truth, why, it may be asked, should the Church recall it so frequently to our minds? Why should she deem it necessary every Ash-Wednesday, to strew the ashes on our bowed heads, and to bid us remember our last end? The reason is that we are required not merely to know, but to realize the fleeting nature of this life; not to believe only, but to be impressed and influenced by this belief. How few there are who are so impressed! How small the number who even, when given the premises, can draw the conclusion. Would, indeed, the robust and healthy so glory in their strength, and reckon with so much confidence on a long and prosperous life, were they to realise that "all flesh is grass?" Would the young and the comely take so much vain complacency in their beauty and good looks, were they really sensible of the fact, that "like the flowers of the field, so shall they perish," and wither and fade as the prairie grass that to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into oven. If all believe these truths, why is their effect so slight? Why do they neither humble the proud, nor make virtuous the vicious? Let the rich and the

prosperous, and they who spend themselves in the ceaseless struggle to amass yet more, pause to reflect on the approaching hour when, as the Holy Spirit says, "under them shall the moth be strewn and worms shall be their covering," when their best friend shall leave them, and shrink back horrified from their corrupting and hideous corpses.

Death teaches the haughty and imperious as he passes by his poor and lowly brothers in the street, that he and they were moulded out of the same clay; and that the self-same end awaits them both. It points out the folly, no less than the wickedness of those who dare to raise their puny hands against the supreme Arbitrator of their fate. But it appeals with overwhelming force to the sensualist, and mocks the insanity of those who are willing to sacrifice God and an eternity of bliss for the degrading and bestial pleasures of the flesh.

The day at last dawns whose evening we shall never see. The hour strikes whose close we shall never know. That solemn and awful moment approaches upon which the whole of our eternity is balancing: that moment in which our whole being undergoes its last permanent change. The transition from time to eternity; from fickleness to fixity; from a material to a spiritual state, is upon us. That transition which so many have already passed through, which has been experienced by so many even whom we have intimately known and tenderly loved, is now to be experienced by us.

Yes, for now it is *my* turn. Yesterday it was for such a one, to-morrow it will be for such another, but to-day it is for me. What will our thoughts be then? What shall we feel, when we find ourselves hurried on towards the very brink of eternity: borne on as a drowning man is borne along by the rapids: unable to turn back, to tarry for awhile, or even to arrest for one brief moment our approaching end?

Already we seem to hear the voice of the omniscient Judge, and to catch faint glimmers from that "great, white throne." The fear of death comes upon us, and cold beads of perspiration start from every pore, and stand out like the hoar-frost upon our brow. How we shall then reproach ourselves for not being more exacting and severe with

ourselves. It is not so much the knowledge that we have sinned that will cause us so much anguish, but rather that knowing we were sinners, we did so little to wash out and atone for sin—that we made so little use of such abundant and such varied opportunities.

And with such regrets and vain lamentations—"vain," because made *then* and not *now*, the time wears on, and the fatal moment arrives; and those who have watched and tended us, it may be for many days and nights, will look each other sorrowfully in the face and softly whisper, "ah! it is all over"—"see—he has ceased to breathe," "the throbbing heart is still." Then close the eyes: fold the hands: stretch out the limbs. This is no place for the cold clay. Bear him away. Lay earth to earth, and dust to dust. Hide the corse beneath the ground Was he learned, rich, noble? Had he many friends, wide possessions, a great name? Had he made a reputation for himself? Was he a leader of men, a renowned politician, a noted warrior, a writer, a speaker, a poet? Pause not to enquire. It brooks nothing. 'Tis an idle question. Place the stone above him, and on it trace the one word:—"Vanity." But one thing signifies: was he in the grace of God?

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ANCIENT IRISH LAND TENURES.

AS much misconception and misstatement have prevailed on the subject of Irish land tenure and the relation of Irish people to land in the olden time, it may be well to offer a few observations for the correction of errors which prevail, and which can readily be refuted by a very moderate

acquaintance with our former social historic life, and with the Brehon Laws of Ireland, at present accessible to every studious man. It has frequently been asserted on the public platform and in the press, that under the old Celtic system, from the Ard-Righ or Chief to the humblest of his clansmen, no individual held land as absolute owner. Moreover, it has been very confidently stated, and without reservation, that all occupied and unoccupied land belonged not to the tribesmen but to the tribe. The following simple statement of facts, easily ascertainable and capable of abundant proof from published documents, may serve to dispose of those widely-circulated popular fallacies.

It is not our present purpose to trace in distant ages of our history the state of Irish life, or the spirit and tendency of the laws, which regulated the actions of our rulers and people; but rather to select from the mediæval and later times—before the clan system had ceased its influences over the minds and habits of the chiefs and their clansmen—a few sketches which form an imperfect enumeration of details, in connexion with a very interesting and even fascinating subject for study. Nor might the consideration of these topics afford such information and satisfaction, as should arrest the attention of many readers, were it not that the present perplexed problems of Irish land tenures and their rectification are still exciting and burning questions, often discussed and rarely well understood in all their bearings, while yet surrounded with the hopes, fears, prejudices, and passions of Irishmen.

To divest this brief communication of the many technicalities regarding the condition of classes and the various grades of society, as also to render clearer the nature of their respective obligations, as indicated by the provisions of our ancient patriarchal clan laws and customs, it may be most convenient and intelligible here to enumerate the various persons, their privileges, their rights, and their relative duties, in connexion with land occupancy. How the tribes became possessors of the tracts whereon they lived is an archaic historical question, and it does not affect—except very remotely—the subsequent division of lands. The Ard-

Righ, or Supreme Monarch, whether by the law of succession, selection, or possession, held absolutely and by hereditary right and transmitted lands belonging to his family, while he had only an official and a life interest in the public domain lands, which after his death reverted to a successor, as the usual mensal allowance or maintenance provided for his state. Analogous to this position, and scarcely in rank a subordinate, each Provincial King or Head Chieftain of a territory held by a like tenure his family lands as his own private and inalienable property, while he had official demesne lands, which could only be transmitted to his successor in office. Under each of those *reguli* were a number of sub-chiefs, each one of whom was an absolute landed proprietor in his own right. Under these chiefs were the free-born clansmen; and most undoubtedly, more than half of these in every tribe held land by some kind of tenure, which gave them a perpetuity in the soil. Other clansmen belonged to a tenant class; but, by an arrangement peculiar to that existing state of society under which they lived, paying not a stated money rent, but rather a variable tribute, to the chief in services or in food.

On the domain lands and on the sub-chieftain's lands were two different classes of tenants, both paying a *pro rata* tribute in kind, subject to conditions previously agreed on, and modified according to the peculiar circumstances of tenure. One of those classes was the Free Tenant who took the land which he farmed and stocked himself, giving annually a rateable proportion to his landlord as the actual product in grain or live animals, and as the proportionate value for occupation and use of the farm. The returns in gross, both for landlord and tenant, chiefly depended on the fertility of the land, area of the farm, good or bad seasons, &c., whereby gains and losses were mutually felt and proportionately shared. The Bond Tenant took land without stock, while his landlord stocked it for him, sometimes supplying seed and even agricultural implements, thus requiring a larger proportionate rent in return, as the tenant paid for the use of stock and implements supplied, as also for the land's usufruct. These latter cultivators belonged to the smaller

and more struggling class of tenants, and they were called bondsmen—not because they were slaves—but because they were under bond or security, not only to give up the land if required, but also stock of the same number, kind and value, as had been originally supplied, and when the term of the tenancy had expired. For various reasons, the chiefs did not desire the multiplication of these poorer tenants on their lands, but rather wished to get rid of the many complications that arose in the collection of their rents; and it generally happened, that after a very short term of residence and cultivation, the industrious Bond Tenant, with the goodwill of his chief, was enabled to simplify his tenure and to increase his profits, by passing upwards to the more independent grade of a Free Tenant. For both classes of free and bond, they were much on the conditions of land holding, known as the *metayer* system on the continent of Europe, and as the “cropping on shares” system of the United States. The census of the latter country for 1830 shows, that while about three-fourths of the land had been held by owners in fee; only about one-fourth had been rented, usually on the system indicated, and to serve purposes of personal, local and temporary expediency, while the renter waited his opportunity to effect a land purchase.

In practice under the old Irish land customs, the Free and Bond tenants were entitled to unexhausted improvements created or inherited by them, and they were entitled to sell them at a valuation to the lord, did he require possession of their lands, or to the incoming tenant they were at liberty to sell their beneficial interests and goodwill. These usages not only tended to root farmers in the soil as tenants, but even to obliterate them as such, and convert them into landed proprietors, so that they often formed a class of gentry, nearly the social equals of their local chiefs, to whom they owed only certain civil services in consideration of their official rank. Thus the members of a clan could ascend in the scale of society, and in territorial rank, by the exercise of industry, force of character, and the accumulation of wealth.

Besides the land held by individual ownership, there was usually in every tribe a considerable portion of waste land

in commonage, and it was always understood, that subject to certain tribal regulations, this was available for the pasturage of cattle, for furnishing turbary, wood or stone for building purposes, especially for the use of farmers or herdsmen bordering on such tracts. These were regarded as public lands, to be maintained for the general benefit of the community, and the usufruct of which belonged to every free man, according to the laws and customs decreed by the Righ or High Chief and his clansmen, assembled in convention. It was the right and interest of each landholder in the tribe to maintain the commonage intact, unless for sufficient public or private reasons it was deemed necessary to enclose and occupy certain portions. Sometimes for religious or scholastic purposes, a portion of those lands had been conveyed to ecclesiastics or secular persons, who undertook the charge of reclaiming and farming. Sometimes for distinguished public services, and sometimes as appanages of offices, estates were carved out of those public lands, and withdrawn from the commonages. Tacit consent to the enclosure of lots also established a prescriptive right to possession, and this was even encouraged as a public improvement, when the occupancy did not interfere to any considerable degree with existing rights.

In each tribe there was usually a rate-hill, where yearly or half-yearly, or by general summons, the chief and his free clansmen assembled to deliberate in convention, and to levy assessments on the lands, for the suitable maintenance of the chieftain's state and household expenses. The chief was obliged to support a numerous staff of officials and dependents, besides a body of trained kerne, to serve in war when necessary, and to act as executive officers to enforce the laws in times of peace. The requisite tributes were apportioned equitably among the clansmen, and generally paid in cattle, corn, vegetables, or sometimes in labour, as an equivalent. The chief, elected for his personal more than for his hereditary claims, was generally popular. Generous and hospitable to his sub-chiefs, and a just protector of his clansmen's rights, these latter would not be outdone in reciprocal benefits; while the assessment conventions adjourned in harmony and

mutual friendship, until the necessity of the case required another assemblage.

For the generous self-imposed subsidies voted to him in convention, the chief bestowed his gifts in return to the district nobles attached to his person and to the captains of his hosting, who engaged when requisitioned to have a military following for purposes of defence or offence. There seems to have been all the grades of a prosperous social hierarchy in the Irish clan system, and a self-governing community—law supporting and regulating privilege and right—from the Head Chief, through his subordinate lords and gentlemen, to the large and small farmer proprietors, down to the permissive occupying tenants or peasant labourers, who even had holdings of land amply sufficient for their support, with a tolerably certain prospect of enlarging their possessions, by the exercise of industry and fidelity to the duties of their humble station in life.

The inhuman evictions of modern landlordism in Ireland had no place in the Celtic social system. Not that there were no bad, improvident or idle proprietors and tenants then as now; but because the well-ordered law of Distraint or Distress was occasionally applied by the creditor against the debtor, as in the collection of ordinary debts, sometimes proving to be an effective and a happy curative process for thriftlessness, but probably more frequently tending to reduce the thoughtless spendthrift from his higher grade in life to the condition of a common labourer, if he did not choose to become a vagabond or a pauper. In all cases, however, his landed property passed by a natural process into the hands of a better man, some industrious and enterprising occupier, who had the good wishes of his neighbours and the community to aid him; while the slothful and vicious man's presence had been regarded as a nuisance if not an evil to be avoided, and his absence from the land of his former occupancy as a blessing conferred on the community at large.

The foregoing mere abstract of old Irish social life, land laws and customs—as drawn from a study of our Irish historical records, and as inferred from the ordinances and

decrees of former legislative enactments—is set before the readers of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, with a hope, that some writer, having time at his disposal for further investigation and capacity for fuller illustration, may feel interested in those subjects, and deal more exhaustively with matters, that have a direct, even if a remote and reflex, bearing on the efforts now making to effect a just settlement of the anomalies and grievances for long connected with the Irish land question.

JOHN CANON O'HANLON.

ST. PATRICK'S WORK PAST AND PRESENT.—III.

AS far as I know since Dr. Forbes there has been very little serious writing about Irish social and domestic life. We have had, indeed, some shallow and flippant productions like that of M. le Baron Mandat-Grancey, with views of Ireland taken in smoking-rooms, or from the dusty windows of Dublin Castle, which are in deplorable contrast to the writings of the earnest and conscientious men which we have been considering. Unfortunately the dress of drawing-room political philosophy with which such writers invest their frivolities seems to impress some people. They remind us of those *Philosophes* of whom Edmund Burke observes, that they regard a whole generation of human beings as little as if they were so many mice in an air-pump. Society, in our days, has no more dangerous enemies than facetious moralists, who are merry when they ought to be serious, in the august presence of sacred misery.

The French writer, indeed, has some redeeming features. He is not entirely destitute of the chivalry of his ancestors, and although he amuses himself over the agonies of a nation to which France owes so much, he is unsparing in his denunciations of the causes. Moreover, he bears witness as late as 1887 to that marvellous purity of Irish morals, *qui partout ailleurs sembleraient fabuleuses et qui cependant, sont*

confirmées par des documents officiels, and he exclaims, *Vraiment, plus on fréquente ces braves Irlandais, plus on s'attache à eux.* He then goes on to say (p. 252), "they have hardly more than two faults: they are very lazy, and horrible liars." This writer will do as well as any other in bringing us face to face with the two radical faults which are supposed to vitiate all that is good in the Irish character. As a foreigner, without political or personal bias, M. de Mandat-Grancey is not inclined to take intermittent epidemics of crime as an index of the moral character of a people; whereas, sloth, and falsehood are part of a man's nature, and so to speak, in his blood.

In answer to the charge that the Irish are hopelessly lazy, and the aspirations of those who "look forward—many with hope, some with confidence—to the complete or partial extermination of the race from the soil of Ireland, as the only sure means of restoring that country to its just level in the scale of national welfare and happiness," Dr. Forbes contents himself (vol. ii., p. 366), with some trenchant quotations from Kay's *Social Condition of the People*, and Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*, the substance of which is that the Irish are never guilty of doing nothing, except when they have nothing to do; with all their buoyancy, they cannot get over the difficulty of the poet, that—

"Work, without hope, draws nectar in a sieve;
And hope, without an object, cannot live."

The fact is, that whenever he has an object, in peace or in war, the Irishman has to be held in: his fault is, either that of doing too much, or doing the work of others as well as his own, and the latter failing is not always a moral fault.

And now for the subject of lying, to borrow the laconic introduction of Cardinal Newman in his answer to Mr. Kingsley. If, as it is the fashion to say, the Irish are radically false, then it is well-nigh impossible that they can possess those pure and generous virtues which are attributed to them: "No vice," says Lord Bacon, "doth so cover a man with shame as to be false and perfidious;" for, he adds in the words of Montaigne, "If it be well-weighed, to say that

a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men."¹ Now, as far as their religion is concerned, this falsehood can hardly be attributed to the Irish. "The Catholic does not respect an oath," says Sydney Smyth. "Why not? What upon earth has kept him out of Parliament, or excluded him from all the offices whence he is excluded, but his respect for oaths? There is no law which prohibits a Catholic to sit in Parliament. There could be no such law; because it is impossible to find out what passes in the interior of any man's mind."²

Bacon thus begins his Essay on Truth: "*What is truth?*" said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer," and we may add, it is a pity that so many inherit the frivolity of Pilate. Truth, like courage in theory and in practice, are such very different things, that what is heroic self-sacrifice in one man, is mere selfish best policy in another. The whole force of the accusation against the "perfidious" Irish lies in pharasaical forgetfulness of this distinction. Who is it that are held up to the scorn of the world as images of Irish perfidy? Hungry mendicants in the pages of M. de Mandat-Grancey; whose living, like that of the lawyers, depends on a dexterous management of their case; or simple and bewildered witnesses before judges, whom, rightly or wrongly, they regard as their hereditary enemies. I do not excuse falsehood even under the sorest temptations, but I refrain from casting the stone, until I have been tried and found faithful in similar circumstances.

No work on Ireland, in our times has been so well received in England as Mr. Trench's *Realities of Irish Life*. I do not mean to say that it merits all the encomiums showered on it by English reviewers. The great "Reality" is hidden from Mr. Trench, and finds no place in his pages. He seems to have no perception of the influence of religion on the Irish people: that religion, which Mr. Lecky, a more profound observer, recognises as "the one thing that they valued more than their land:" "the passion and consolation of their lives."³ In this respect, therefore, of all others the most

¹ *Essay on Truth*.

² *Works*, III., p. 69. Longman, 1848.

³ *History of England*, Vol. II., pp. 18, 124.

important Mr. Trench was a stranger to the people. Moreover, he was the agent, and powerful representative of the landlord class, whom they regarded as their hereditary antagonists, and a very determined executor of their laws. And yet in widely distant parts of the country, he succeeded in winning an amount of confidence which probably no people in the world would have granted under similar circumstances. If this confidence is creditable to Mr. Trench, it is equally so to those with whom he had to deal ; the chain of honour and fidelity must have been fixed at both ends.

The following are some specimens of the way in which this work was greeted :—“ We know of nothing which conveys so forcible and impressive a description of this extraordinary people” (*Edinburgh Review*.) “ We shall be much mistaken if it does not go far to enable us both to understand the Irish better, and to sympathise with them far more discriminatingly than we have ever done before.” (*Quarterly Review*.) “ It is easy to say that his sketches of Irish life are highly coloured . . . but none the less on that account may they be very true to nature.” (*The Times*.) “ Many a tale of Irish generosity, devotion and heroism is here recorded in the substantive form of fact.” (*St. James's Chronicle*.)¹

We have here the work of an Irish Protestant agent, who, as he says, has lived amongst the people, “ from youth to manhood, and from manhood to the verge of age,” but no reader of this book can truly say that it is a picture of a false and treacherous people? We have, indeed, much of what he styles “ poetic turbulence, and almost romantic violence,” but apart from those terrible conjunctures, wherein all moral principles are submerged, its evidence is altogether in support of the opinion of Mr. Trench's reviewer in the *Standard*, “ that it is a revelation of true tenderness, of pathos, of generous loving devotion, and of daring courage, such as few nations can equal:” virtues which never yet have been found in false and treacherous hearts.

¹ The thirteen pages of opinions of the Press, appended to the new edition, is a very curious revelation of the complex emotions which a book about Ireland arouses in England.

The truth is, Mr. Trench's *Realities of Irish Life* is a running commentary on Mr. Carr's words, already quoted, that the Irish character is "too frank to conceal its own failings." In spite of their acuteness, the Irish are, of all nations, least fit for "treasons, stratagems, and spoils." No one has discussed this subject with such judicial impartiality as Dr. Forbes. Certain incidents, he tells us (Vol. I., pp. 24, 120) "impressed me strongly, as indicating the singular candour and honesty of the lower classes of the Irish. I may be mistaken, but my experience leads me to believe, that instances of such spontaneous, unselfish, and certainly, unnecessary exposition of personal character, and personal failure, could hardly be found in either England or Scotland;" and (p. 236) he goes on to defend the Irish against the accusation of "want of truthfulness in speech" as compared with "their half-brothers, the English and Scotch." He admits that he has "often heard Irishmen say the thing that was not; oftener, certainly, than I have heard Englishmen or Scotchmen say it," and he suggests the following explanation, which will recommend itself to every one who has an intimate acquaintance with the Irish character:—

"An Irishman's slips are more the sudden expression of emotional feeling than lies—bounces, white lies, at most: they spring from the same intellectual source as his wit, his bulls, and his fun, and have a close alliance with the quick geniality and kindness of his heart. His impulsive nature makes him speak before he has had time to think, and hence he often speaks wrong: his eager desire to oblige, to assent, to favour, overpowers for the moment his perception, or recollection of all opposing facts, and hence he often says *yes* when he should say *no*, or *no* when he should say *yes*."

To this we ought also to add those daring liberties which untutored Irish eloquence takes with the English language, which are sometimes as incomprehensible as those of Mr. Carlyle. So far from being sly and secret, communicativeness is peculiarly strong in the "mere" Irish, and their imperfect vocabulary is made to do duty at all costs. It is his knowledge of the English language which is often at fault, rather than his veracity, when an uneducated Irishman gives an incorrect answer. This is evident from

the fact that they are often most incomprehensible when it is most their interest to tell the truth, and the puzzle increases when the same person, who goes round about in a circle, at a simple question, will tell a story, or carry on an argument, and never seem to want the right word. This intellectual condition, however, is not without a parallel amongst the best educated persons. An English ecclesiastic, for instance, whose knowledge of French has been derived entirely from religious books, may get on very well with a French sermon : but put him in a French witness-box, and he will be as bewildered and contradictory as any Connemara peasant, who knows just "enough of English to save him from being *hung before his face*."¹

Our subject is certainly a serious one, and yet it has its ludicrous aspect. From Dean Swift to Sydney Smith, Ireland has inspired the most powerful satirists in the language, and it is English Protestants, not Irish Catholics, who are the objects of their immortal castigations. The fact that for centuries past Protestant ministers have been, of all men in the empire, the most indignant denouncers of the falsehood and hypocrisy of their co-religionists, is certainly a remarkable phenomenon. The two famous dignitaries named, have not been the only generous defenders of Catholic Ireland in the ranks of the Establishment. The list would be a long one were I to enumerate the honoured names of Protestant clergymen, past and present, who by their fearless utterances have displayed the spirit of chivalry on the controversial battle-field. There is hardly a falsehood, or an impudent assumption about Catholic Ireland which is not found strangled somewhere in the pages of Sydney Smith. As we have seen, in answer to the accusation that Catholics disregard their oaths, he points out to unreasoning readers, that it was precisely because they would *not* perjure themselves that they wasted away under the Penal laws, and he, summarily, dismisses the objection that "Catholic morality is not good," with the answer, "It

A proverbial Irish expression, quoted by Gerald Griffin. *The Collegians*, p. 331.

is not true." With equal brevity he disposes of the practice of burning spurious bibles, and the violence of those for whom death has no terrors, because life has no consolations.¹

But to return to Mr. Trench. His pictures of Irish domestic life is well summed up in the words of one of his reviewers as a revelation of "the purity, the tenderness, the trustfulness, the innate courtesy, the combined sadness and sprightliness of the Celtic temperament;" and yet it falls short of that which is found in the pages of Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall. It is his treatment of the dark and terrible mysteries of Irish life which has given such a singular importance to his work. In dealing with these questions his peculiar position secured him a patient hearing, which would have been denied to others. Indeed, were it not for his antecedents and character, it might almost be said of his *Realities of Irish Life*, that, like certain poems and romances, it invests criminals with a sort of heroic grace. But when this man moralizes, and speculates on the causes of agrarian murder in Ireland, he is in his right, for few men living had so often faced the stern reality; and when, at the conclusion of his book, with facts before the reader, he pleads extenuating circumstances, he is in no danger of being accused of political bias or lax principles, and we feel that the generosity of his acknowledgments is the very best antidote to the evils which he condemns.

He begins (p. 5) by declaring it to be his own experience that, whenever, in Ireland, justice had been carried to its "legitimate conclusions," he had "never yet known it to fail." Again (p. 329): "Steady justice and persevering determination, combined with kind and liberal treatment, will ever, in much-abused Ireland, produce the most satisfactory results." And then he proceeds to congratulate "Lord Digby, and those who worked under him," on having "obtained a moral victory over what, at one time, appeared as dangerous and unpromising a subject as any Irish landlord, or Irish agent, could possibly undertake to manage." Lastly (p. 357), he gives us what he himself calls his

"Conclusion," in which we find the following declaration, the truth of which will hardly be questioned, whatever opinions may be entertained of its prudence:—

"We can scarcely shut our eyes to the fact that the circumstances and feelings which have led to the terrible crime of murder in Ireland, are usually very different from those which have led to murder elsewhere. The reader of the English newspaper is shocked at the list of children murdered by professional assassins, of wives murdered by their husbands, of men murdered for their gold. In Ireland that dreadful crime may almost invariably be traced to a wild feeling of revenge for the national wrongs, to which so many of her sons believe that she has been subjected for centuries.

"The cry of Ireland is invariably for '*justice*.'"

The italics are Mr. Trench's own. I have no wish to put a strained interpretation on his words; but, certainly, his language is that of a man who believes that "*justice*, carried to its legitimate conclusions," and "*kind and liberal treatment*" on the part of his own order, is not the rule in Ireland. If this be true, it must be acknowledged that the Irish peasantry have had peculiar temptations, and that circumstances have largely contributed to keep alive that "*wild feeling of revenge*" which Mr. Trench deplores. Now it is a consolation to think that circumstances are not part of a nation's life, and that with their disappearance the heart may still be found unchanged. With the exception of crimes perpetrated in the name of religion, there are none more fearful than those which spring from private interpretation of justice; for when each man is a law to himself, the whole fabric of society begins to totter: but in neither of these cases is man so irreclaimable, as when he is sunk in personal moral depravity.

Morality is one of the few points on which men of our age, that "*count it a bondage to fix a belief*,"¹ are pretty well agreed. "*The test of civilisation [says Emerson] is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no; but the kind of men the country turns out.*" And he concludes, "*Civili-*

¹ "Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief—affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting,"—Lord Bacon, *Essay on Truth*.

sation depends on morality.”¹ But morality has its root in the family. It begins at home, in that sweet kingdom which man indeed protects, but over which woman is sovereign: and it is in this sacred province, of all others most dear to man, that poor and despised Ireland challenges the proud civilisation of the nineteenth century. If this point alone is gained, her cause is won.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the challenge comes, not from herself, but from the astonished stranger; for virtue, like health of body, is unobserved until it is revealed by contrast. I have given some specimens, and they might be immeasurably multiplied, of the enthusiastic admiration and affection which intimate acquaintance with the Irish poor arouses in people almost as far removed from them in the social scale, as in politics and religion. What, then, is the common ground on which such opposite characters meet?—for some such ground there must be. I believe it is to be found in that natural appreciation of the beauty of domestic life, and conjugal fidelity, to which all men do homage. This is the level on which rich and poor, the prince and the peasant, meet; for, in the sacredness of their homes, is the measure of their relative honour, dignity, and happiness.

As I have already observed, the praises of Ireland, in this respect, must be sung by the stranger; and I know no one who has done so in loftier strains than an English official. Sir Francis Head. This is all the more remarkable, as his book reveals that he was possessed by an almost fanatical detestation of the Catholic religion.²

I believe that lawyers say that children are the best witnesses; and they are the first whom this writer summons. He watches the boys in school, and at their play; and is charmed by their spirit of discipline, good humour, and courtesy with each other. Of the girls he observes (p. 34):

¹ *Works*, III., p. 10.

² *A Fortnight in Ireland*. Sir Francis Head had served in the army, and as Governor of Canada, and had evidently studied men and manners on a very wide scale; and (p. 147), like Dr. Forbes, he is filled with admiration at “the meekness and resignation” with which the Irish Catholic poor bear misfortune and affliction.

"In no country in the world have I ever witnessed, have I ever beheld, the indescribable native modesty which, in their play-ground as well as in their studies, characterised their countenances." Again (p. 226), he returns to the subject :—

"From the morning on which I had visited the great Model National School in Marlborough-street, Dublin, to the hour of my arrival in Galway, I have remarked in the Irish female countenance, an innate or native modesty more clearly legible than it has ever been my fortune to read in journeying through any other country on the globe. . . . Wherever I went, I made inquiries ; the result of which was not only to confirm, but to over-confirm, my own observation. Indeed, from the Resident Commissioner of the Board of National Education in the metropolis, down to the governors of gaols, and masters of the remotest workhouses, I received statements of the chastity of the Irish women so extraordinary that, I must confess, I could not believe them ; in truth, I was infinitely more puzzled by what I heard, than by the simple evidence of my own eyes."¹

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the works I have been quoting is the way in which the language of poetry is ever breaking out, under the most unlikely circumstances, in the presence of the "innate and native modesty" of Ireland—that beauty which is no mere surface-painting ; but comes from within, like the blush upon the rose. Mr. Lecky has well said, that "the world is governed by its ideals ;" and his reflections on this subject are so much akin to my argument, that I cannot refrain from introducing the passage :—

"The world is governed by its ideals ; and seldom or never has there been one which has exercised a more profound, or, on the whole, a more salutary influence, than the mediæval conception of the Virgin. For the first time, woman was elevated to her rightful position, and the sanctity of weakness was recognised, as well as the sanctity of sorrow. No longer the slave or toy of man—no longer associated only with ideas of degradation and of sensuality—woman rose, in the person of the Virgin Mother, into a new sphere, and became the object of a reverential homage of

¹ Here follows a mass of confirmatory evidence furnished by the police, Sir Francis Head having obtained what he styles (p. 109) a "firman" from the Chief Constabulary Office in Dublin, directing the force to "afford him all possible information." It would be easy to supplement this evidence. It is certain that in many, perhaps in the majority of the towns, there are no houses of ill-fame.

which antiquity had no conception. Love was idealised. The moral charm and beauty of female excellence was, for the first time, felt. A new type of character was called into being: a new kind of admiration was fostered. Into a harsh, and ignorant, and benighted age, this ideal type infused a conception of gentleness and of purity unknown to the proudest civilisations of the past. In the pages of loving tenderness which many a monkish writer has left in honour of his celestial patron; in the millions who, in many lands and in many ages, have sought, with no barren desire, to mould their characters into her image; in those holy maidens who, for the love of Mary, have separated themselves from all the glories and pleasures of the world, to seek in fastings, and vigils, and humble charity, to render themselves worthy of her benediction; in the new sense of honour, in the chivalrous respect, in the softening of manners, in the refinement of tastes displayed in all the walks of society: in these, and many other ways, we detect its influence. All that was best in Europe clustered round it; and it is the origin of many of the purest elements of our civilisation.”¹

There are many now who look mournfully into the past, and imagine that it can never return, and to such the study of Irish life may possibly be an encouragement. It cannot be said that the morality of Ireland is an accident, or the result of artificial seclusion and security from trial. For centuries past an immense military force has been in perpetual occupation—a state of things of all others the most dangerous to morality; while wealth and power and the administration of the laws have been in the hands of a class, who were certainly no better than men of pleasure, and men of the world in other countries.

The evidence of St. Patrick's success in the age of faith are not likely to be questioned; but the object of this essay is to show that the living Church in Ireland is the heir of the past. If I have proved that poverty in Ireland has neither broken the spirit, nor lowered the moral standard of her people, the mystery is one which is well worthy of attention. If it points to the fact that the Catholic religion possesses the secret of drawing blessings from adversity, this characteristic is one which ought to excite the interest of mankind. Neither in the past, nor in the present has philosophy done much in this

¹ *Hist. of Rationalism in Europe*, I., 234.

ine. Indeed, so patent have been its failures that it has now taken to the less laborious occupation of prophecy, foretelling an age when knowledge will put an end to adversity. In the meantime it leaves "suffering sad humanity" to take care of itself—an office which at present it seems very badly prepared to exercise. Christianity has given men lessons, which, when separated from its system, only serve to give an apparent religious sanction to the genius of destruction. It has brought the glorious tidings of equality to the poor; but the truth that all men are equal before God demands eternity for its development. If narrowed and restricted to this little overcrowded world where men, says St. Augustine, like fishes devour one another, it only intensifies the suicidal struggle. The world is threatened with suffocation, like that of Dante's second circle of hell—

"Which a lesser space
Embracing, so much more of grief contains,"

unless religion can lift men's hearts to that boundless empyrean where there is room for all.

They have the best right to indulge in bright anticipations for the future who can find instruction and consolation in the past. That which the Catholic Church has done already, she aspires to do again. The world was old under Nero and Commodus, and she gave it that new life which has lasted until now. There is nothing in the nature of things to prevent the turning of the tide of a disappointed civilisation: if one man can be disabused and converted, why not a million? Christians may well lift up their heads when they find men like M. Rénan aghast at what he calls the "constant bankruptcy of Liberalism," and shuddering at the possible extinction of unbelief.

Atheism never was, and never will be, the vice of the poor. Lord Bacon enumerates four causes of atheism—Divisions in religion, scandal of priests, scoffing in holy matters, and, lastly, "learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversity do more to bow men's minds to religion."¹ If the infidel objected that by this argu-

¹ *Essay on Atheism.*

ment he made religion a mere accident, Lord Bacon would probably answer that in all things man is the creature of accidents, only then he would look upon them as servants of that

“Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.”

It was an accident that the times were learned, and that peace and prosperity reigned under Augustus, and because these things were accidents and not substantial, they had an end, and when this came to pass society was renewed from the roots.—Not that it is necessary to suppose that there is any inherent promise of life in the mutable and childish multitude save the one, viz., that it is intellectually young, and therefore it may submit to be taught.

As we have already seen (p. 32) Burke regarded the Catholic Church in Ireland as an instrument not only for the “glory of religion,” but for the “good of the State;” and Mr. Lecky has borne witness to the work which she effected in the last century, in the face of difficulties as great as any moral power has ever had to face. In 1798 she stifled Jacobinism, with the loss of her most powerful friends in England as well as Ireland, who with Pitt and Fox, inclined to the opinion that it was merely the excess of that which was good. In 1848 she averted the Revolution, and now, alone amongst the rulers of men, she comes forth victorious from her conflict with secret societies. The only thing she has not done is to teach her children how to make money but in this school there is no lack of instructors. If she can teach the poor something better, and inspire them with the spirit of moderation, then it is possible that Ireland may be again, as she once was, “The Light of the West.” Slowly but irresistibly, the popular tide is rising, and the masses are becoming the masters of the few, and, unless they learn self restraint, it is plain that society must perish, and

“ . . . appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And, last eat up himself.”¹

¹ *Troilus and Cressida*, I., 3.

All virtues, like the kingdom of heaven, suffer violence, and men set a high price on things which they have purchased with tears and blood. This is the promise of perseverance in ancient ways, which attaches to Ireland above all the nations of the earth. For three hundred years she has been proof against that spirit of religious anarchy which has been the parent of political licence. "Alone amongst the northern nations," says Lord Macaulay, "Ireland adhered to the ancient faith," and now she sees the end of the promises of universal Revolution, and the terrible collapse of those who have drunk their fill of the cup of the Enchantress. "You and I," wrote Burke to Bishop Hussey, "hate Jacobinism as we hate the gates of hell. Why? Because it is a system of oppression." The letter in which these words occur, reads like his dying testament to the Irish people, whose needs and dangers he understood better than any statesman before or since, and there is such marvellous unity in his style that each sentence seems to have in it the life of the whole. He warns Catholics against that "Jacobinism which arises from penury and irritation, from scorned loyalty and rejected allegiance," and continues—

"This radical evil may baffle the attempts of heads much wiser than those are, who, in the petulance and riot of their drunken power, are neither ashamed nor afraid to insult and provoke those whom it is their duty, and ought to be their glory, to cherish and protect . . . But all is for the Protestant cause . . . If the country enjoys a momentary quiet, it is pleaded as an argument in favour of the good effect of wholesome rigours. If, on the contrary, the country grows more discontented, and if riots and disorders multiply, new arguments are furnished for giving a vigorous support to the authority of the directory, on account of the rebellious disposition of the people. So long, therefore, as disorders in the country become pretexts for adding to the power and emoluments of a *junto*, means will be found to keep one part of it or other in a perpetual state of confusion and disorder."

And his conclusion is, that—

"The State has, if possible, greater interest in acting according to strict law, than even the subject himself. For, if the people see that the law is violated to crush them, they will certainly despise the law. They, or their party, will be easily led to

violate it, whenever they can, by all the means in their power. Except in cases of direct war, whenever government abandons law, it proclaims anarchy."

When the dispassionate reader recalls those awful words of Mr. Lecky, that in Ireland "illegal violence was the natural protection against immoral laws," and sets them side by side with those of Burke, he will hardly deny that the Irish Catholic has been sorely tempted to rebellion. And yet, if chivalrous and generous prodigality of blood is an evidence of loyalty, the Irish Catholic need not fear comparison with his Protestant English fellow-subject. This was the verdict of the Duke of Wellington, in one of his speeches on Catholic Emancipation. "It is mainly," he said "to the Irish Catholics that we all owe our proud pre-eminence in our military career," and he spurned as an insult to himself, the attempt to brand them with the imputation of a divided allegiance.¹

¹ H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence (William IV.) gives evidence for the navy in the House of Lords. "During all his professional experience he could bear testimony to the character, to the energy, to the honesty, and to the thorough good humour of Irishmen. If the venerable Duncan . . . if Lord St. Vincent . . . if the great Nelson, the hero of the Nile, were in being—would they not hold up their hands in admiration that the dawn of peace and happiness and tranquillity in Ireland had arrived—that justice was about at length to be done to the country of those men who had been fighting the battles of the empire on the lower decks of the ships which they commanded," and he reminds the Duke of Wellington, the Premier, that "he was a soldier, and when he bore in mind the regiments that fought under his command, he must consider that he was only discharging a debt of gratitude, which he owed to those gallant men who had enabled him to achieve his victories, and had contributed to raise him to his present exalted situation." (*Hansard*, 23rd February, 1829.) I cannot find the contemporary report of the Duke of Wellington's speech. It is quite in keeping, however, with that delivered on the same subject in the Irish House of Commons in 1793, in which he says that "He had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country (Ireland), and he trusted, when the question would be brought forward respecting this description of men, that we would lay aside animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans." (Philip's *Life of Curran*, p. 413, quoted from "Debates on Roman Catholic Question.") The Duke's gallant companion in arms, the Marquis of Anglesey, said "Nothing is so fallacious as to suppose that the population of Ireland are dissolute and idle. Dissolute You may ask for the returns of crime in England and in Ireland, and the contrast will show you which people is the most dissolute. Idle they are, but it is solely because they can get no employment. . . . Suppose this Bill to be passed into law by this day month: declare war, if you like the next day, and I assert that you will have no difficulty, within six weeks,

There is a profound significance in the fact that it is only in the British army and navy, that the Irish Catholic possesses perfect equality. The reason is obvious. In the stern school of the battle-field there is no place for the pettifogger and trader in civil discord: men are dispassionate when destruction and death are the penalties of prejudice and folly. What man is there in his senses, who supposes that her Majesty would have a moment's hesitation in entrusting the supreme command of the armies of the Empire to a Catholic fellow-countryman of Wellington, were the genius of the great Captain to reappear in such a quarter?

Death is ever the interpreter and the judge of life. No one knows this better than he whose office it is to minister to departing souls. It is then that all the false tinsel, borrowed from the ethics of culture drops off, and man is seen in his true colours. Up to this point, I have drawn my proofs of the results of St. Patrick's religion from the stranger. Perhaps now, without impropriety, I may give the results of my own observations, extending over a period of more than thirty years, chiefly spent in the service of the Irish in the hospitals of London. There is a real analogy between the hospital and the battle-field: in both man is in the ranks, side by side with his fellow-man, and the balance is the same for all.

During my prolonged relations with the Protestant physicians and nurses in London hospitals, never in word or manner, have I observed even a shadow of that supercilious contempt for the Irish Catholic which is only too common amongst those "gentlemen of England who sit at home at ease." On the contrary, experience has convinced me that the Irish patients are generally the favourites in these institutions, and that the affection, and even admiration, which

to raise in that country, fifty thousand able-bodied, and what is more, willing-hearted men, who will traverse the Continent, or find their way to any quarter of the globe to which you may choose to direct their arms. I say, my Lords, that the passing of this Bill is worth, to the British Empire, more, far more, and I do not wish to exaggerate, than a hundred thousand bayonets." (*Hansard*, 3rd April, 1829.) Newenham, *Statistical and Historical Inquiry* (p. 133), writing in 1805, states that "perhaps two-fifths of the present disposable force of his Majesty are Irish Roman Catholics, that they are likely to constitute a much greater proportion, and that 120,000 Catholics of this country lost their lives in fighting for him during the last war alone."

they inspire is always in proportion to the splendour of their faith, and the vitality of their national traditions. There is ever an infallibly descending scale in the case of the children and grandchildren of the Irish in England, who are Irish indeed in name, but English in their manners and customs.

Men are looking everywhere for the evidences of Christianity, except in the place to which its Divine Founder has directed their attention in that answer which He gave to the message of the Baptist, *Pauperes evangelizantur*. His Gospel taught no economical wisdom, gave no instruction in thrift and economy: its object was to lift men's hearts above this world, and to lead them to make little of the things that pass away. When these doctrines were first announced, they were very offensive to "sophisters, economists and calculators;" but they prevailed, and expanded into that spirit of Christian chivalry, which imperfect as it is, is still the one thing which makes this world endurable. Mr. Froude is welcome to say that "the Irish are the spendthrift sister of the Aryan race," an accusation which is re-echoed by the present Chief Minister of her Majesty. Prodigality of money as well as of blood is always more pleasant than parsimony, and at times quite as useful and reasonable, and however much it may cost the giver, the receiver ought certainly to be the last to despise or complain of it.

It is impossible to continue to be serious for any length of time in dealing with English prejudices against the Irish. "I now take a final leave of this subject of Ireland," says Sydney Smith, "the only difficulty in discussing it is a want of resistance—a want of something difficult to unravel, and something dark to illuminate; to agitate such a question, is to beat the air with a club, and cut down gnats with a scimitar." Granted that the Irish care little for money, are they the worse for this? Is there no place now in the empire for anybody save the stock-jobber and the money-lender; no occupation for "Irish statesmen, scholars, soldiers, artists, lawyers, poets, men of letters," whose merits have aroused the enthusiasm of Mr. Froude himself? Is the taunt of Napoleon come true, that "England is a nation of shopkeepers?"

It is impossible to believe that Mr. Froude and Lord Salisbury are in earnest ; and this is at once the most pleasant and hopeful view to take of the subject. Their contradictory views about Ireland, and the Catholic Church spring from the same source. "Yet," continues Mr. Froude, in the next sentence, "there is notwithstanding a fascination about them in their old land, and in the sad and strange associations of their singular destiny. They have a power of attraction, which no one who has felt it can withstand . . . they possess, and have always possessed, some qualities the moral worth of which it is impossible to over-estimate, and which are rare in the choicest races of mankind."¹

This is a strange confession. Whence comes this fascination, and irresistible attraction, and this fear, unless it be from that religion which has ever been set for the ruin, or resurrection of mankind? What other power has ever been able to clothe the mendicant in the bright panoply of chivalry, like Dante's St. Francis "In the proud Soldan's presence ;" or keep alive "even in servitude itself the spirit of an exalted freedom." If ever "By the change of the hand of the Most High," the hour of reconciliation comes between Mr. Froude and the religion of Alfred, and St. Louis, of Blessed Thomas More, and Mary Stuart, he will understand the nature of that "fascination," and "power of attraction," which the children of St. Patrick exercise "in their old land." Even as it is, he can hardly wonder at the feelings of admiration and passionate sympathy for the Irish poor which is as an unconsuming fire in the breasts of those who in their "singular destiny" behold a revelation of the mystery and beauty of that chivalry, which now as ever, is the inseparable companion of living Christian faith.

In conclusion I venture to express the hope that in this essay I have succeeded in carrying the discussion into a religious and oecumenical tribunal wherein national and party fury may submit to be silent, for if the fountain of St. Patrick's work takes its rise in Ireland, the river of life which flows from it, is the inheritance of mankind.

W. B. MORRIS.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

ALTARS AND THEIR RELICS.

“REV. SIR,—I have been for some long time saying Mass on an altar stone, which, as far as any external marks upon it could lead a person to conjecture, might have been only a common piece of a flag. It has no covering of canvas, not even the mark of a cross cut upon it in any portion of it, nor a trace of a sepulchre. It has been, I believe, used by my predecessors for years. I have been speaking to some of my brother priests on the subject, and they said that altar stones of that class are very common, and that they are relics of the days of persecution when the bishops of Ireland had permission to consecrate altar stones without placing relics in them. I cannot still feel quite satisfied, even if this statement were correct, for I have in my possession an old pewter chalice, which was given to me years ago by an aged priest, and who told me that he had frequently celebrated Mass with it; yet, even in a case of necessity I would not feel justified in offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with it. “P. P.”

We shall not wonder that altar stones without relics may still be found in some parts of Ireland, if we examine what the older theologians taught about the necessity of relics for the consecration of altars; and, if we also consider—as our correspondent himself suggests—that in the time of persecution the Irish bishops may have had permission to consecrate altar stones without enclosing relics in them.

It may not, therefore, be uninteresting if, by way of *apologia* for the existence and use of such altars in Ireland, we somewhat extend the scope of our correspondent's question, and inquire:—1°. Is it necessary for the consecration of an altar, according to the teaching of the older theologians, that relics should be placed in it? 2°. A kindred question—does an altar lose its consecration by the loss of its relics? 3°. Do subsequent decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites compel us to hold that relics are necessary? 4°. Assuming that relics were always necessary for the consecration of altars, had the Irish bishops permission to

consecrate altar stones without relics? And 5. Is it lawful to continue offering Mass on such altars?

I.

Is it necessary for the consecration of altars, according to the teaching of the older theologians, that relics should be placed in them?

Of course the altar, or the altar stone—as we sometimes speak of it—on which Mass is offered, must be consecrated. But are relics necessary for its consecration?

St. Liguori¹ tells us that there are two opinions of theologians on this question. Some theologians thought that relics were necessary for the consecration of an altar. This opinion was founded on certain texts of Canon Law, and on the custom of the Church, which—according to these theologians—was sufficiently manifested by the prayer in the Missal, “*Oramus te Domine per merita sanctorum tuorum quorum reliquiae hic sunt,*” &c.

The second, and more common opinion, on the contrary, denied that relics were necessary for the consecration of altars. For this opinion St. Liguori quotes such names as Suarez, Lugo, Laymann, Vasquez, Palaus. These eminent theologians argued that there was no clear precept commanding the insertion of relics in altars; or, if the precept ever existed, that it had been abrogated by contrary custom. And as to the prayer in the Missal they replied that it should be understood conditionally, “*Ad orationem autem illam Missae Quorum reliquiae, &c., respondent intelligi sub conditione si adsint.*”

When, therefore, these distinguished theologians tell us, that if there ever existed before their time a precept requiring the insertion of relics in altars, it had been abrogated by contrary custom, we may infer that Ireland has not been singular and exceptional in celebrating for a time on altars unhallowed by martyrs’ relics.

II.

Does an altar lose its consecration by the loss of its relics? At present we only consider what theologians taught on

¹ Lib. vi., Tract. iii., cap. iii., n. 369.

this subject. In our next question we shall draw attention to the decrees of the Sacred Congregation bearing on this question.

Well, again, St. Liguori tells us there are two opinions. Some theologians, and among them Suarez, held that altars do not lose their consecration, if the little slab which closes the sepulchre of the relics be broken; nor if the relics themselves be removed. Because relics are not necessary for the consecration of an altar in the first instance; and, therefore, a consecrated altar does not lose its consecration by their removal.

Theologians, however, more commonly held that an altar loses its consecration when the little slab enclosing the relics is broken, or when the sepulchre with its relics is removed. They argued principally from custom, "*Ratio quia talis est consuetudo Ecclesiarum ut altaria, fracto sigillo vel amoto sepulchro iterum consecrentur.*" (St. Liguori, *ibid.*)

The reason given by Laymann for this opinion is interesting in view of certain decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to which we shall have to refer. Laymann taught that relics are not necessary for the consecration of an altar. And yet—though he admitted the probability of the opposite opinion—he held that an altar should be reconsecrated if relics had been placed in it at its first consecration, and subsequently lost, by the fracture of the slab which closes the sepulchre, or by the removal of the sepulchre. He argues that the altar loses its consecration not exactly by the loss of the relics, but by the substantial fracture of the altar which necessarily takes place. He writes,¹ "*Nihilominus puto servandam esse Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, communi Doctorum sententia firmatam, ut altaria iterum consecrentur; cum enim sigillum hoc [the slab which closes the sepulchre] censeatur praecepta pars mensae, merito ob ejus fractionem, vel amotionem ipsa mensa sive lapis notabiliter confractus vel diminutus aestimatur.*"

Considering the diversity of theological opinion on this question, which is somewhat akin to the preceding, we again

¹ Lib. v., Tract. v., cap. vi., n. 8.

conclude that it is no wonder if even yet there may be found in Ireland some altars consecrated without relics.

III.

Do subsequent decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites compel us to abandon the opinion of the older theologians, who taught that relics are not necessary for the consecration of altars?

The Sacred Congregation of Rites has not *directly* defined, as far as we can observe, that relics are necessary for the consecration of an altar. The decrees quoted by St. Liguori and Craisson, and referred to by De Herdt, rather deal *directly* with the question, when do altars lose their consecration; and define what should be done when the relics have been removed from an altar already consecrated.

Then it is *inferred* from the decrees that the insertion of relics in altars is always an essential element in their consecration.

De Herdt thus condenses the teaching of many of these decrees, “*Tam fixum quam portatile amittit consecrationem si remotae sint reliquae, fractum sit sepulchrum, vel ejus operculum, seu parvus ille lapis qui claudit repositorium reliquiarum, aut etiam si hoc operculum amotum fuerit*” (vol. i., n. 177, 2). The following passage in De Herdt is also very important, but too long for quotation. The principal decrees may also be seen in Craisson, nn. 3604, 5, 6, 7.

It would not, we think, surpass human ingenuity, to explain these decrees conformably to the opinion of the theologians, who taught that relics are not necessary for the consecration of an altar. For did not Laymann, who held that relics are not necessary, teach that a consecrated altar loses its consecration by the loss of its relics? Did he not argue that the destruction or removal of the door of the sepulchre—without which the relics could not be removed—would be a substantial fracture of the altar? And did he not advocate the necessity of reconsecration on the grounds of this fracture of the altar stone, rather than on the necessity of the relics themselves?

Nevertheless we think with St. Liguori that the present

universal custom of inserting relics in altars, and the decrees referred to by De Herdt, and quoted by Craisson, sufficiently prove that relics are necessary for the consecration of altars and that we must therefore abandon the opinion of the older theologians, who held that relics are not necessary.

“His tamen non obstantibus [writes St. Liguori]¹ puto non recedendum a prima sententia [the opinion of those who held that relics are necessary] tum propter universalem contrariam consuetudinem . . . tum propter decreta S. C. rituum mox infra adducenda, ubi declaratur execratum altare a quo removeretur reliquae, vel frangitur sigillum; unde satis probatur reliquias esse necessarias ad altaris consecrationem. Et clarius hoc declaratum fuit alio decreto 19 Jan., 1614 apud Croix ubi dictum fuit, permitti altare portatile ligneum dummodo habeat reliquiarum repositorium.”

IV.

Had the Irish bishops permission at any time to consecrate altars without relics?

We find in Arsdekin² the following heading:—

“Facultates Missionum,”

“Pro Episcopis in Hibernia, et alibi concedi solitae,” &c.

And under this heading we read:—

“Decimo quinto [Facultas] Celebrandi Missam quocunque loco decente, etiam subdito, sub terra, una hora ante Auroram, et alia post meridiem, bis in die si necessitas urgeat—si tamen in prima Missa non sumpserit ablutionem et super altari portatile etiam fracto aut laeso, aut *sine Sanctorum Reliquiis*,” &c.

There may, of course, have been other similar powers granted later on to all, or at least to some of the Irish bishops. And we quote the extract from Arsdekin, because it helps us to understand how altar stones without relics continued to be used in certain parts of Ireland until, perhaps, comparatively recent times.

V.

Is it lawful to continue offering Mass on altars in which there are no relics?

The views of the Holy See on this matter can, we think, be admirably learned from a Rescript to the Most Reverend

¹ *Ibid.*

² Tom. ii., Pars. ii., Tract. ii., cap. 5.

Dr. McCormack, Bishop of Galway, and dated 22nd November, 1885. His Lordship had petitioned for permission to use a short form in reconsecrating portable altars; and his petition was granted in the following terms:—

“LEO PP. XIII.

“Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 22 Novembris, 1885.

“SSmus. Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto Archiepiscopo Tyren, S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide Secretario, R. P. D. Episcopo Achadensi facultatem tribuens utendi eadem concessione qua jam Episcopo Sancti Pauli de Minnesota . . . facta est, benigne indulset ut altaria quae nova indigent consecratione *sensim sine sensu consecrentur, prudenter capta occasione, nullo temporis limite Episcopo Oratori praescripto juxta breviorum ritum in similibus casibus statutum,*” &c.

May, therefore, our correspondent continue offering Mass on an altar-stone without relics?

It is perfectly impossible for us to answer this question while we are unacquainted with the position of affairs in our correspondent's diocese.

It is a good deal a matter for the bishops. We think, of course, that *per se* it is not lawful to consecrate on altars without relics. But many hypotheses must be made.

1°. If the altars generally in the diocese are without relics, we think our correspondent may continue offering Mass on his altar until his bishop makes a move in the direction of reconsecrating the altars. And even then, as we know, the Holy See would allow considerable time for the reconsecration of the altars of a diocese.

2°. If the bishop of a diocese consecrated a sufficient number of *new* altars to satisfy the requirements of his diocese, and did not intend to reconsecrate the old ones, what shall we say?

We think that, though bishops in the spirit of the Rescript quoted, move slowly and considerably in introducing the new altar stones, the priests would be bound to get them without undue delay. For what would excuse a long delay? Not the prospect of the reconsecration of the old stones; because *ex hypothesi* they will not be reconsecrated.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, Vol. VII., No. 1. (January, 1886.)

3°. If a bishop consecrated new altar stones, and also announced his intention of reconsecrating the old ones *sensim sine sensu, capta occasione*, we think the priests may continue using the old ones until they are reconsecrated. We think the Holy See would not oblige them to purchase new altars, pending the reconsecration of the old ones.

4°. Perhaps the most practical case is this: New altar stones have been consecrated in sufficient numbers to supply the different churches in a diocese. The priest lives a considerable distance from the church, and must say his daily mass in his own house. Shall we oblige him to bring home the altar stone from the church every Sunday? And shall we oblige him to carry it, *e.g.*, to "Stations"? Or may he say Mass at home on an altar without relics?

This question can scarcely be settled satisfactorily to all consciences, until the matter is referred to the bishop, and until the old altars are reconsecrated. We think the priest would be bound to carry home the portable altar from the church if it were of small size; but we have seen portable altars consecrated for churches so large that it would be very inconvenient, and even dangerous, to be constantly carrying them about, for example, to "Stations." In this case we would not condemn a priest who would offer even his daily Mass at home on an altar without relics. However, if the bishop of the diocese be unaware of the scarcity of altars having relics, he ought to be informed of it by his priests.

Finally, if a bishop—on account of scarcity of altar stones—intends to consecrate new ones, we think priests should inform him of any old altar stones which may remain in the diocese. There may be—as our correspondent suggests—some old altars that have braved the storm of persecution; and we think it would be a pity to cast them aside, when they can without difficulty be again fully equipped for divine service.

D. COGHLAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN.

REV. DEAR SIR,—All who love Ireland and her poor, patient, and faithful people, were delighted to learn some time ago, through his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, that an organised crusade was about to be inaugurated and preached against our great enemy, Intemperance. Afterwards, however, they were somewhat disheartened by a few depressing words spoken by his Grace on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Mathew Hall. Still, there is, I believe, a strong and well-spread desire that his Grace should give himself to this important and holy work in the diocese of Dublin, even though it may not, all at once, or ever, develop into a national movement. There is a deep conviction in the minds of all good men, priests and laics, that a religious organisation, having within it the seed and promise of enduring and permanent life, ought to be begun, and that it is not to our credit that it was not begun long ago.

Dublin is, after all, the great centre in which it should first show form, and if his Grace the Archbishop, gifted as he is with great natural and supernatural power, place himself at its head, he will unite, in one strong, compact body, those who are public preachers and advocates of total abstinence and temperance, and thousands whose hearts are really in the work, but who do little more than brood over and fret about this national misery and pray, perhaps, God to save themselves from it. All ought to do their best to help the good work, we priests first and most of all. In this spirit, therefore, I venture to merely outline the kind of organisation which suggests itself as the best, if not the only one likely to succeed. In outlining it, I have in mind principally the City of Dublin, though the work might be planned and carried out much on the same lines anywhere else.

I must, however, premise or presume as true—1st, That the intemperate believe in the pledge as the best, if not the only means of pulling themselves up; 2ndly, That the pledge does a certain amount of good, even when kept for only a few weeks or months, and that some, after a few ups and downs, become in the end habitually temperate; 3rdly, That beneficial results may be expected from any means which would make the intemperate respect the pledge, and make them have a greater fear and dread of breaking it.

What, as a rule, does "taking the pledge" practically mean? To the writer it means, rightly or wrongly, as follows:—Persons coming singly or in groups to the priest's house or to the church, taking the pledge, weakened often by certain conditions, promising perhaps to go soon to confession, and then passing away. Many of these break the pledge, and then, after a time, go somewhere else to take it again; or, if they come to the same place, they may not meet the same priest, or if they do, what memory has he of them? This way of going on gives no priest any real power over or hold on them, nor can it bring any good wholesome public opinion to bear on them. Some would call it demoralising.

The writer would venture now to suggest an organisation somewhat after the following form:—1st, A religious temperance sodality to be erected in each and every public church. 2ndly, No one to be eligible as a member of this sodality, except those who live in a defined district immediately surrounding this church, and these to be ineligible to any other temperance sodality. The district surrounding each church would be of small extent, as we may learn by considering how closely grouped together are, for instance, the following churches:—The Cathedral, St. Laurence O'Toole's, St. Saviour's, St. Francis Xavier's, St. Agatha's, St. Joseph's, Berkeley-street, and St. Peter's, Phibsborough.

Now, what are the advantages of this scheme?

1st, The numbers belonging to each sodality would be so limited that the priest director could easily register, and would soon come to know personally each and all of them.

2ndly, If he had a word to say to any of them he would not have far to go, and for their meetings, they would not have far to come.

3rdly, If a member break his pledge, or show signs of intemperance, all of his sodality would soon know of it, and would, after a Christian manner, punish him by making him feel that he had done wrong.

4thly, If he come, as he almost certainly will, to retake the pledge, he must do so in the face of *his own* sodality, or in some other public and penitential way, which will make him more careful of keeping, and more fearful of breaking it.

5thly, Giving the pledge—as it is generally practised now—would be done away with, as no *intemperate* person should be given the pledge unless as a postulant for, or member of one of these sodalities. As to the times these sodalities should meet, and the pious practices of rule, I say nothing.

The sodality thus outlined would be first and principally

for the reformation of all who are weak in the matter of drink, and these should be obliged, as a condition of membership, to take the *total* abstinence pledge—still, why not admit those who are, or have always been, *strictly* temperate? would not their example, contact with them, and the public opinion, which they in part represent, have a helpful and deterrent influence on the intemperate?

An objection to this scheme will perhaps at once arise in the minds of many. Have we not sodalities enough to tax the time and zeal of our priests without adding on another. Why not engraft this temperance sodality on some of those already existing? Time and space will not allow me to enter fully into this objection, but I may remark, that a special and defined evil needs, as a rule, a special and defined remedy. Also in sodalities, which count their members by the hundreds, it would not be easy to bring the really effective public opinion of their neighbours to bear on the intemperate. These would escape, or be overlooked, or neglected in the crowd.

I close with one remark. We all should be prepared and mortified enough to sacrifice “fads” and “crazes” to the interests of that organisation, which will—all things considered—commend itself as the best to his Grace the Archbishop. W. S. D.

DOCUMENT.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII., ON THE CHIEF DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE
XIII. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE. AD OMNES PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES
ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIOS
PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE PRÆCIPVIS CIVIVM CHRISTIANORVM OFFICIIS.

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBVS ARCHIEPISCOPIBVS
EPISCOPIBVS ALIISQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COM-
MVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBVS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Sapientiae christianae revocari praecepta, eisque vitam, mores, instituta populorum penitus conformari, quotidie magis apparet

oportere. Illis enim posthabitis, tanta vis est malorum consecuta, ut nemo sapiens nec ferre sine ancipiti cura praesentia queat, nec in posterum sine metu prospicere.—Facta quidem non mediocris est ad ea bona, quae sunt corporis et externa, progressio : sed omnis natura, quae hominis percellit sensus, opumque et virium et copiarum possessio, si commoditates gignere suavitatesque augere vivendi potest, natum ad maiora ac magnificentiora animum explere non potest. Deum spectare, atque ad ipsum contendere, suprema lex est vitae hominum : qui ad imaginem conditi similitudinemque divinam, natura ipsa ad auctorem suum potiundum vehementer incitantur. Atqui non motu aliquo cursuque corporis tenditur ad Deum, sed iis quae sunt animi, cognitione atque affectu. Est enim Deus prima ac suprema veritas, nec nisi mens veritate alitur : est idem perfecta sanctitas summumque bonorum, quo sola voluntas aspirare et accedere, duce virtute, potest.

Quod autem de singulis hominibus, idem de societate tum domestica tum etiam civili intelligendum. Non enim ob hanc causam genuit natura societatem ut ipsam homo sequeretur tamquam finem, sed ut in ea et per eam adiumenta ad perfectionem sui apta reperiret. Si qua igitur civitas nihil praeter commoditates externas vitaeque cultum cum elegantia et copia persequatur, si Deum in administranda republica negligere, nec leges curare morales consueverit, deterime aberrat ab instituto suo et praescriptione naturae, neque tam est ea societas hominum et communitas putanda, quam fallax imitatio simulatioque societatis.—Iamvero ea quae diximus, animi bona, quae in verae religionis cultu constantique praeceptorum christianorum custodia maxime reperiuntur, quotidie obscurari hominum oblivione aut fastidio cernimus, ita fere ut, quanto sunt earum rerum incrementa maiora, quae corpus attingunt, tanto earum, quae animum, maior videatur occasus. Imminutae plurimumque debilitatae fidei christianae magna significatio est in iis ipsis iniuriis, quae catholico nomini in luce atque in oculis hominum nimis saepe inferentur : quas quidem cultrix religionis aetas nullo pacto tulisset.—His de causis incredibile dictu est, quanta hominum multitudo in aeternae salutis discrimine versetur : sed civitates ipsae atque imperia diu incolumia esse non possunt, quia labentibus institutis moribusque christianis, maxima societatis humanae fundamenta ruere necesse est. Tranquillitati publicae atque ordini tuendo sola vis relinquitur : vis autem valde est infirma, praesidio religionis detracto :

eademque servituti pariendae quam obedientiae aptior, gerit in se ipsa magnarum perturbationum inclusa semina. Graves memoratu casus saeculum tulit: nec satis liquet num non sint pertimescendi pares.—Itaque tempus ipsum monet remedia, unde oportet, quaerere: videlicet christianam sentiendi agendique rationem in vita privata, in omnibus reipublicae partibus, restituere: quod est unum ad pellenda mala, quae premunt, ad prohibenda pericula, quae impendent, aptissimum. In id nos, Venerabiles Fratres, incumbere opus est, id maxima qua possumus contentione industriaque conari: eiusque rei caussa, quamquam aliis locis, ut sese dedit opportunitas, similia tradidimus, utile tamen arbitramur esse in his Litteris magis enucleate officia describere catholicorum: quae officia, si accurate servantur, mirabiliter ad rerum communium salutem valent. Incidimus in vehementem eamque prope quotidianam de rebus maximis diminutionem: in qua difficillimum est non decipi aliquando, non errare, non animo multos succumbere. Nostrum est, Venerabiles Fratres, admonere quemque, docere, adhortari convenienter tempori, ut *viam veritatis nemo deserat*.

Esse in usu vitae plura ac maiora catholicorum officia, quam eorum qui sint fidei catholicae aut perperam compotes, aut omnino expertes, dubitari non potest. Cum, parta iam hominum generi salute, Jesus Christus praedicare Evangelium Apostolos iussit omni creaturae, hoc pariter officium hominibus universis imposuit, ut perdiscerent, quae docerentur: cui quidem officio sempiternae salutis omnino est adeptio coniuncta. *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur*. Sed christianam fidem homo, ut debet, complexus, hoc ipso Ecclesiae ut ex ea natus subiicitur, eiusque fit societatis maximae sanctissimaeque particeps, quam summa cum potestate regere, sub invisibili capite Christo Iesu, romani Pontificis proprium est munus.—Nunc vero si civitatem, in qua editi susceptique in hanc lucem sumus, praecipue diligere tuerique iubemur lege naturae usque eo, ut civis bonus vel mortem pro patria oppetere non dubitet, officium est christianorum longe maius simili modo esse in Ecclesiam semper affectos. Est enim Ecclesia civitas sancta Dei viventis, Deo ipso nata, eodemque auctore constituta: quae peregrinatur quidem in terris, sed vocans homines et erudiens atque deducens ad sempiternam in caelis felicitatem. Adamanda igitur patria est, unde vitae mortalis usuram accepimus: sed necesse est caritate Ecclesiam praestare, cui etiam animae

debemus perpetuo mansuram : quia bona animi corporis bonis rectum est anteponere, multoque, quam erga homines, sunt erga Deum officia sanctiora.—Ceterum, vere si iudicare volumus, supernaturalis amor Ecclesiae patriaeque caritas naturalis, geminae sunt eodem sempiterno principio profectae caritates, cum ipse sit utriusque auctor et caussa Deus : ex quo consequitur, non posse alterum officium pugnare cum altero. Utique utrumque possumus et debemus, diligere nosmetipsos, benevolentes esse cum proximis, amare rempublicam potestatemque quae reipublicae praesit : eodemque tempore Ecclesiam colere uti parentem, et maxima, quae fieri potest, caritate complecti Deum.—Nihilominus horum officiorum ordo, vel calamitate temporum vel iniquiore hominum voluntate, aliquando pervertitur. Nimirum incidunt caussae, cum aliud videtur a civibus respublica, aliud a christianis religio postulare : idque non alia sane de caussa, quam quod rectores reipublicae sacram Ecclesiae potestatem aut nihil pensi habent, aut sibi volunt esse subiectam. Hinc et certamen existit, et periclitandae virtuti in certamine locus. Urget enim potestas duplex : quibus contraria iubentibus obtemperari simul utriusque non potest : *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*, ita ut omnino, si mos geritur alteri, alterum posthaberi necesse sit. Uter vero sit anteponendus, dubitari nemo debet.—Videlicet scelus est ab obsequio Dei satisfaciendi hominibus caussa, discedere : nefas Iesu Christi leges, ut pareatur magistratibus, perrumpere, aut, per speciem civilis conservandi iuris, iura Ecclesiae migrare. *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus*. Quodque olim magistratibus non honesta imperantibus Petrus ceterique Apostoli respondere consueverunt, idem semper est in caussa simili sine haesitatione respondendum. Nemo civis pace belloque melior, quam christianus sui memor officii : sed perpeti omnia potius, et ipsam malle mortem debet, quam Dei Ecclesiaeve caussam deserere.

Quapropter non habent vim naturamque legum probe perspectam, qui istam in delectu officii constantiam reprehendunt, et ad seditionem aiunt pertinere. Vulgo cognita et a Nobis ipsis aliquoties explicata loquimur. Non est lex, nisi iussio rectae rationis a potestate legitima in bonum commune perlata. Sed vera ac legitima potestas nulla est, nisi a Deo summo principe dominoque omnium proficiscatur, qui mandare homini in homines imperium solus ipse potest : neque est recta ratio putanda, quae cum veritate dissentiat et ratione divina : neque verum bonum, quod summo atque incommutabili bono repugnet, vel a caritate Dei torqueat

hominum atque abducat voluntates.—Sanctum igitur christianis, est publica potestatis nomen, in qua divinae maiestatis speciem et imaginem quamdam tum etiam agnoscunt, cum geritur ab indigno: iusta et debita legum verecundia, non propter vim et minas, sed propter conscientiam officii: *non enim dedit nobis Deus spiritum timoris*. Verum si republicae leges aperte discrepent cum iure divino, si quam Ecclesiae imponant iniuriam, aut iis, quae sunt de religione, officiis contradicant, vel auctoritatem Iesu Christi in pontifice maximo violent, tum vero resistere officium est, parere scelus: idque cum ipse reipublicae iniuria coniunctum quia peccatur in rempublicam quidquid in religione delinquitur.—Rursus autem apparet quam sit illa seditionis iniusta criminatio: non enim abiicitur principi legumque latoribus obedientia debita: sed ab eorum voluntate in iis duntaxat praeceptis disceditur, quorum ferendorum nulla potestas est, quia cum Dei iniuria feruntur, ideoque vacant iustitia, et quidvis potius sunt quam leges. Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, hanc esse ipsissimam beati Pauli Apostoli doctrinam: qui cum scripsisset ad Titum, monendos christianos *principibus et postestatibus subditos esse, dicto, obedire*, illud statim adjungit *ad omne opus bonum paratos esse* quo palam fieret, si leges hominum contra sempiternam legem Dei quicquam statuunt, rectum esse non parere. Similique ratione princeps Apostolorum iis, qui libertatem praedicandi Evangelii sibi vellent eripere, forti atque excelso animo respondebat, *si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire, quam Deum, iudicate: non enim possumus quae vidimus et audivimus non loqui*.

Ambas itaque patrias unumquemque diligere, alteram naturae, alteram civitatis caelestis, ita tamen ut huius, quam illius habeatur caritas antiquior, nec unquam Dei iuribus iura humana anteponanatur, maximum est christianorum officium itemque velut fons quidam, unde alia officia nascuntur. Sane liberator generis humani de se ipso *Ego, inquit, in hoc natus sum et ad hoc veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati*. Similiter, *ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut accendatur?* In huius cognitione veritatis, quae mentis est summa perfectio, in caritate divina, quae perficit pari modo voluntatem, omnis christianorum est vita ac libertas posita. Quarum rerum, veritatis scilicet et caritatis, nobilissimum patrimonium, sibi a Iesu Christo commendatum, perpetuo studio vigilantiaque conservat ac tuetur Ecclesia.

Sed quam acre adversas Ecclesiam bellum deflagraverit quam-

que multiplex, vix attinet hoc loco dicere. Quod enim rationi contigit complures res occultas et a natura involutas scientiae pervestigatione reperire, easque in vitae usus apte convertere, tantos sibi spiritus sumpsere homines, ut iam se putent numen posse imperiumque divinum a communi vita depellere.—Quo errore decepti, transferunt in naturam humanam ereptum Deo principatum: a natura petendum omnis veri principium et normam praedicant: ab ea manare, ad eamque esse cuncta religionis officia referenda. Quocirca nihil esse divinitus traditum: non disciplinae morum christianae, non Ecclesiae parendum: nullam huic esse legum ferendarum potestatem, nulla iura; imo nec ullum Ecclesiae dari in reipublicae institutis locum oportere. Expetunt vero atque omni ope contendunt, capessere res publicas et ad gubernacula sedere civitatum, quo sibi facilius liceat ad has doctrinas dirigere leges moresque fingere populorum. Ita passim catholicum nomen vel aperte petitur, vel occulte oppugnatur: magnâque cuilibet errorum perversitati permissâ licentiâ, multis saepe vinculis publica veritatis christianae professio constringitur.

His igitur tam iniquis rebus, primum omnium respicere se quisque debet, vehementerque curare, ut alte comprehensam animo fidem intenta custodia tueatur, cavendo pericula, nominatimque contra varias sophismatum fallacias semper armatus. Ad cuius incolumitatem virtutis illud etiam perutile, et magnopere consentaneum temporibus iudicamus, studium diligens, ut est facultas et captus singulorum, in christiana doctrina ponere, earumque rerum, quae religionem continent, quasque assequi ratione licet, maiore qua potest notitia mentem imbuiere. Cumque fidem non modo vigere in animis incorruptam, sed assiduis etiam incrementis oporteat augescere, iteranda persaepe ad Deum est supplex atque humilis Apostolorum flagitatio, *adauge nobis fidem*.

Verum in hoc eodem genere, quod fidem christianam attingit, alia sunt officia, quae observari accurate religioseque si salutis semper interfuit, hac tempestate nostra interest maxime.—Nimirum in hac, quam diximus, tanta ac tam late fusa opinionum insania, profecto patrocinium suscipere veritatis, erroresque ex animis evellere, Ecclesiae munus est, idque omni tempore sancteque servandum, quia honor Dei, ac salus hominum in eius sunt tutela. At vero, cum necessitas cogit, incolumitatem fidei tueri non ii solum debent qui praesunt, sed *cuilibet tenetur fidem suam aliis propalare, vel ad instructionem aliorum*

fidelium sive confirmationem, vel ad reprimendum infidelium insultationem. Cedere hosti, vel vocem premere, cum tantus undique opprimendae veritati tollitur clamor, aut inertis hominis est, aut de iis, quae proficitur, utrum vera sint, dubitantis. Utrumque turpe, atque iniuriosum Deo: utrumque cum singulorum tum communi saluti repugnans: solis fidei inimicis fructuosum, quia valde auget remissior proborum opera audaciam improborum.—Eoque magis christianorum vituperanda segnities, quia falsa crimina dilui, opiniones quae pravae confutari levi negotio, ut plurimum, possunt: maiore aliquo cum labore semper possunt. Ad extremum, nemo unus prohibetur eam adhibere ac prae se ferre fortitudinem, quae propria est christianorum: qua ipsa non raro animi adversariorum et consilia franguntur. Sunt praeterea christiani ad dimicationem nati: cuius quo maior est vis, eo certior, Deo opitulante, victoria. *Confidite: ego vici mundum.* Neque est quod opponat quisquam, Ecclesiae conservatorem ac vindicem Iesum Christum nequaquam opera hominum indigere. Non enim inopia virium, sed magnitudine bonitatis vult ille ut aliquid a nobis conferatur operae ad salutis, quam ipse peperit, obtinendos adipiscendosque fructus.

Huiusce partes officii primae sunt, catholicam doctrinam profiteri aperte et constanter, eamque, quoad quisque potest propagare. Nam, quod saepius est verissimeque dictum, christianae quidem sapientiae nihil tam obest, quam non esse cognitam. Valet enim per se ipsa ad depellendos errores probe percepta: quam si mens arripuerit simplex praeiudicatisque non adstricta opinionibus, assentiendum esse ratio pronuntiat. Nunc vero fidei virtus grande munus est gratiae bonitatisque divinae: res tamen ipsae, quibus adhibenda fides, non alio fere modo quam audiendo noscuntur. *Quomodo credent ei, quem non audierunt? Quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? . . . Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi.* Quoniam igitur fides est ad salutem necessaria, omnino praedicandi, hoc est docendi, munus iure divino penes magistros est, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, maximeque penes Pontificem romanum, Iesu Christi vicarium, Ecclesiae universae summa cum potestate praepositum, credendorum, agendorum magistrum. Nihilominus nemo putet, industriam nonnullam eadem in re ponere privatos prohiberi, eos nominatim, quibus ingenii facultatem Deus cum studio bene merendi dedit: qui, quoties res exigat, commode possunt non sane doctoris sibi partes assumere, sed ea quae ipsi

acceperint, impertire ceteris, magistrorum voci resonantes tamquam imago. Quin imo privatorum opera visa est Patribus Concilii Vaticani usque adeo opportuna ac frugifera, ut prorsus deprecendam iudicarint. *Omnes christifideles, maxime vero eos, qui praesunt, vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Iesu Christi obtestamur, nec non eiusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate iubemus, ut ad hos errores a sancta Ecclesiae arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimae fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.*—Ceterum serere fidem catholicam auctoritate exempli, professionisque constantia praedicare, quisque se posse ac debere meminerit.—In officiis igitur quae nos iungunt Deo atque Ecclesiae, hoc est numerandum maxime, ut in veritate christiana propaganda propulsandisque erroribus elaboret singulorum, quoad potest, industria.

Quibus tamen officiis non ita, ut oportet, cumulate et utiliter satisfacturi sunt, si alii seorsum ab aliis in certamen descenderint.—Futurum sane Iesus Christus significavit, ut quam ipse offensionem hominum invidiamque prior excepit, in eandem pari modo opus a se institutum incurreret; ita plane ut ad salutem pervenire, ipsius beneficio partam, multi reapse prohiberentur. Quare voluit non alumnos dumtaxat instituere disciplinae suae, sed hos ipsos societate coniungere, et in unam corpus *quod est Ecclesia* cuius esset ipse caput, apte coagmentare. Permeat itaque vita Christi Iesu per totam compagem corporis, alit ac sustentat singula membra, eaque copulata tenet inter se et ad eundem composita finem, quamvis non eadem sit actio singulorum. His de causis non modo perfecta societas Ecclesia est, et alia qualibet societate longe praestantior, sed hoc ei est inditum ab Auctore suo ut debeat pro salute generis humani condendere *ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Ista rei christianae compositio conformatioque mutari nullo modo potest: nec magis vivere arbitrato suo cuiquam licet, aut eam, quae sibi libeat, decertandi rationem consecrari: propterea quod dissipat, non colligit, qui cum Ecclesia et Iesu Christo non colligit, verissimeque contra Deum contendunt, quicumque non cum ipso Ecclesiaeque contendunt.

Ad hanc vero coniunctionem animorum similitudinemque agendi, inimicis catholici nominis non sine causa formidolosam, primum omnium concordia est necessaria sententiarum: ad quam ipsam videmus Paulum Apostolum Corinthios cohortantem vehementi studio et singulari gravitate verborum: *Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut idipsum*

dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis schismata : sitis autem perfecti in eodem sensu et in eadem sententia. Cuius praecepti facile sapientia perspicitur. Est enim principium agendi mens; ideoque nec congruere voluntates, nec similes esse actiones queunt, si mentes diversa opinentur. Qui solam rationem sequuntur ducem, vix in eis aut ne vix quidem una esse doctrina potest: est enim ars rerum cognoscendarum perdifficilis; mens vero et infirma est natura, et varietate distrahitur opinio-num, et impulsione rerum oblata extrinsecus non raro fallitur; accedunt cupiditates, quae veri videndi nimium saepe tollunt aut certe minuunt facultatem. Hac de causa in moderandis civitatibus saepe datur opera ut coniuncti teneantur vi quorum animi discordant.—Longe aliter christiani: quid credere oporteat, ab Ecclesia, accipiunt, cuius auctoritate ductuque se certe sciunt verum attingere. Propterea sicut una est Ecclesia, quia unus Iesus Christus, ita cunctorum toto orbe christianorum una est atque esse debet doctrina. *Unus Dominus, una fides. Habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei,* salutare principium obtinent, unde eadem in omnibus voluntas eademque in agendo ratio sponte gignuntur.

Sed, quod Paulus Apostolus iubet, unanimitatem oportet esse perfectam.—Cum christiana fides non humanae, sed divinae rationis auctoritate nititur, quae enim a Deo accepimus, *vera esse credimus non propter intrinsecam rerum veritatem naturali rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest,* consequens est ut, quascunque res constet esse a Deo traditas, omnino excipere singulas pari simili-que assensu necesse sit: quarum rerum abnuere fidem uni hac ferme recidit repudiare universas. Evertunt enim ipsum fundamentum fidei, qui aut elocutum hominibus Deum negent, aut de infinita eius veritate sapientiae dubitent.—Satuere vero quae sint doctrinae divinitus traditae, Ecclesiae docentis est, cui custodiam interpretationemque Deus eloquiorum suorum commisit. Summus autem est magister in Ecclesia Pontifex romanus. Concordia igitur animorum sicut perfectum in una fide consensum requirit, ita voluntates postulat Ecclesiae romanoque Pontifici perfecte subiectas atque obtemperantes, ut Deo.—Perfecta autem esse obedientia debet, quia ab ipsa fide praecipitur, et habet hoc commune cum fide, ut dividua esse non possit: imo vero si absoluta non fuerit et numeros omnes habens, obedientiae quidem simulacrum relinquitur, natura tollitur. Cuiusmodi perfectioni

tantum christiana consuetudo tribuit, ut illa tamquam nota internoscendi catholicos et habita semper sit et habeatur. Mire explicatur hic locus a Thoma Aquinate iis verbis: *Formale . . . obiectum fidei est veritas prima secundum quod manifestatur in Scripturis sacris, et doctrina Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima. Unde quicumque non inhaeret, sicut infallibili et divinae regulae doctrinae Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima in Scripturis sacris manifestata, ille non habet habitum fidei: sed ea, quae sunt fidei, alio modo tenet quam per fidem. . . . Manifestum est autem, quod ille, qui inhaeret doctrinis Ecclesiae tamquam infallibili regulae, omnibus assentit, quae Ecclesia docet: alioquin si de his, quae vult, tenet, et quae non vult, non tenet, non iam inhaeret Ecclesiae doctrinae sicut infallibili regulae, sed propriae voluntati. Una fides debet esse totius Ecclesiae, secundum illud; Idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis schismata: quod servari non posset nisi quaestio fidei exorta determinetur per eum, qui toti Ecclesiae praest, ut sic eius sententia a tota Ecclesia firmiter teneatur. Et ideo ad solam auctoritatem Summi Pontificis pertinet nova editio Symboli, sicut et omnia alia, quae pertinent ad totam Ecclesiam.*

In constituendis obedientiae finibus, nemo arbitretur, sacrorum Pastorum maximeque romanis Pontificis auctoritati parendum in eo duntaxat esse, quod ad dogmata pertinet, quorum repudiatio pertinax diiungi ab haereseos flagitio non potest. Quin etiam neque satis est sincere et firmiter assentiri doctrinis, quae ab Ecclesia, etsi solemniter non definitae iudicio, ordinaria tamen et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelatae credendae proponuntur: quas *fide catholica et divina* credendas Concilium Vaticanum decrevit. Sed hoc est praeterea in officiis christianorum ponendum, ut potestate ductuque Episcoporum imprimisque Sedis Apostolicae regi se gubernarique patiantur. Quod quidem quam sit consentaneum, perfacile apparet. Nam quae divinis oraculis continentur, ea Deum partim attingunt, partim ipsum hominem itemque res ad sempiternam hominis salutem necessarias. Iamvero de utroque genere, nimirum et quid credere oporteat et quid agere, ab Ecclesia iure divino praecipitur, uti diximus, atque in Ecclesia a Pontifice maximo. Quamobrem iudicare posse Pontifex pro auctoritate debet quid eloquia divina contineant, quae cum eis doctrinae concordent, quae discrepent: eademque ratione ostendere quae honesta sint, quae turpia; quid agere, quid fugere, salutis adipiscendae causa, necesse sit: aliter enim nec eloqui-

orum Dei certus interpres, nec dux ad vivendum tutus ille esse homini posset.

Altius praeterea intrandum in Ecclesiae naturam : quippe quae non est christianorum, ut fors tulit, nexa communio sed excellenti temperatione divinitus constituta societas, quae illuc recta proximeque spectat, ut pacem animis ac sanctitatem afferat : cumque res ad id necessarias divino munere sola possideat, certas habet leges, certa officia, atque in populis christianis moderandis rationem viamque sequitur naturae suae consentaneam.—Sed istiusmodi regiminis difficilis est et cum frequenti offensione cursus. Gentes enim Ecclesia regit per cunctos terrarum tractus disseminatas genere differentes moribusque, quas, cum in sua quaque republica suis legibus vivant, civili simul ac sacrae potestati officium est subesse. Quae officia in eisdem personis coniuncta reperiuntur, non vero pugnancia, uti diximus, neque confusa, quia alterum genus ad prosperitatem pertinet civitatis, alterum ad commune Ecclesiae bonum, utrumque pariendo hominum perfectioni natum.

Qua posita iurium et officiorum terminatione, omnino liquet esse liberos ad res suas gerendas rectores civitatum : idque non modo non invitâ, sed plane adiuvante Ecclesia : quae quoniam maxime praecipi, ut colatur pietas, quae est iustitia adversus Deum, hoc ipso ad iustitiam vocat erga principes. Verum longe nobiliore instituto potestas sacra eo spectat, ut regat hominum animos tuendo *regnum Dei et iustitiam eius*, atque in hoc tota versatur. Dubitari vero salva fide non potest, istiusmodi regimen animorum Ecclesiae esse assignatum uni, nihil ut in eo sit politicae potestati loci : non enim Caesari, sed Petro claves regni caelorum Iesus Christus commendavit.—Cum hac de rebus politicis deque religiosis doctrinâ quaedam alia coniunguntur non exigui momenti, de quibus silere hoc loco nolumus.

Ab omni politico genere imperii distat christiana respublica plurimum. Quod si similitudinem habet conformationemque regni, profecto originem, causam, naturam mortalibus regnis habet longe disparem.—Ius est igitur, vivere Ecclesiam tuerique se consentaneis naturae suae institutis ac legibus. Eademque cum non modo societas perfecta sit, sed etiam humana quavis societate superior, sectari partium studia et mutabilibus rerum civilium flexibus servire iure officioque suo valde recusat. Similique ratione custos iuris sui observantissima alieni, non ad se putat Ecclesia pertinere, quae maxime forma civitatis placeat,

quibus institutis res christianarum gentium civilis geratur : ex variisque reipublicae generibus nullum non probat, dum religio morumque disciplina salva sit—Ad hoc exemplum cogitationes actionesque dirigi singulorum christianorum oportet. Non dubium est, quin quaedam sit in genere politico honesta contentio, cum scilicet incolumi veritate iustitiaque certatur, ut opiniones re usuque valeant, quae ad commune bonum prae ceteris conducibiles videantur. Sed ecclesiam trahere ad partes, aut omnino adiutricem velle ad eos quibuscum contenditur, superandos, hominum est religione intemperanter abutentium. Ex adverso sancta atque inviolata apud omnes debet esse religio : imo in ipsa disciplina civitatum, quae a legibus morum officiisque religionis separari non potest, hoc est potissimum perpetuoque spectandum, quid maxime expediat christiano nomini : quod ipsum sicubi in periculo esse adversariorum operâ videatur, cessandum ob omni dissidio, et concordibus animis et consiliis propugnatio ac defensio suscipienda religionis, quod est commune bonum maximum, quo sunt omnia referenda.—Idque opus esse ducimus aliquanto exponere accuratius.

Profecto et ecclesia et civitas suum habet utraque principatum : propterea in gerendis rebus suis neutra paret alteri, utique intra terminos a proxima cuiusque caussa constitutos. Ex quo tamen nulla ratione disiunctas esse sequitur, multoque minus pugnantes.—Sane non tantum nobis ut essemus natura dedit, sed ut morati essemus. Quare a tranquillitate ordinis publici, quam proxime habet civilis coniunctio propositam, hoc petit homo, ut bene sibi esse liceat, ac multo magis ut satis praesidii ad perficiendos mores suppeditet : quae perfectio nusquam nisi in cognitione consistit atque exercitatione virtutis. Simul vero vult, id quod debet, adiumenta in Ecclesia reperire, quorum ope pietatis perfectae perfecto fungatur munere : quod in cognitione usuque positum est verae religionis, quae princeps est virtutum, propterea quod, revocando ad Deum, explet et cumulat universas.—In institutis igitur legibusque sanciendis spectanda hominis indoles est moralis eadem ac religiosa, eiusdemque curanda perfectio, sed recte atque ordine : nec imperandum vetandumve quidquam nisi ratione habita quid civili hominum societati sit, quid religiosae propositum. Hac ipsa de causa non potest Ecclesiae non interesse quales in civitatibus valeant leges, non quatenus ad rempublicam pertinent, sed quia fines debitos aliquando praetergressae in ius Ecclesiae invadunt.

Quin imo resistere, si quando officiat religioni disciplina reipublicae, studioseque conari, ut in leges et instituta populorum virtus pervadat Evangelii, munus est Ecclesiae assignatum a Deo. Quoniamque fortuna reipublicae potissimum ex eorum pendet ingenio qui populo praesunt, ideoque Ecclesia patrocinium iis hominibus gratiamve praebere non potest, a quibus oppugnari sese intelligat, qui iura ipsius vereri aperte recusent, qui rem sacram remque civilem natura consociatas divellere contendunt. Contra fautrix, uti debet, eorum est qui, cum de civili deque christiana republica quod sentire rectum est, ipsi sentiant, ambas in communi bono concordēs elaborare volunt.—His praeceptis norma continetur, quam in publica actione vitae catholicum quemque necesse est sequi. Nimirum, ubicumque in negotiis publicis versari per Ecclesiam licet, favendum viris est spectatae probitatis, eisdemque de christiano nomine meritis: neque causa esse ulla potest cur male erga religionem animatos liceat antepondere.

Ex quo apparet quam sit magnum officium tueri consensum animorum, praesertim cum per hoc tempus tanta consiliorum calliditate christianum oppognetur nomen. Quotquot diligentur studuerint Ecclesiae adhaerescere, quae est *columna et firmamentum veritatis* facile cavebunt *magistros mendaces . . . libertatem illis promittentes, cum ipsi servi sint corruptionis*: quin imo ipsius Ecclesiae virtutis participes futuri, insidias sapientia vincent, vim fortitudine.—Non est huius loci exquirere, num quid, et quantum ad novas res contulerit opera segnior atque intestina discordia catholicorum; sed certe erant homines nequam minus habituri audaciae, nec tantas edituri ruinas, si robustior in plurimorum animis viguisset fides, quae *per caritatem operatur*, neque tam late morum christianorum tradita nobis divinitus disciplina concidisset. Utinam praeteritae res hoc pariant, recordando, commodi, rectius sapere in posterum.

Verum ad negotia publica accessuris duo sunt magnopere vitia fugienda, quorum alterum prudentiae nomen usurpat, alterum in temeritate versatur.—Quidam enim potenti pollentique improbitati aperte resistere negant oportere, ne forte hostiles animos certamen exasperet. Isti quidem pro Ecclesia stent, an contra, incertum: quandoquidem profiteri se doctrinam catholicam affirmant sed tamen vellent, certas ab ea discrepantes opiniones impune propagari posse Ecclesia sineret. Ferunt dolenter interitum fidei demutationemque morum: nihil tamen de

remedio laborant, vel etiam nimîâ indulgentiâ aut pernicioſa quadam ſimulatione non raro malum augment. Idem de ſua in apoſtolicam Sedem voluntate nemini volunt eſſe dubium: ſed habent ſemper aliquid, quod pontifici ſuccenſeant. Iſtiusmodi hominum prudentia ex eo eſt genere, quod a Paulo Apoſtolo *ſapientia carnis* et *mors animi* appellatur, quia nec ſubest legi divinae, nec poteſt ſubesse. Nihil autem minus eſt ad mala minuenda providum. Inimicis enim, quod praedicare et in quo gloriari multi eorum non dubitant, hoc eſt omnino propositum, religionem catholicam, quae vera ſola eſt, funditus, ſi fieri poſſet, extingueret. Tali autem conſilio nihil non audent: ſentiunt enim, quo magis fuerit aliorum tremefacta virtus, eo ſibi expeditiorem fore malarum rerum facultatem. Itaque qui adamant *prudentiam carnis*, ac nescire ſe ſimulant, christianum quemque debere bonum militem Chriſti eſſe: qui debita victoribus praemia conſequi molliſſimâ viâ atque intacti a certamine volunt, ii tantum abest ut iter malorum intercipient, ut potius expediant.

Contra non pauci fallaci ſtudio permoti, aut quod magis eſſet vitio, aliud agentes, aliud ſimulantes, non ſuas ſibi partes assumunt. Res in Eccleſia geri ſuo ipſorum iudicio atque arbitrato vellent uſque eo, ut omne quod ſecus agitur, moleſte ferant, aut repugnanter accipiant. Hi quidem inani contentione laborant, nihilo minus, quam alteri, reprehendendi. Hoc enim eſt non ſequi poteſtatem legitimam, ſed praevertetere, ſimulque magistratuum munia ad privatos rapere, magna cum perturbatione ordinis, quem Deus in Eccleſia ſua perpetuo ſervandum conſtituit, nec ſinit a quoquam impune violari.—Illi optime, qui descendere in certamen, quotieſcumque eſt opus, non recuſant, hoc rato perſuaſoque, interituram vim iniuſtam, ſanctitatie, iuris et religionis aliquando ceſſuram. Qui videntur ſane dignum aliquid aut qua virtute ſuſcipere, cum tueri religionem connituntur maxime adverſus factionem audaciſſimam, chriſtiano nomini exagitando natum, quae Pontificem maximum in ſuam redactum poteſtatem conſectari hoſtiliter non deſiſtit: ſed obedientiae ſtudio diligenter retinent, nihil aggredi iniuſſu ſoliti. Iamvero quoniam ſimilis obtemperandi voluntas, robuſto animo conſtantiaeque coniuncta, chriſtianiſ univerſis eſt neceſſaria, ut quoeſcumque caſus tempus invexerit, *in nullo ſint deficientes*, magnopere velimus in ſingulorum animis alte inſidere eam, quam Paulus *prudentiam ſpiritus* nominat. Haec enim in moderandis actionibus humanis ſequitur optimam

mediocritatis regulam, illud in homine afficiens, ne aut timide desperet propter ignaviam aut nimis confidat propter temeritatem.—Est autem quod differat inter prudentiam politicam, quae ad bonum commune, et eam quae ad bonum cuiusque privatim pertinet. Haec enim cernitur in hominibus privatis, qui consilio rectaeque rationi obediunt in gubernatione sui: illa vero in praepositis, maximeque in principibus, quorum muneris est cum potestate praeesse: ita quidem ut politica privatorum prudentia in hoc videatur tota consistere, legitimae potestatis iussa fideliter exequi.¹

Haec dispositio atque hic ordo tanto magis valere in christiana republica debet, quanto Pontificis politica prudentia plura complectitur: eius enim est non solum regere Ecclesiam, sed generatim civium christianorum actiones ita ordinare, ut cum spe adipiscendae salutis aeternae apte congruant. Ex quo apparet, praeter summam sententiarum concordiam et factorum, necesse esse politicam potestatis ecclesiasticae observare in agendo sapientiam. Iamvero christianae rei administratio proxime et secundum Pontificem romanum ad Episcopos pertinet: qui scilicet, quamquam pontificalis fastigium potestatis non attingunt, sunt tamen in ecclesiastica hierarchia veri principes; cumque singulas Ecclesias singuli administrent, sunt *quasi principales artifices in aedificio spirituali*, atque habent munerum adiutores, ac ministros consiliorum Clericos. Ad hanc Ecclesiae constitutionem, quam nemo mortalium mutare potest, actio est accomodanda vitae. Propterea quemadmodum Episcopis necessaria est cum Apostolica Sede in gerendo episcopatu coniunctio, ita clericosque oportet cum Episcopis suis coniunctissime vivere, agere.—Ipsorum quidem Antistitum utique potest esse aliquid aut minus laudabile in moribus, aut in sententiis non probabile: sed nemo privatus arroget sibi personam iudicis, quam Christus Dominus illi imposuit uni, quem agnis atque ovibus praefecit. Memoria quisque teneat sapientissimam Gregorii magni senten-

¹ *Prudentia in ratione est; regere autem et gubernare proprie rationis est; et ideo unusquisque inquantum participat de regimine et gubernatione, inquantum convenit sibi habere rationem et prudentiam. Manifestum est autem quod subditi, inquantum est subditus, et servi, inquantum est servus, non est regere et gubernare, sed magis regi et gubernari. Et ideo prudentia non est virtus servi, inquantum est servus, nec subditi, inquantum est subditus. Sed quia quilibet homo inquantum est rationalis, participat aliquid de regimine secundum arbitrium rationis, inquantum convenit ei prudentiam habere. Unde manifestum est quod prudentia quidem in principe est ad modum artis architectonicae, ut dicitur in VI Ethicorum; in subditis autem ad modum artis manu operantis. S. Thom. II., II., XLVII., art. XII.*

tiam: *Admonendi sunt subditi, ne praepositorum suorum vitam temere iudicent, si quid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, ne unde mala recte redarguant, inde per elationis impulsu in profundiora mergantur. Admonendi sunt, ne cum culpas praepositorum considerant, contra eos audaciores fiant, sed sic, si qua valde sunt eorum prava, apud semetipsos diiudicent, ut tamen divino timore constricti ferre sub eis iugum reverentiae non recusent. . . . Facta quippe praepositorum oris gladio ferienda non sunt, etiam cum recte reprehendenda iudicantur.*

Verumtamen parum sunt conata profutura, nisi ad virtutum christianarum disciplinam vita instituatur.—Illa est sacrarum litterarum de Iudaeorum genere sententia: *Usque dum non peccarent in conspectu Dei sui, erant cum illis bona: Deus enim illorum odit iniquitatem Cum recessissent a via, quam dederat illis Deus, ut ambularent in ea, exterminati sunt praeliis a multis nationibus.* Atqui inchoatam formam populi christiani gerebat Iudaeorum natio: atque in veteribus eorum casibus saepe imago inerat veritatis futurae: nisi quod longe maioribus beneficiis auxit nos atque ornavit divina benignitas, ob eamque rem ingrati animi crimen multo efficit christianorum graviora delicta.

Ecclesia quidem nullo tempore nulloque modo deseritur a Deo: quare nihil est, quod sibi ab hominum scelere metuat: at vero degenerantibus a christiana virtute nationibus non eadem potest esse securitas. *Miseros enim facit populos peccatum.*—Cuius vim veritatemque sententiae si omnis retro experta est aetas, quid est caussae quamobrem nostra non experiatur? Imo debitas iam instare poenas, permulta declarant, idemque status ipse confirmat civitatum; quarum plures videlicet intestinis malis attritas, nullam ab omni parte tutam videmus. Quod si improborum factiones institutum iter audacter perrexerint: si evenerit iis ut, quemadmodum grassantur malis artibus et peiore proposito, sic opibus potentiâque invalescant, metuentum sane ne totas civitates a fundamentis, quae posuit natura, convellant.—Neque vero prohiberi tantae formidines sola hominum ope possunt, praesertim quia multitudo ingens, fide christiana reiecta, iustas superbiae poenas in hoc luit, quod veritatem obcaecata cupiditatibus frustra conquirat, falsa pro veris amplexatur, sibi videtur sapere cum vocat *malum bonum, et bonum, malum ponens tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras.* Igitur Deus intersit, ac benignitatis suae memor civilem

hominum societatem respiciat necesse est. Quamobrem, quod vehementer alius hortati sumus, singulari studio constantiaque enitendum, ut clementia divina obsecratione humili exoretur, virtutesque, quibus efficitur vita christiana, revocentur.

Imprimis autem excitanda ac tuenda caritas est, quae praecipuum vitae christianae firmamentum continet, et sine qua aut nullae omnino sunt, aut fructu vacuae virtutes. Idcirco beatus Paulus Colossenses adhortatus, ut vitium omne defugerent, variamque virtutum laudem consecrarentur, illud subiicit, *super omnia autem haec caritatem habete, quod est vinculum perfectionis*. Vere vinculum est perfectionis caritas, quia quos complexa est, cum Deo ipso intime coniungit, perficitque ut vitam animae hauriant a Deo, cum Deo agant, ad Deum referant. Debet vero caritas Dei cum caritate proximorum consociari, quia infinitam Dei bonitatem homines participant, eiusque gerunt in se expressam imaginem atque formam. *Hoc mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum, diligat et fratrem suum. Si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum, et fratrem suum oderit, mendax est*. Atque hoc de caritate mandatum divinus eius lator novam nominavit, non quod diligere homines inter se non aliqua iam lex, aut ipse natura iussisset, sed quia christianum hoc diligendi plane novum erat atque in omni memoria inauditum genus. Qua enim caritate Iesus Christus et diligitur a Patre suo et homines ipse diligit, eandem impetravit alumnis ac sectatoribus suis, ut cor unum et anima una esse in ipso possent, sicut ipse et Pater unum natura sunt. Huius vis praecepti nemo ignorat quam alte in christianorum pectus a principio descenderit, et quales quantosque concordiae, benevolentiae mutuae, pietatis, patientiae, fortitudinis fructus attulerit. Quidni opera detur exemplis maiorum imitandis? Tempora ipsa non exiguos adnovent ad caritatem stimulos. Renovantibus impiis adversus Iesum Christum odia, instauranda christianis pietas est, magnarumque rerum effectrix renovanda caritas. Quiescant igitur, si qua sunt, dissidia: sileant certationes illae quidem, quae vires dimicantium dissipant, nec ullo modo religioni prosunt: colligatisque fide mentibus, caritate voluntatibus, in Dei atque hominum amore, ut aequum est, vita degatur.

Locus admonet hortari nominatim patresfamilias, ut his praeceptis et domos gubernare studeant, et liberos mature instituere. Initia reipublicae familia complectitur, magnamque partem alitur intra domesticos parietes fortuna civitatem.

Idcirco qui has divellere ab institutis christianis volunt, consilia a stirpe exorsi, corrumpere societatem domesticam maturant. A quo eos scelere nec cogitatio deterret, id quidem nequaquam fieri sine summa parentum iniuria posset; naturâ enim parentes habent ius suum instituendi, quos procrearunt, hoc adjuncto officio, ut cum fine, cuius gratiâ sobolem Dei beneficio susceperunt, ipsa educatio conveniat et doctrina puerilis. Igitur parentibus est necessarium eniti et contendere, ut omnem in hoc genere propulsent iniuriam, omninoque pervincant ut sua in potestate sit educere liberos, uti par est, more Christiano, maximeque prohibere scholis iis, a quibus periculum est ne malum venenum imbibant impietatis. Cum de fingenda probe adolescentia agitur, nulla opera potest nec labor suscipi tantus, quin etiam sint suscipienda maiora. In quo sane digni omnium admiratione sunt catholici ex variis gentibus complures, qui suas erudiendis pueris scholas magno sumptu, maiore constantia paravere. Aemulari salutare exemplum, ubicumque postulare videantur tempora, decet; sed positum sit imprimis, omnino in puerorum animis plurimum institutionem domesticam posse. Si adolescens aetas disciplinam vitae probam, virtutumque christianorum tanquam palaestram domi repererit, magnum praesidium habitura salus est civitatum.

Attigisse iam videmur, quas maxime res hoc tempore sequi, quas fugere catholici homines debeant.—Reliquum est, idque vestrarum est partium, Venerabiles Fratres, curare ut vox Nostra quacumque pervadat, omnesque intelligant quanti referat ea, quae his litteris persecuti sumus, reipsa efficere. Horum officiorum non potest molesta et gravis esse custodia, quia iugem Iesu Christi suave est, et onus eius leve.—Si quid tamen difficilius factu videatur, dabitis auctoritate exemploque operam, ut acrius quisque intendant invictumque praestat a difficultatibus animum. Ostendite, quod saepius ipsi monuimus, in periculo esse praestantissima, ac summe expetenda bona: pro quorum conservatione omnes esse patibiles labores putandos; ipsisque laboribus tantam remunerationem fore, quantam christianae acta vita maximam parit. Alioqui propugnare pro Christo nolle, oppugnare est; ipse autem testatur, negaturum se coram Patre suo in caelis, quotquot ipsum coram hominibus profiteri in terris recusarint.—Ad Nos quod attinet, vosque universos, numquam profecto, dum vita suppetat, commissuri sumus, ut auctoritas, consilium, opera Nostra quoquo

modo in certamine desideretur. Neque est dubium, cum gregi, tum pastoribus singularem Dei opem, quoad debellatum erit, adfuturam.

Qua erecti fiducia, caelestium munerum auspicem, benevolentiaeque Nostrae tamquam pignus Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque universo, quibus singuli praeestis, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X Ianuarii An. MDCCCLXXX. Pontificatus Nostri duodecimo,

LEO PP. XIII.

MARCH DEVOTIONS IN HONOUR OF ST. JOSEPH.

We reprint, for the convenience of our readers, an extract referring to the special devotions in honour of St. Joseph during the month of March, and taken from the Encyclical, dated the 15th August, 1889, of our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII.

SUMMARY.

Daily devotions in honour of St. Joseph during the month of March are specially recommended. Where these daily devotions cannot be carried out, it is recommended to hold a Triduum, especially in the chief church of each town, in preparation for the Feast of St. Joseph, on the 19th of March.

The Feast of St. Joseph should be celebrated as devoutly as possible to honour our heavenly Patron.

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Illud quidem salutare maximeque laudabile, quod est iam alicubi institutum, mensem Martium honori sancti Patriarchae quotidiana pietatis exercitatione consecrare. Ubi id institui non facile queat, optandum saltem, ut ante diem eius festum in templo cuiusque oppidi principe supplicatio in triduum fiat.—Quibus autem in locis dies decimusnonus Martii, beato Iosepho sacer, numero festorum de praecepto non comprehenditur, hortamur singulos, ut eum diem privata pietate sancte, quoad fieri potest, in honorem Patroni caelestis, perinde ac de praecepto, agere ne recusent.

Interea auspicem caelestium munerum et Nostrae benevolentiae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque

vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XV. Augusti An. MDCCCLXXXIX. Pontificatus Nostri duodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

ORATIO AD SANCTUM JOSEPHUM.

Ad te, beate Joseph, in tribulatione nostra confugimus, atque implorato Sponsae tuae sanctissimae auxilio, patrocinium quoque tuum fidenter exposcimus. Per eam, quaesumus quae te cum immaculata Virgine Dei Genitrice conjunxit, caritatem, perque paternum, quo Puerum Jesum amplexus es, amorem, supplices deprecamur, ut ad hereditatem, quam Jesus Christus acquisivit sanguine suo, benignus respicias, ac necessitatibus nostris tua virtute et ope succurras.

Tuere, o Custos providentissime divinae Familiae, Jesu Christi sobolem electam; prohibe a nobis, amantissime Pater, omnem errorum ac corruptelarum luem; propitius nobis, sospitator noster fortissime, is hoc cum potestate tenebrarum certamine e caelo adesto; et sicut olim Puerum Jesum e summo eripuisti vitae discrimine, ita nunc Ecclesiam sanctam Dei ab hostilibus insidiis atque ab omni adversitate defende: nosque singulos perpetuo tege patrocinio, ut ad tui exemplar et ope tua suffulti, sancte vivere, pie emori, sempiternamque in coelis beatitudinem assequi possimus.—Amen.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND. By the Rev. Arthur Ryan, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

WITH sincere pleasure we welcome this new and beautiful edition of the *Life of St. Patrick*, by the learned President of Thurles College. Side by side with the lives of our great apostle, by Father Morris and the Dean of Cashel, Father Ryan's smaller work has done good service for the past few years, and has brought the knowledge and love of St. Patrick home

to many who either would not or could not find time to study it in weightier volumes. Indeed, for the purpose the author has in view, the present dimensions of his book are admirably suited. It does not go much into details, and does not go at all into discussions. It tells the simple substance of our Saint's life in choice and eloquent language, and that is what the majority of people want. We are glad to see also that Father Ryan has added, by way of supplement, his Novena, prayer, and hymn to St. Patrick, which, we are sure, will be much used in practical devotion, both in and out of Ireland. In his earnest prayer to St. Patrick he appeals with special force to the National Patron to succour those who are endeavouring to root out the evil of excessive drinking.

“ Give strength and prudence to every society that supports, under the guidance of the Church, the holy cause of temperance ; give eloquence to every tongue that advocates it, power to every pen that defends it. Make clear to every child of thine the ruin drink has wrought in Ireland's past—the homes made desolate, the hopes extinguished, the virtue wrecked, the souls lost. Guard especially thy glorious festival from the desecration of drunkenness, and do not permit the joy of thy children on that day to be to them the cause of grievous sin.”

There is also plenty of life and movement, as well as melody and taste, in the author's hymn to St. Patrick, and everyone will echo the sentiments of the two beautiful verses—

“ As reptiles fled thy staff before,
May viperous discords flee our shore ;
And strife and folly join no more,
To wreck our hope and rob our store.
Be near to guide the patriot's hand,
Be near to make our people stand,
A fearless, true, united band,
For Freedom, Faith, and Fatherland.”

At the approach of St. Patrick's festival, this handsome little volume, in toned paper and rich, clear type, may be heartily recommended.

J. F. H.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1890.

POSITIVISM NOT POSITIVE.

LITERARY, as well as geological, history and palæontology, records marvellous upheavals and transitions “which the earth can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy.” In the upward march of mind there are three well-marked periods; two of which, replete with metaphysical and theological fossils, lie buried for ever in the ages. But the golden cycle of Mental Evolution has at last been reached. This privileged generation is on the summit of the mount of vision, from which it may obtain a fairer, or, at least, a fuller view of truth than Plato, in his sublimest moments, attributed to those intelligent souls whom, in the *Phaedrus*, he represents as careering through the courts of heaven behind the chariots of the gods, and gazing incessantly on the colourless, intangible, immutable essences of things. In some such exaggerated strain are the Positivists wont to write.

Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivism, is the author of the law, which readers of Mr. Frederick Harrison’s writings are familiar with as “The Law of the Three States.” In Comte’s own words, the law is this:—

“That each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge—passes necessarily through three different theoretical conditions: the theological, or fictitious; the metaphysical, or abstract; and the scientific, or positive. In other words, the human mind, by its nature, employs, in its progress, three methods of philosophizing, the character of which is essentially different,

and even radically opposed, viz., the theological method, the metaphysical, and the positive. Hence arise three philosophic or general systems of conceptions on the aggregate of phenomena, each of which excludes the others. The first is the necessary point of departure of the human understanding, and the third is its fixed and definite state; the second is merely a state of transition."

Comte's passage may be thus freely paraphrased: In the primitive state, every leap of the "live thunder" men regarded as a manifestation of Divine wrath; *in via*, they indulged in speculations about "causation," "*materia prima*," and "*forma substantialis*." But, in these last decades of the nineteenth century, the air being cleared of divinities and abstractions, they have obtained the Beatific Vision of facts, they have discovered the term of their highest aspirations in the contemplation of the greatness of the race, and they have found a satisfactory medium for the outpouring of the religious spirit in the silent worship of incorruptible humanity. Clearly, it must be a question of the deepest human interest to understand thoroughly the character of this "fixed and definite" state—this final mental attitude towards the world around, and above, and within us, which we are said to have just reached.

What, then, is Positivism? It may be viewed either as a method or as a creed. The latter consists partly of conclusions to which the method has logically led—partly of independent accretions which have grouped themselves around the central idea in the course of its development. The term Positivism, as popularly understood, denotes a creed. The importance of its faith—or, to speak more accurately, the importance of the faith of which it is the negation—is so far-reaching, that it overwhelms, in the popular mind, the idea of method. Most students of contemporary philosophy, if asked, What is Positivism? would reply, that it either ignores or denies the existence of God; that it substitutes for His worship the cult of humanity; that it regards a man's heaven or hell as the permanent influence, for good or evil, which his words and actions exercise on the lives of his fellow-men; and that, in the department of ethics, it advocates a most sentimental *altruism*. But how many of the

Positivists accept these doctrines? Even Mr. Frederick Harrison, the recognised leader of the vanguard of Positivism in England, had to confess in his address to his followers at the opening of the new year, that the society had drifted asunder into two sections—(a) the narrow-minded Positivists or Comtists, who adhere strictly to the principles of their founder, and (b) the Positivists, *par excellence*, whose speculations are much more elastic. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the latter school, being so vaguely characterised, may include a veritable Babel of beliefs. To what actual extent there is an adhesion to common doctrines among the ranks of the Positivists, it would be at present imprudent to attempt to determine. No shorthand notes were permitted to be taken at the meeting to which I have referred, and at the time that I write there is not, so far as I know, any authoritative report of Mr. Harrison's address before the public. I shall not stay, therefore, to consider Positivism as a creed. Indeed, should it ever come to be recognised as a definite embodiment of doctrines as maudlin as those which I have already mentioned, there is little likelihood that the comparatively small number of adherents of which the school can boast would receive any notable increase. Positivism as a method is, however, employed not only by all those who accept the designation "Positivist," but even by many others who would grow restive under the title, because of their contempt for Auguste Comte. With two such potent weapons as the Positive Method and Agnostic Evolution, those who indulge the *odium antitheologicum* look forward with confidence to the day when the Christian religion will be a thing of the past. The really fundamental question, therefore, for all those engaged in the struggle with unbelief is, What is Positivism as a Method?

Positivism, under this aspect, I define to be the system which refuses to attach the assent of certitude to anything except—(1) the facts of sensible intuition; (2) generalisations arrived at by the Inductive Method; and (3) inferences from such generalisations.

From this definition it is at once apparent how close is the connexion between Positivism and the Inductive Method.

It is important to note this connexion. No student of average intelligence ever addressed himself to the study of the Inductive Method without feeling the obscurity that surrounds it. The superiority of the formulated science of Deductive over Inductive Logic is a standing monument to the super-eminence of Aristotle over Bacon. Since the publication of *The Analytics* only one important addition has been made to Deductive Logic—the theory of the hypothetical syllogism. On the other hand, the theory of Induction is so imperfectly set forth in the *Novum Organum* that scarcely any two independent writers on the subject can be found to agree on fundamental points. Now Positivism is not free from the obscurity that surrounds Induction. It can only be understood, consequently, by clearing up certain fundamental principles, which, however elementary in themselves, are frequently involved in confusion.

I commence, then, by saying that no human cognition is antecedent to *all* experience; human knowledge is in one sense invariably empirical. This is only another way of stating the principle: *Nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu*. We may, however, apprehend the *relation* between *certain* ideas antecedently to any actual experience of the union or separation of the corresponding realities in space and time. It is, therefore, not the knowledge of the concepts themselves, but the knowledge of the *relation* between them, that is really *a priori* or antecedent to experience. Thus it is only through the senses, and therefore only by experience, that the ideas of "equilateral triangle" and "equiangular triangle" may be acquired. But the concepts being once present to the mind, the relation between them, in virtue of which *every equilateral triangle must be equiangular*, can be reached by comparison, without any actual measurement of the angles of particular figures. In this sense all the axioms which constitute the basis of geometrical science are *a priori* truths. In no sense can they be said to be arrived at by Induction. Induction is essentially a process of inference, and to perceive the truth of an axiom of geometry we do not require to perform even an act of immediate inference. This being so, it follows

at once that the whole edifice of geometrical science raised upon the axioms is *à priori* in character. What has been said of geometry by way of illustration, is true also of other sciences.

That there can be any *à priori* knowledge in the strict sense, Positivists strenuously deny. Concepts themselves, their understood relations, and all inferences based thereon, have either immediately or mediately only one origin—experience. Having once arrived at a general law, through Induction from particular cases, we may, it is true, even predict what will occur in the future. But the only warranty we have for the *recurrence* of the phenomenon is its actual occurrence in the past. Analytical truths, with objective validity, there are none. Belief in universal Causation, in the principle of Contradiction, and assent to the Twelfth Axiom of Euclid, are all alike set down as the result of Association, or the experience of the past registered on the physical organism.

Now, before proceeding further, it will be very instructive to consider for a moment the significance of this opposition of Positivists to necessary, immutable truth. The knowledge of such truth in the minds of contingent, transient beings is a palpable evidence of their connexion with a necessary Being. The sublime inspiration of this thought has been felt ever since the dawn of philosophy. Malebranche and Gioberti, and some of the Traditionalists, taught that the human intellect is ever gazing, even though it may be unconsciously, upon the unchangeable truth of God. Plato proclaimed that the human soul at one time enjoyed some such glorious intuition, but that once immersed in the dark prison of the body there comes back to it through dim reminiscence but a faint glimmer of its former vision. The answer of Catholic philosophy and theology is contained in the words of Genesis: “God *made* man to *His own image*.” The Catechism puts the question: “In what is man like unto God?” If we desire the profoundest answer to this query, we have only to ponder for a moment upon the empire which necessary, immutable truths confer upon the soul. There is no horizon set upon its outlook. Space

and time are alike subject to its sway. Immensity and Eternity in an analogical sense may be said to be its attributes, and it is in this respect that man's soul is like unto God. This much being premised, it is no longer difficult to interpret the attitude of those engaged in warfare against Religion towards necessary truths. It matters not to them that every day Physical Science itself demonstrates more and more the comparative insignificance of space and time relations; that every day we have emphasized more and more that—

“ In the world there is nothing great but man.”

“ In man there is nothing great but mind.”

Kant, with the keen insight of a true thinker, realized this truth, but being a reactionary he was led into the opposite extreme of regarding space and time as *mere subjective* forms. But Positivists ruthlessly sweep away everything that would exalt man's spiritual nature; everything that would point to God. Positivists in profession, they are *à priorists* in the bad sense of the term; in the sense, namely, of persons who interpret facts not in the light of necessary, analytical truths, but in the light of blind prejudice. To further establish this thesis is the object of the remaining portion of my paper.

Of Professor Huxley's adhesion to Positivism as a method, however much he may be opposed to Positivism as a creed, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Only some weeks ago, in a letter to *The Times*, occasioned by the repudiation of *The Nationalization of the Land Theory*, in practice, by Mr. Herbert Spencer, he sneered at the latter's *à priori* methods. And in the January number of *The Nineteenth Century*, in an article on “The Natural Inequality of Man,” he dealt out unmeasured condemnation to the *à priori* reasoning of Rousseau's followers. Still more recently he has expressed his abhorrence of a certain doctrine, by calling it an “*à priori* iniquity.” Now, Professor Huxley is certainly one of the ablest, and, as the world goes, one of the most honest representatives of modern thought. It will be instructive, therefore, to inquire how the Positive method works in his hands. For this purpose I shall examine the address he delivered to

the British Association in 1870, on the famous question of *Biogenesis* or *Abrogenesis*. It is an excellent specimen of the charm of style, the masterly arrangement of facts, and the copious literary allusion for which he is justly celebrated.

From the publication of the *Esperienze intorno alla Generazione degl' Insetti*, by Francesco Redi, in 1668, down to and including the experiments of Schroeder and Dusch in the early portion of the latter half of the present century, the evidence in favour of the principle, *Omne Vivum ex Ovo*, was, as Professor Huxley shows, very strong without being logically conclusive. The experiments were all very simple in character. An infusion of organic matter is boiled for the purpose of destroying every living germ. Various devices, such as fusing the neck of the experimental flask, or stopping it with cotton-wool are employed to prevent the subsequent entrance of germs from the outer air. In such cases no living organisms appear in the infusion. To assume, however, that this is due in every case to the exclusion of germs implies that—(1) the air is full of solid¹ particles; (2) that these solid particles are germs; and (3) that nothing essential to life is excluded except germs. The first point was established by Tyndall; the second and third by Pasteur. The glory of having terminated the controversy belongs to the latter:—

“In the first place, he subjected to microscopic examination the cotton-wool which had served as strainer, and found that sundry bodies clearly recognizable as germs, were among the solid particles strained off. Secondly, he proved that these germs were competent to give rise to living forms, by simply sowing them in a solution fitted for their development. And, thirdly, he showed that the incapacity of air strained through cotton-wool to give rise to life, was not due to any occult change effected in the constituents of the air by the wool, by proving that the cotton-wool might be dispensed with altogether, and perfectly free access left between the exterior air and that in the experimental flask. If the neck of the flask is drawn out into a tube and bent downwards, and if, after the contained fluid is carefully boiled, the tube is heated sufficiently to destroy any germs which may be present in the air which enters as the fluid cools, the apparatus

¹ Life is incompatible with the gaseous state. Hence if there be living germs everywhere in the air, the air must be full of solid particles.

may be left to itself for any time, and no life will appear in the fluid. The reason is plain. Although there is free communication between the atmosphere laden with germs and the germless air in the flask, contact between the two takes place only in the tube ; and as the germs cannot fall upwards, and there are no currents, they never reach the interior of the flask. But if the tube be broken short off where it proceeds from the flask, and free access be thus given to germs falling vertically out of the air, the fluid, which has remained clear and desert for months, becomes, in a few days, turbid and full of life."

Can anything be conceived to which a consistent Empiricist or Positivist should more firmly cling than *Biogenesis*? Spontaneous Generation is, certainly, not a fact of sensible intuition. Neither is a generalization arrived at by the Inductive Method. But a Positivist admirer of the theory has another resource. Perhaps it is an inference from some such generalization? This would seem to be Professor Huxley's view. After having marshalled all the evidence above referred to in favour of *Biogenesis*, he writes:—

"If it were given to me to look beyond the abyss of geologically-recorded time to the remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not living matter. . . . That is the expectation to which *analogical* reasoning leads me."

Professor Huxley abstains from formulating the analogical argument which renders it probable that Spontaneous Generation occurred "beyond the abyss of geologically-recorded time." There can be no doubt, however, that it is the same as Professor Tyndall's, which may be thus briefly summarized:—Within the sphere of our actual experience nature is seen to proceed by the process of Evolution. Analogy requires us to suppose that she proceeded by the same method where experiment is impossible. In connexion with this argument, two points deserve attention. In the first place, it rests on a theory of Evolution which few scientific men of eminence accept. Secondly, it belongs to one of the loosest forms of analogical reasoning. Because a thing is assumed to hold good for one class of phenomena it is inferred

to hold good for another totally different in character. The antecedent of the argument is, therefore, probably false, and the process of inference is very probably invalid. But the weakness of the analogy, as well as its far-fetched character, become most apparent by retort. Within the sphere of actual experience, Spontaneous Generation is never known to occur. Analogy, therefore, requires us to suppose that it did not occur at a time which is beyond the reach of experiment. Now this argument is more than a mere retort. The antecedent is admittedly true, and the inference rests on the uniformity of nature's action; not in totally different departments of the universe, but in one and the same department.

Were I concerned with refuting the hypothesis of Abiogenesis, I might advance against it other arguments from analogy equally strong. I have said enough, however, for my present purpose. I have called attention to one of the many instances that offer themselves, of the inconsistency of the modern opponents of natural and revealed religion. Positive in profession they are, as I have already said, in reality, most *unpositive*, not in that they interpret facts in the light of *à priori*, necessary, immutable truth, but in that they distort facts to make them fit in with prejudice. Every student of physical science knows that a working hypothesis may be a valuable auxiliary to start with, even though subsequent inquiry may show it to be false. But it has also its disadvantages and its dangers. An ambitious man having once formulated an hypothesis will not readily desert it. He will endeavour to make facts yield to the hypothesis, instead of yielding the hypothesis to facts. This becomes a fruitful source of evil when the assumption is in conflict with religious truth. That such is frequently the case, is, unfortunately, but too true: Day after day we find that when certain natural phenomena are equally explicable upon either of two hypotheses, one in harmony with religious truth, and the other opposed to it, the latter is preferred to the former. Such are invariably the tactics of the Rationalists, and not unfrequently of the Evolutionists. Fortunately, however, for the interests of truth, it is difficult, if not

impossible, to construct a coherent philosophical system on erroneous principles. Such a system may at first sight appear dazzling; but, partaking essentially of the nature of a lie, it cannot live. Even now signs are not wanting that the latest fashions in Philosophy are dying out.

“Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.”

T. E. JUDGE.

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS.

THE Church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, is, like Jesus Christ, always beautiful—always and in all places.

Truly we may say of her, as the Psalmist said of her Lord and Master, “*speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis* ;” and this beauty is not merely the spiritual beauty discernible in the saintly lives of her confessors, and in the heroic deaths of her martyrs, but an outward, visible beauty also permeates and surrounds her every action, and bathes her whole being in an aureola of golden light.

Does she open her mouth? It is to utter songs and anthems which surpass the world’s most vaunted poems. Some poor monk, hidden in his cloister, breaks out singing, and the whole world is filled with his melody. Call his speech rude if you will, his Latin, dog-Latin; but, for all that, there is a sweetness, a pathos in his canticles, which you will vainly search for in the classic poems of pagan Greece and Rome.

And if we turn from music and poetry to the sister arts of painting and sculpture, and to that grand and noble art of which these two last are, as it were, the handmaidens—I mean architecture—is she not here again “beautiful above the sons of men?” Where can you find, on the face of this

earth, buildings to equal her glorious cathedrals? What pagan artist, ancient or modern, can vie with Fra Angelico, for instance, or Orcagna?

“The masters of the sculptures at Rheims have reached a perfection of style [says Lübke, in his *History of Art*] which calls to mind the noblest antique, only that independent feeling is expressed with warmth and gentleness.” Nor do they stand alone. Where can you find more sublime conceptions than Peter Vischer’s shrine of St. Sebald at Nuremberg, for example, or than the works of Giotto or Ghiberti?

But Mother Church does not stop here; she herself, in the persons of her priests and ministers, must be clad “in a vesture of gold, wrought about with variety;” and it is of this vesture of gold that I propose to treat in these pages.

And, first of all, perhaps, it might be as well to give here a brief outline of the history of those sacred garments which we have learned—many of us from our earliest childhood—to associate with the Divine Sacrifice, and which for us are so replete with mystic meaning.

The sacerdotal robes of the ancient law, their form and fashion, even to the most minute details of material and colour, were prescribed to Moses, amid cloud and smoke, on the summit of Mount Sinai, by the Eternal Father Himself. The Queen of Heaven, so runs the legend, herself instructed St. Dominic as to the habit of his new order; and it was from the hands of the same gentle Lady that St. Simon Stock received his scapular.

But the Church of Christ claims no such supernatural, no such divine origin for her priestly vestments, except inasmuch as they are the gradual outcome of her heavenly-directed legislation. Indeed, from the first to the fourth century there seems to have been little difference in dress between the clergy and laity. The alteration appears to have taken place gradually, more in consequence of restrictions imposed on the clergy than in any particular additions to their costume. Prohibited by the decrees of various councils from imitating the dress of the nobles and courtiers of the period, who, like the men of fashion

of our own day and of every other day, were continually varying the shape and cut of their garments in accordance with the ever-changing dictates of their divinity, the clergy were thrown back on the ordinary dress of the people from whom they differed but slightly in appearance, the tonsure being the sole distinguishing feature. Their costume during this epoch seems to have been, in fact, such as that which was usually worn by the well-to-do Roman citizen on occasions of state festivals and religious ceremonies, and consisted of the tunic and toga.

The chasuble seems to have been first adopted in the fifth century, and was at that time worn by the clergy and laity, alike, and St. Augustine speaks of it under the name of *casula*, as the ordinary costume of the Christians of his time. In its primitive form it was a large, circular, woollen garment woven throughout in one piece, with a hole in the centre for the head, and was so ample that it covered nearly the whole person.

The dalmatic, so named from its being of Dalmatian origin, was first introduced in the third century, and was worn by men and women alike. Its use was made compulsory by St. Sylvester (314-335). In form it was very much what it is at present—a long robe or upper tunic, partly opening at the sides, with loose sleeves; a peculiar feature of this vestment was a double row of stripes usually purple, and probably the origin of the orphreys with which dalmatics are now ornamented.

The use of these garments was gradually discontinued by the laity, but being still continued by the clergy, at length became their distinctive dress. In course of time they seem, however, to have discarded their ancient costume for the ordinary every-day affairs of life, and to have retained it only when they were engaged in their sacred functions, and thus it was that the Church of Christ arrayed herself in sacrificial garments.

There is not space within the limits of a short magazine article to enter into a detailed account of the origin and history of all the ecclesiastical vestments and insignia worn by the clergy. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that the garments

described in the Old Testament were extensively adopted as patterns, but that there is great uncertainty as to details previous to the ninth century; that up to the sixth century, as is still the case with the Copts and the followers of the Greek Rite in the patriarchate of Constantinople, white seems to have been the only colour used for the sacred vestments; but that from the sixth century we hear of vestments of various-coloured silks richly embroidered and jewelled.

To return to the chasuble. In the eleventh century a change took place in its shape: while the back part of the vestment remained as hitherto, the front part was greatly shortened, and was made to terminate in a peak just about the waist. The seal of Odo of Bayneux depicts the bishop in a chasuble of this kind, and in the tapestry of Bayeux, Archbishop Stigant is represented in a similar garment.

This fashion, however, did not last long. In the following century we find that the chasuble had again assumed almost its original form; it again became exceedingly ample, descending almost to the mid-leg, both before and behind, but terminated at the back, as well as in the front, in a somewhat oval form, owing to the sides being slightly cut away. This shape was retained till almost the end of the fifteenth century—at all events in the countries north of the Alps—when the change of the material employed in the manufacture of vestments, from soft silks to stiff cloth of gold, and the change, too, in the manner of embroidering, rendered necessary also a change of form. Formerly the embroidery had been so fine that it in no way interfered with the suppleness of the material—witness the cope of Pius II. at the Cathedral of Pienza, and that of St. John Lateran, Rome, both entirely covered with embroidery, of which very interesting descriptions were given last year in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (April and October)—but now it had become so thick and heavy that it was utterly unsuitable for the adornment of a loose, flowing garment. The sides were, therefore, still further cut away, and as the oval termination behind was cut off, the back of the vestment now assumed an oblong form; the oval termination in front, however, was still retained; but owing to the cutting away

of the sides, it was not so marked as it had been in the previous period.

St. Ignatius is represented in a chasuble of this kind in his picture, by Reubens, in Warwick Castle, and St. Philip, in the picture over the high altar at the Brompton Oratory. From these pictures it will be seen that the chasubles of this epoch, though similar in form to, were considerably larger than, the modern Roman vestment. The sides had been greatly cut away, it is true, but still the material of the vestment extended over each of the shoulders to below the bend of the elbows when the arms were stretched out. The chasuble of St. Charles Borromeo, at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, is very ample, probably quite as large as most modern Gothic vestments; but, possibly, this is not a fair example, as, according to Dr. Rock, St. Charles restored the vestments of Milan Cathedral to their old form. The chasuble in question, however, is oblong, and has the pillar on the back.

Vestments of various shapes are now used, but the oblong form is probably the most common. Pointed vestments are, however, used to a certain extent in some countries, and even, I am told—I know not whether it is true—the use of the old circular-shaped chasuble has been revived with the special permission of the late Pope Pius IX. at the Cathedral of Nîmes.

The oblong chasuble has assumed various forms in different countries; the Roman vestment, when made of the regulation size, according to the brass plate kept in the sacristy of St. Peter's, is larger than any other variety, and has an orphrey of a pillar-like form on the back instead of a cross, and a cross in front.

The chasuble usually worn in France and Belgium differs from the Roman in that it is considerably smaller, especially in the front over the breast, where it is often hollowed out on each side; it has the cross on the back, and the pillar-like orphrey in front.

The Spanish variety is much longer than either the Roman or the French, descending behind, sometimes almost to the ankles; it is very narrow, and almost resembles a

scapular ; the arrangement of the orphreys, however, is like that adopted in Rome.

Of the pointed vestments of the present day, some resemble those of the third period, both in size and in the arrangement of their orphreys. The chasubles used at the Abbey Church of Maredsous, in Belgium, are very beautiful examples of this kind ; while, on the other hand, some are less ample, being not much larger than the full-sized Roman vestment, and have the cross on the back only.

So much for the history of the chasuble. It may be as well to mention here, that the works from which most of the above archæological facts have been gathered are Planché's *Encyclopædia of Costume*, and Palmer's *Rites and Ceremonies*.

The age in which we live is not altogether favourable to the development of decorative art ; I say advisedly decorative art, because the circumstances to which I allude do not militate in the same degree, though possibly they do to a certain extent, against what is usually termed fine art.

In the first place, the struggle for existence is daily becoming keener and more difficult, and the artist in getting out his designs has to consider, first of all, if he wishes to gain a livelihood, not whether this or that is suitable for the purpose to which he proposes to adapt it, nor even if it is beautiful, but "Is this a new design ? Is it original ? Is it something extraordinary and out of the way ?" These are the first and foremost questions that he must ask himself, for he has to cater for the general public ; or to be more accurate, for the upholsterer, the linen-draper, the house decorator, for they are the bell-wethers who lead the flock, and the one thing which these worthy gentlemen desire is to have something which is quite new.

To such an extent do they carry this craze for "novelties," as they call them, that all other considerations are thrown to the winds, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the more unsuitable an object is for the purpose which it is intended to fulfil, the more it is calculated to please the public, whom the tradesman leads by the nose. Look at the shop windows ; they confirm what I say. What do we see ? Wash-hand basins and jugs are now made

angular; large straw hats act the part of work-tables. I saw lately in the window of a shop that prides itself on producing monstrosities, an umbrella and hat-stand, which had assumed the form of an area railing with a street lamp at the side; there was a notice attached to intimate to passers-by that the article in question was "quite a novelty," and only to be obtained at the aforesaid emporium of abortions.

I remember once seeing—it is now, perhaps, some ten years ago—in a shop window belonging to a well-known naturalist in the West End, a human skull that had been converted into a receptacle for cigars. Holes were bored in the top of the head, mounted with silver, and the cigars placed in them. Is it possible to imagine anything more revolting? It is quite *à la mode* to balance paraffin-lamps and kettles of boiling water on the tops of thin iron poles, and to make the lamps as safe as possible, and at the same time to afford a soft and pleasant light to the eyes, instead of a globe there is a sort of crinoline of yellow or crimson silk, which in its turn is draped and flounced with yards of lace and muslin; and to make it quite artistic, the whole is crowned with wreaths of flowers. But as our autocrat does not require us to assist at a nightly *auto da fé*, but only at the semblance of one, the flowers, be it known, are artificial and impassible.

I could give a hundred more examples; they meet us at every step, at every turn; but I should only be wearying my readers. I will therefore content myself with but one more.

Now, to an individual with an ordinarily constituted imagination, the use of a fan is to fan oneself with in summer time, or by its means to keep off the heat of the fire from one's face in winter time. I have seen the Chinese ambassador use it, when driving in the park, as a sort of parasol, to keep the sun out of his eyes; and each of the aforesaid uses of the fan is in my humble opinion—I am speaking from an artistic point of view—perfectly right and legitimate. But the enterprising owner of "the high art gallery," that emporium where peacocks' feathers are sold, and glazed yellow drain-pipes, and artists' colour pallets, and tambou-

rines tied up with pink bows, and pretty little landscapes painted on them—the enterprising owner of “the high art gallery” is much too artistic to be content with using the fan for these ordinary and natural purposes; he must needs convert it into a wall decoration, and pin it high up somewhere near the ceiling, where it is impossible to get at it if, by chance, anyone should wish to put it to a proper use; or he stretches a piece of silk across one-half of it, and turns it into a work-bag; or he makes it a receptacle for photographs, or for dried grasses and stuffed birds.

Another obstacle in the path of the nineteenth century artist is the facility with which cheap imitations can now be produced by means of machinery. We have old brasses and bronzes made of *papier maché* and plaster of paris, window curtains of paper, and altar candles of painted wood and tin: in short, there is hardly anything, from oil paintings to the fur trimmings on ladies’ jackets, of which a more or less exact imitation is not made in some cheaper and inferior material.

A third hindrance occurs to me, and one which proceeds from the last, or perhaps it is its source and origin; I refer to that spirit of emulation which permeates society in the present day, and by which each class endeavours to ape the class which is socially its immediate superior. For example, Lady M., of Mayfair, with an annual revenue of four thousand pounds, cultivates a taste for old china, and Mrs. B., of Bayswater, with an income of four hundred a year, must needs follow suit; but she cannot afford to cover her walls and tables with Crown Derby, Chelsea, Dresden, and old Japanese. Nevertheless, she will not be outdone by Lady M.: china, of some sort, she must have, and china she has from Mr. William Whiteley’s fancy department.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it cannot be denied that decorative art has made immense strides of late years, thanks, in a great measure, to the schools of science and art now established all over the kingdom. The atrocities which sometimes delighted the eyes and hearts of our grandfathers are far from being tolerated to-day; but I very much fear that, during the last five years, we have

not made that progress which we made during the previous five years. There seems to be, in some quarters, a longing to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt, and the renaissance, in its worst and most debased form, seems again to be lifting up its head.

But what, you will say, what has all this to do with ecclesiastical art? What possible relation can the shapes of our chairs and tables, the patterns of our curtains and carpets have to the colour and embroidery of our vestments? And to this I reply that the eye becomes, as it were, vitiated by constantly looking at ungraceful objects; and that the ecclesiastical artist, and certainly the amateur, who in the furniture of his house, in the decoration of his streets and public buildings, is daily in the habit of seeing materials put to uses for which they were never intended—decoration which is very proper for iron made to adorn woven fabrics; ornament perfectly suitable to wood applied to stone, and *vice versa*, without rhyme or reason, is very liable unwittingly to fall into similar errors when he comes to design a stained-glass window, or the orphreys of a chasuble or cope. Besides, much that I have said applies in even a more marked degree to sacred than to secular art. The same spirit of emulation, for example, is as prevalent in the church as in the drawing-room, and there is the same facility for satisfying it; artificial flowers, imitation candles, and tawdry lace are, alas, as frequently, nay more frequently, met with in the House of God than are paper window-curtains and oleographs in the houses of the middle classes.

But besides those hindrances which apply alike to the development of sacred and secular art in the latter end of this nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical architect and the ecclesiastical designer, here in England at all events, is still further handicapped. It is now, I suppose, nearly fifty years ago since the great Gothic revival began, like a huge wave, to sweep over most of the northern countries of western Europe. Men then began again once more to appreciate the beauty and the truth of the middle ages. Cathedrals and churches were everywhere subjected to the sometimes ruthless hands of the restorer; and nowhere perhaps more

than in England did men throw themselves so zealously into the movement.

But unfortunately, as so often is the case, their zeal was not always tempered by wisdom ; mediævalism became with some of them almost a second religion. In a recent number of *The Catholic World*, a writer informs us of the younger Pugin's amazement that such a superior man as Ward should be able to exist in a room without mullions ; and to such extent did another devotee, so the story runs, carry his infatuation, that upon a certain occasion he actually refused to be present at Benediction when he found out that the priest was not going to officiate in a Gothic cope.

Of course a reaction was the natural result. Among the Catholic portion of the population there was a serious outbreak of Roman fever, which has not even to this day entirely abated ; Gothic churches were disfigured, and rendered ridiculous by the incongruous style in which they were now not unfrequently ornamented and furnished ; in some cases the buildings themselves were laid violent hands upon, and either mutilated or defaced. Witness the demolition of a certain rood loft which was but the occurrence of yesterday. Nor did our Gothic vestments even in every case escape the hands of the destroyer. They, too, were mutilated and bedizened with gold lace. Conversing one day, and not very long ago, with the superior of a certain congregation, residing not a hundred miles from Charing Cross, I happened to mention a certain design which I had seen in red and blue for the apparel of an alb. " Why," he said, " we have got dozens of albs worked in that style in our sacristy, but we hardly ever use them, for none of my fathers would wear them if they were put out ; they have occasionally been worn, I believe, turned inside out. But they would not be tolerated at the Oratory, they are so very anti-Roman."

The fact that the Ritualist party in the Church of England has gone in to a great extent for mediæval work has possibly intensified and augmented this anti-Gothic feeling. I remember one day showing a priest a certain design for an antependium, " Is it Roman or Anglican " meaning Gothic,

he inquired, as I was proceeding to show it to him. Upon another occasion, I showed the same gentleman something which I had written in Gothic characters, "Ah that is Puseyite," was his remark.

I do not know if this identification of modern Gothic art with the Ritualist party, is at all general. I hope it is not, for it seems to me not only very narrow-minded, but very illogical. If we are to forswear Gothic ornaments, merely because the Ritualists have adopted them, then, to be consistent, we must also give up singing Faber's hymns, because they sing them; and wearing the Roman collar, because they wear it. Our symbol, too, must be reduced to a very simple formula, "I believe in the infallibility of the Pope;" for this seems to be the only article of our faith which they do not believe and teach.

I was told a curious anecdote the other day, which, if it be true, goes to show that some Englishmen are more Roman than the Romans themselves, or at all events, than one very august Roman. Leo XIII., so the story runs, had granted an audience to a certain English priest who happened to be visiting the Eternal City. The conversation turned on the church which had been lately built in London, by the congregation of which he was a member. "Well," said the Sovereign Pontiff, "in what style have you built your new church?" "Why, your Holiness," replied the worthy priest, "in the Roman style, of course." "But," rejoined the Holy Father, "there are very many exceedingly beautiful old churches in England, why did you not take one of them for your model?"

With Protestants the reaction took another turn. Men went mad about ancient monuments. To restore a church, in their eyes, was sacrilege; to pull down some hideous gallery put up in the last century, or to remove the lion and unicorn from the chancel arch, was to destroy the landmarks of antiquity. A friend of mine, a country parson, was lately going to restore his church, a very beautiful specimen of the early English period, but unhappily fallen into sad decay. The architect to whom the work was about to be entrusted had come over from the neighbouring market-town, and, after

luncheon, he and my clerical friend proceeded to inspect the building. When they came to the north side of the tower, the worthy rector pointed out a certain buttress which had been put up to support the wall, which just there had at sometime given way. "This masonry," said he, "is of very inferior quality, I should like to have a better buttress put up than that." "Oh, dear no," said the architect, "we must not think of touching that bit of work; to take it away would be to destroy one of the landmarks of antiquity." "Truly," replied the reverend gentlemen, "it has a certain amount of antiquity, for my gardener and I put it up eight years ago; but it is a landmark that I have no desire to perpetuate."

But, notwithstanding these impediments, the Gothic movement is still alive, nay, it is actually gaining ground, even here in England—so far, at least, as ecclesiastical architecture is concerned. With Protestants, indeed, there can be no doubt but that it is advancing by leaps and bounds; but within the pale of the Catholic Church, the progress is not, perhaps, at first sight, so apparent. Nevertheless, it seems to me, that real progress has been, and is being made; the anti-Gothic feeling is not, I think, so intense as it was a few years ago, and if the ecclesiastical buildings erected during the last ten years form any criterion, we can come to no other conclusion; for they are all, I believe, with a notable exception, in one or other of the styles of the middle ages.

There is, too, at the present moment, "a little cloud like a man's foot" in the blue sky of Italy, which, I am thinking, presages an abundance of rain on that land, which for centuries has been rendered parched and barren, so far as Gothic art is concerned, by the spirit of the pagan renaissance. That the tide is at length about to turn, that Italy is at length awakening from her long sleep, that she is even now beginning to understand and appreciate that most perfect style of mediæval architecture, whose very name has been to her for so many ages synonymous with barbarity, the following facts go to show.

First of all we have the completion of the Cathedral of Santa-Maria-del-Fiore, at Florence, then the proposed rebuilding of the façade of Milan Cathedral, and the restoration

of the Church of San Francisco, at Bologna ; we have, furthermore, the Italian Gothic altar presented to his Holiness last year : and lastly,—and this is a very hopeful sign, for it not only shows that the movement has made considerable headway, but is a pledge, we may well hope, of its further development—the appearance last year at Rome of a new magazine, *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, beautifully printed and illustrated, and having for its *raison d'être* the promotion of the study of mediæval art. Now, if this reaction gains ground—and in the opinion of no less an authority than Monsignor Barbier de Montault, it only needs fostering to do so—it cannot but have an immense influence for good on the ecclesiastical architecture of Christendom.

And we must bear in mind that architecture is the mother and queen of all the decorative arts, and that they all follow in her train. As, therefore, the beauties of the mediæval architecture of Italy become known to, and loved by, her people, in like proportion will the decorative arts of the middle ages be appreciated by them ; and doubtless the clergy of Italy, and the architects and designers of Italy, will see the propriety of making the textile fabrics and embroidered tissues in harmony with the styles of their renovated churches and cathedrals ; and in designing new vestments and altar hangings they will take for their models, both as to their form and decoration, the soft and flowing garments of the middle ages. If we cannot hope to see the clergy everywhere arrayed in vestments as rich and supple as the embroidered copes of St. John Lateran and of Pienza, at least the priest who offers the Holy Sacrifice will no longer have, in the words of Viollet le Duc “l'apparence d'un énorme cléoptère.”

But we are looking too far ahead. Let us return to our own day and to our own country. Modern English vestments, or to be more accurate (for much of our church furniture comes from abroad), many of the vestments used in the Catholic churches of England, are very far from being satisfactory, alike as to their workmanship, texture, and design ; nor do they generally compare favourably with the vestments worked by our forefathers in the Middle Ages.

But how different was their method of proceeding to ours! We give an order to M. Grossé, and expect to have the work home in a few months; they did not hesitate to expend whole years in making one vestment. Vasari tells us that Paul of Verona took twenty-six years to complete a chasuble, a cope, and two dalmatics, which had been designed for the Church of St. Giovanni, at Florence, by Antonio del Pollaiuolo. He rendered the figures with his needle, equally as well as Antonio had done with his pencil, and, indeed, it is difficult to know which is most worthy of our admiration, the beautiful drawing of the one, or the amazing patience of the other. Of course in this age of money-making, railways, and electricity, when everyone is more or less in a hurry, we cannot hope to emulate the works of these "mighty men of old;" nevertheless if our designers would but be content to take their inspirations from them, and if it were but possible to infuse into their souls something of the spirit with which they were animated, our "gilded clothing" would be more worthy of the House of God than it is at present.

Let us, then, take for our *beau idéal* the work of these masters; and we have no need to go far in search of specimens, for South Kensington Museum possesses a magnificent collection of embroidered and woven tissues of every period. There are to be seen vestments of every shape and form, which are altogether lovely. Such rich velvets and damasks! Such soft and mellow colouring! I remember one vestment especially, a dalmatic (as far as I recollect at the present moment it was Spanish work of the sixteenth century) of ruby-coloured velvet, powdered all over with charming little *fleur de lis* worked in creamy-white silk, with little sprays of gold, with orphreys richly embroidered in various colours, but of which the predominant tone was a beautiful olive-green. I remember, too, a crimson and gold chasuble, dalmatic, and cope, Florentine work, I think, and a beautiful sage-green Sicilian chasuble woven with white dragons; and a host of other treasures too numerous to mention, but which would well repay an afternoon's study. The collection is divided into two parts, and is situated in two different quarters of

the museum, both of which, unfortunately, are alike badly lighted.

But you will, perhaps, say, all this is very true, but we are not allowed to make new Gothic vestments. I am perfectly well aware that more than one diocese is restricted to the Roman shape, at least so far as concerns the manufacture of new vestments. But I would venture to point out that art does not necessarily suffer by restrictions—witness the perfection attained by some of the Byzantine painters, notwithstanding the hierarchical injunctions imposed on them; and the triumphs of the Moorish artists, who, although they were strictly prohibited from introducing into their schemes of ornament the representation of any living creature, whether of the animal or vegetable kingdom, nevertheless succeeded in producing decorative work of the very highest order—work, indeed, which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed by the artists of any other nation or period.

Furthermore, I would remark—that the beauty of a vestment does not depend so much on its shape, as on the nature of the material employed, its colour, and mode of adornment. Not but that, to my mind, Gothic vestments are preferable to Roman, both from an artistic and symbolical point of view, and I hope and trust that one day their use will be universal; but, in the meantime, Roman vestments are *de rigueur*, and there is no earthly reason why they should not be made really beautiful, provided only a little care and judgment be bestowed in choosing the material, and in the selection of the colour and scheme of ornament.

It would be well, too, in getting out new designs, that some consideration should be paid to the style and decoration of the church for which the vestments are destined. For instance, where the building is permeated by the “dim religious light” of richly-coloured stained glass, vestments of a brighter and more intense hue may well be used, than in a church where there are no painted windows, or where that white and yellow glass, in which Mr. Bentley revels, predominates.

And while we are upon the subject of colour, one word

as to green. The green usually employed for vestments is a harsh, crude, discordant, grating green, which hurts the eye, and sets the teeth on edge. Well, you will perhaps say, the green contemplated by the rubrics should be a green; it should neither be a yellow-green, nor a blue-green. To which I reply, perfectly true; but it is quite possible to obtain many shades of green which are really green, and which are neither harsh, nor crude, nor unlovely. Look at the moss, which throws itself, like a gorgeous mantle of velvet over some old thatched barn or cottage on the country-side, in spring and autumn. There is a green for you! A true green, a deep, rich green; but it has nothing harsh or crude about it. This is one example, out of the many which nature gives us; let us endeavour to imitate her colouring, and we shall not go very far astray.

But to return to our embroidery. The classic acanthus, or stripes of gold lace would form a very unsuitable pattern for any chasuble, no matter of what shape, destined to be used in a Gothic or Romanesque Church.

In a word, where it is deemed necessary or advisable to use vestments cut in the Roman fashion in a Gothic or Romanesque building, I would suggest, that the material of which they are made, and the style of their decoration, should be in keeping with the architectural surroundings. This method seems to have been to a certain extent adopted by the designer of the red vestments which the late Sir George Bowyer presented to St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and the effect is, on the whole, satisfactory.

One word more. Designs of an architectural character, like those so much in vogue during the decline of the Gothic period, are altogether of too stiff and rigid a nature to form a suitable adornment for soft silks and velvets; the designers of the best epochs were well aware of this, witness the copes, that I have before referred to in this essay, of St. John Lateran and of Pienza, where the canopies over the figures of the saints and angels, with which these vestments are completely covered, are formed by most charming and graceful conventional foliage.

To conclude with a parable. Let us imagine that on a

summer evening, just after the sun has gone down, a traveller enters for the first time some glorious old Gothic Cathedral, where the windows are all filled with stained glass. Let us suppose, moreover, that it has been lately restored and that the architect has not been judicious in the choice of his colours, or that it is filled with gaudy images and tawdry finery, or that the altars are ill-kept and adorned with artificial flowers. Nevertheless our traveller notices none of these things, but leaves the church, filled with admiration at its beauty, its grandeur, its harmony; for the soft evening light streaming through the painted windows has toned down and mellowed all that was harsh or crude, and rendered innocuous those defects of taste in the decoration, which, viewed in the garish light of the noon-day sun, would perchance to his eyes, have seemed tawdry and vulgar.

So it is with the Church of God. In the eyes of the devout Catholic, who from the holy sanctuary of his religion sees everything in the divinely-tinted light of faith and charity his queen is ever fair and comely.

Fair and comely, indeed, when in the ages of faith, art under her influence was at its zenith, and when kings and princes vied with one another in adorning her with "gilded clothing, surrounded with variety!"

Still fair and comely when in times of persecution and of poverty she is clad in squalor and rags! Aye, when she lifts her fair hands to bless her children, her tattered garments, like the rags which covered the couch of the dying saint, Catherine of Sweden, seem to glitter, all sewn with threads of gold and precious stones.

Still fair and comely, when, in yet another age, art having withdrawn her neck from the light yoke of the Lamb's Bride, in order to become the slave of Venus and Cupid, and having fallen from one depth of degradation to another, till at length she seemed to have lost almost all sense of the beautiful and the true, crowned her Mother with paper roses, and clad her with tawdry bespangled garments

Truly thou art ever fair and comely, O Holy Mother Church, for naught can rob thee of thy divine beauty. "Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende, prospere procede, et regna."

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

CARDINAL GIBBONS ON PRESENT-DAY CONTROVERSY.

A NEW work, that was awaited with great interest both by the Catholic world in the States as well as here at home, has recently appeared from the pen of the first ecclesiastic in America.¹

His Eminence, the Archbishop of Baltimore, is still a young man for a Cardinal ; and it is on dark and not on grey hair that the purple skull-cap rests. There is a delicacy of outline, too, about the student-like features, that is very winning ; while the pale forehead and calm blue eye are indicative of the thoughtful mind. Already Cardinal Gibbons has been well known in the world of letters, as the author of *The Faith of Our Fathers* ; but in the present work he has set before him a thesis of wider scope and of deeper root in the frame-work of human society.

It is all but a settled matter, that the fight to-day lies between belief in the existence of God and non-belief. The Catholic religion from the beginning has been the one solitary constant defender of the truth down through all the ages. No matter who entered the lists, and no matter under what banner fighting, the Catholic Church was ever there with its *semper eadem* scroll, "God and His Truth," unchanging and unchangeable.

It is a sign of the times, and a sign by no means complimentary to Protestantism and other non-Catholic bodies, that the Church seems scarcely to take notice of them. There was a time, and religious controversy was almost the only controversy known—the time when the great Archbishop of Meaux wrote his *Protestant Variations* ; and even later on ; but to-day all that is changed ; and the Church of our time when educating her clergy, if she still adheres to the old curriculum of the Divinity classes, does so rather for the purpose of afterwards teaching and feeding the flock than of defending the outposts of her position.

¹ *Our Christian Heritage*. By Cardinal Gibbons. Baltimore : John Murphy & Company.

Poor Protestantism! it could hardly help falling out of the running: and the High Church, perhaps, the soonest of all. That had neither stability in its belief, nor uniformity in its ritual. As a *viâ media* it could give no authority, except its own, for standing in the way, and bidding people cling to it. Yet Protestantism was not, or is not, without its use. This is the belief of the Cardinal also. "I am glad [he writes] to acknowledge that most of the topics discussed in this volume have often found, and still find, able and zealous advocates in Protestant writers. And far from despising or rejecting their support, I would gladly hold out to them the right hand of fellowship, so long as they unite with us in striking the common foe. It is pleasant to be able to stand sometimes on the same platform with our old antagonists." (Page 1.)

Protestantism, the strongest of all the sects, having failed, the Catholic Church, finding itself face to face with a new enemy, began to re-dress its ranks, re-organize its forces, and by the very condition of things had to "refurbish up all its old weapons." Eras and epochs move in a vicious circle. In the early ages the Church had to combat two forces, the bigotry of Judaism, and the corruption of Paganism—savage or enlightened. "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling-block, and unto the Gentiles, foolishness." (1 Cor. i. 23.)

To-day it has to do the very same; on the one hand to parry the efforts of a dying religion, and on the other to stand boldly against the open and determined assault of scientific atheism. St. Paul in his time found it his first duty, when preaching to the Athenians, to prove to them that a God exists—the very Being, indeed, whom they, as if impelled by the Holy Spirit, were worshipping under the title of the Unknown God. "But Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus, said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are as it were too superstitious. For passing by and seeing your idols, I found an altar also, on which was written—TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. What therefore you worship, without knowing it, this I preach to you, *God, who made the world and all things therein,*" &c.—(Acts xvii. 22.)

It is a long span from St. Paul to the holding of the Vatican Council, and yet the bishops of the Catholic Church, assembled in Rome in the latter half of the nineteenth century, find themselves forced to teach that a God exists, and that His existence can be known by the unaided power of human reason. “Si quis dixerit, Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea, quae facta sunt, *naturali rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse anathema sit.*” (*De Revelatione.*)

This, then, is seen and recognized all over the world, as the point of attack in our time, and from this point Cardinal Gibbons makes the start with his book. The very first chapter in the work opens with the significant heading—“Was the World Created, or is it Eternal and Self-existing?” This brings him abreast of the subject.

We all know the old scholastic manner of proving the existence of a Creator. A syllogism is formed on the connexion between *cause* and *effect*. Every *effect* existing must have a *cause* for its existence. The world is an existing effect. *Ergo*, it must have a cause for its being. Or, an argument was drawn from the beautiful harmony of the world; or, some one was given of all the other proofs which are to be found in any theological treatise under the heading *De Deo*.

A fine old way was the scholastic *Sic argumentaris*, and as rigid and as absolutely correct in its deductions as a question in mathematics or a sum in addition. No better mode could scarcely be invented for training the young mind in accuracy of thought and expression; and we who were accustomed to it, while occasionally grumbling, on the whole took kindly to it. But the world of the present day will have none of your dusty school-rooms and your obsolete scholastic phrases. Theology might, indeed, be popularized; but the writer who would to-day compose a tract (*ex. gr. de Deo*) on the old scholastic lines, would find that he was writing for the few and not for the many.

Cardinal Gibbons has, therefore, very wisely avoided the syllogistic line of argument, and adopted the informal, without, however, losing one link of its strength or one jot

of its conclusiveness. On the contrary, he manages to turn the loss, if loss there be, to advantage, by blending the different arguments, and thereby investing and exhibiting the whole case with more beauty, unity, and force.

For instance, in answering the question that stands, as has been said, at the heading of the very first chapter—whether the world is self-existent—he quotes from the Psalms, “The heavens show forth the glory of God,” &c. Here he has evidently in his mind the scholastic argument founded on the necessary connexion between cause and effect. He supposes a beautifully-built, and beautifully-appointed house, and he asks—“If such a structure were presented to your view after being cast on a desert island, where no visible trace of man was to be found, would you not at once conclude that it was the work of an experienced architect, and that a wise and provident master superintended the affairs of the household?” (Page 17.) Then he goes on to introduce and to blend the argument from the harmony of the world, and does it in a manner which is exceedingly pleasing in its language and charming in its fancy. “Now contemplate the great temple of nature, so vast in proportion, so perfect in design, so elaborate in detail, so beautiful to the eye, that we never grow weary of beholding it. Look at the glorious luminary which sheds its flood of light throughout this temple by day, and the myriads of lamps suspended from the blue dome of heaven by night. Gaze on the magnificent and ever-varying pictures embellishing this temple, and moving before us in panoramic view—pictures that serve as models to works of art; and the works of art approach nearer to perfection, the more closely they copy the models of nature,” &c. (Page 17.)

With one short simile he overturns the philosophic objection, that this world is an accession of self-existing atoms. “We might as well suppose,” says the Cardinal, “that the sublime poems of Homer or of Milton were produced by the accidental grouping together of letters of the alphabet, as the universe was constructed by the chance accumulation of atoms.” (Page 21.)

Another proof he founds on the constant and regular

motion of the heavenly bodies. "If, on reaching an uninhabited island, you discovered a railroad engine complete in all its parts, though you could find no trace of man, you would at once reasonably conclude that some skilful mechanic had wrought it. And we see before us this grand and complex engine of the Universe, so vast in proportions, so perfect in detail, not standing still, but in perpetual motion. This earth which we inhabit is revolving round its own axes at the rate of 1,000 miles an hour, and is rushing through space with the surprising velocity of 68,400 miles an hour. . . . And there are myriads of other planets constantly moving like our own." (Page 21.) This chapter he closes with a telling quotation from Sir Isaac Newton: "The origin of the material world must be ascribed to the intelligence and wisdom of a most Potent Being, always existing and present everywhere, who controls according to His good pleasure all parts of the universe." (*Optics*, B. iii.)

His next proof is from the argument known as the Unanimous Consent of Mankind. He adduces very striking quotations from the old classic authors, as to the belief of the ancients in the existence of a Supreme Being. Modern nations he divides into Jews, Christians, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Brahmins, Parsees, and worshippers of Feticism; and from the professed religion of each of these he brings abundant and overwhelming testimony.

His last argument for the existence of God is taken from what the schoolmen call the *sensus intimus* proof, or each man's inward consciousness bearing testimony to the existence of a Supreme Being. To uneducated minds this is the least perceptible argument; but in the long run is, perhaps, the most fundamental, and metaphysically the most conclusive and vital of all. Indeed, we should find it difficult to assent to the conclusions of the other arguments, were there not something within us that sympathised with the very progress as well as the affirmation of these proofs.

In a few swift lines the Cardinal ably sketches the bearings of this argument. "Within us a mysterious power compares our acts with a law superior to our will, and condemns them when they are not in accordance with that supreme law of

conduct. A law requires a lawgiver. Without a lawgiver it cannot be conceived. It prompts me to do what my inclinations shrink from, and forbids me to do what I am naturally desirous of performing. *I cannot at the same time, and in the same relation, be both master and subject.*" (Page 53.)

Then follows some beautiful chapters on the Omnipresence of God, and on His Providence. Objections to the Providence of God is a most useful chapter. Prayer, Gratitude, Moral Freedom, follow.

The Immortality of the Soul has always been a difficulty to the metaphysician, and with persons who do not believe in a creating and just God, it must remain one; but, granting a beneficent Creator, there can be no real difficulty about proving it. He ends the chapter on this subject by a simple and touching anecdote from Walter's *Life of Sir Thomas More*.

When his wife visited the holy chancellor in prison, and wanted him to conform, and began to compare his own house with the wretched den in which he was:—

"Why good Alice," said he, "is not this prison as near Heaven as my own house?"

"Oh! Tilly vally! Tilly vally!" she replied.

"Pray, then, Alice—how long, think you, might one live to enjoy this house of ours?"

"Perhaps some twenty years."

"Well, now, my good Alice, he were a bad calculator that, for over a hundred or a thousand years, would risk eternity."

The chapter on Eternal Punishments will be turned to with eager curiosity. There is nothing from which the natural mind of man so recoils as from the idea of unending torments, everlasting burnings. Revelation, of course, declares it. We believe it, and fear it. But Cardinal Gibbons' position all along is not a *recursus* to revealed dogma, but a demonstration of the reasonableness of these dogmas. "My chief aim," says his Eminence, "is to demonstrate that this doctrine is not incompatible with right reason." (Page 217.)

He passes over the argument of divines, which says that "every penalty is just which is in proportion to the malice of the offence." And the reason he passes over it, is "because

this reasoning may not be convincing to the general reader." He proceeds then to another argument, which it is to be feared will hardly approve itself more sympathetically to the general reader. It runs thus—a man dies in grievous crime; he has in the next world, surely, no opportunity of turning to God. *Ergo*, he must for ever remain turned away from Him. This is true; it is as inevitable as fate, and as logical; but that scarcely makes the matter of eternal punishments more acceptable to the reasonableness of the human mind.

The Cardinal draws us nearer to it, when he says: "For murder committed in a moment, our judges sometimes condemn to death, and the code meets with public approval. It is usually malefactors that have defied the law and are punished; it is only such as choose to be rebels against God, that insist upon calling Him a tyrant. Mathematical truths are never controverted, because they do not oppose our passions; but moral and religious truths are denied, because they often conflict with our natural inclinations." (Page 222.)

The clemency of God is great, and His mercies are beyond all His works, and it must be a great strain on that clemency and mercy to condemn a soul to everlasting punishment; "but" as the Cardinal says, "if a drowning man refuses to seize the life-preserver, he is solely responsible for his fate." (Page 224.)

The human mind cannot assimilate the thought of the unbeginning eternity, neither can it grasp the unending; and when that unending becomes over-burdened, moreover, with the awful Gehenna of fire, then the scrutiny into the future falls nothing short of appalling:—

"Rocks hide us, mountains on us fall."

Possibly the man of God is the only one that yields a spontaneous assent to this dread and incomprehensible truth.

On the awful text "Many are called, and few are chosen," he writes: "Happily, neither the Scripture nor the Church has ever authoritatively spoken of the relative number of the elect and the reprobate. Far be it from me to interpret unfavourably to the side of mercy. God grant that the great majority of Christians, and even of mankind, may be ultimately

saved. Meanwhile, prudence imperatively demands that we should pursue the safer course by living soberly, and justly, and piously."

In the chapter of Miracles, the reader might expect to see some allusion to Hume, or that miracles would be shown to be consonant to reason, but the Cardinal takes no notice of the objections to miracles, and, perhaps, it is as well not—none is so blind as the man that will not see; he merely goes on to prove the divine mission of our Blessed Lord from the number of astounding miracles He wrought.

In the chapter on the marvellous Growth of the Church, he, however, crosses swords with another remarkable man—a historian and a doubter—the author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Of Gibbon's famous five causes for the extension of the Church, his Eminence says: "The influence of these causes cannot be over-estimated. They were powerful factors in the propagation of the faith; but they were all secondary causes. If we come suddenly upon a fair expanse of water," &c. (Page 266.) Extracts from this would only do injustice to the writer—the chapter should be read in its entirety in order to know its strength and its beauty. One readily recollects, in connexion, the answer of Cardinal Newman also; and their answers are types of the positions and relations of the men. Cardinal Newman's is the answer of the scholar in his study; Cardinal Gibbon's, that of the persuasive and practical man of the world.

The chapters on Man's Origin and Destiny, as viewed from a Pagan or a Christian stand-point, are most interesting. All "the old familiar faces," Darwin and Huxley, &c., appear there. Revelation and Science supply some further interesting chapters.

Then comes the question of the Influence of Paganism on Morals. He discusses it under these headings: the gods, religious worship, theatres, literature, painting, sculpture. No one with the slightest acquaintance with the old classics need be told what these were. "If such were the gods," cries his Eminence, "what must the mortals that worshipped them have been?" (Page 325.) "What means," says Seneca, "this appeal to the precedent of the gods, but to inflame our

lusts, and to furnish a license for the corrupt act under shelter of its divine prototype?"

He next proceeds to a question, which Balmez in his *European Civilization* was among the first to raise and discuss—the Influence of Christianity in raising the Status of Woman. The Cardinal contrasts the two models of the female character—Venus of the Pagans, and Mary the Virgin Mother of the Redeemer among Christians; and it is not difficult to foresee that the palm falls to her who from heaven was declared "blessed among women."

Some striking chapters follow on the influence of the Church in preventing Abortion, and on the Charitable Institutions of the Church.

Towards the end of the book we light on a splendid chapter on The Labouring Classes. If a fifth note were to be added to the notes or marks of the Church, it would be its care of the poor. "The poor ye have always with you." "I cannot conceive," writes his Eminence, "any thought better calculated to ease the yoke and to lighten the burden of the Christian toiler than the reflection that the highest type of manhood had voluntarily devoted Himself to manual labour." (Page 439.)

He gives a stanza of verse, which on account of its sympathy and beauty, we hope is his own; the book, at any rate, does not mark it as a quotation:—

"God bless the noble working-men
Who rear the cities of the plain;
Who dig the mines and build the ships,
And drive the commerce of the main.
God bless them! for their swarthy hands
Have wrought the glory of our lands."

It is most gratifying to see that his Eminence approves of the unions and organizations of the labouring men. "When corporations thus combine, it is quite natural that mechanics and labourers should follow their example. It would be as unjust to deny to working-men the right to band together because of the abuses incident to such combinations, as to withhold the same right from capitalists because they sometimes unwarrantably seek to crush or absorb weaker

rivals." (Page 441.) What a proud thing it is for us Catholics to have a Cardinal Archbishop laying down these principles at the other side of the water, and to have a Cardinal and several bishops reducing them to practice at this. This chapter on the Labouring Classes, dealing with such problems as the rights of labour, and the morality of strikes, is, perhaps, the most interesting chapter in the whole book; we have little doubt that it will certainly be the one most generally read.

In the concluding chapters he discusses the relations between religion and American civilization. His Eminence counts five dangers that threaten the moral life of the States—(1) Mormonism and divorce; (2) present system of education; (3) desecration of the Sabbath; (4) election frauds; (5) delay in carrying into effect the judgments of the criminal courts.

He analyses each of these in detail, and gives statistics that make one wonder—almost shudder. Yet it is well that a Catholic churchman should so speak.

Of the many excellent works that have come to us from America, this volume of 520 pages, with its well-arranged table of contents, and its splendid index, will seem to many to be the most practical, the most useful, and the most welcome. Many authors have travelled somewhat over the same ground—notably Chateaubriand, in his *Genius of Christianity*, and the eminent French Jurist Auguste Nicolas, in his famous *Études Philosophiques sur Le Christianisme*, a work that went through twenty-two editions in thirty years; but the former of these was, perhaps, more laboured and brilliant than solid; and the latter with its wonderful grasp and power of reasoning was addressed to lawyers and the learned rather than to the multitude; whereas the present work combines, in its reasoning and its diction, the rare excellence of being able to please the most cultured without being beyond the intelligence of the poor and uneducated.

R. O'KENNEDY.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS OF THE EARLY IRISH
CHURCH.

THE BOOK OF DHIMMA.

THE stranger who visits Dublin, for the first time, will not fail to remark the many signs of decay that present themselves. Streets without people, and quays without ships; houses tenantless, and mansions of an older and better time that own their lords no longer—all tell the same tale. Compared with the gay capitals of Europe, the old city by the Liffey contrasts unfavourably; and there is a danger that our traveller, disappointed by first appearances, will not tarry to inquire if there be aught worthy of engaging his attention, or capable of repaying the trouble of his visit. It is to be feared—to put it in fewer and plainer words—that few comparatively of those who visit our capital ever think of visiting its museums and libraries; and yet museums and libraries there are, of which Dublin and Ireland may well feel proud. If indications of prosperity and wealth are lacking outside, within those walls there are treasures beyond price—heirlooms which any nation might envy, and the like of which no other nation can show.

There was a time—nor was it so long ago—when the claims of this country to an early civilization were treated with contempt or with ridicule; and writer after writer, from Cambrensis to Pinkerton, asked where were the proofs and remains of that civilization, if it ever had existed. O'Curry and Petrie, and O'Donovan—men to whose genuine patriotism and vast though loving labours their country must ever be a debtor—took up the taunt some sixty years ago; and, in the presence of the magnificent collections of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College, it will never again be possible to question Ireland's claim to a civilization that was both very advanced and very ancient. They answer every question, and hush the taunts into shame. These collections are known throughout the world; and it is no rare thing to meet in either of our great national museums, *savants* from

distant lands examining, with surprise and delight, the beautiful and various works of early Irish art—a jewelled shrine, or an illuminated manuscript; a Tara Brooch, or a Cross of Cong.

Roughly speaking, they may be classed—(a) Works in Metal; and (b) Transcription and Illumination. As an illustration of the first we may take what has come to be known as the Tara Brooch; and of it we find a hostile critic saying, that “it was more like the work of fairies than of human beings.” A writer, no less unfriendly,¹ writes of one of what were called the *Books of Erin*: “The more intently I examined them, the more was I filled with fresh wonder and amazement. Neither could Appelles do the like; indeed mortal hand seemed incapable of forming them.”²

This, however, is a digression; for our subject now is one of those *Books of Erin*, and not the evidences of Ireland’s early civilization. Of such books there were a great number. With pardonable pride Angus refers to them as “the countless hosts of the illuminated *Books of Erin*,” and Miss Stokes mentions that up to the irruptions of the Danes, every church of any note had a reliquary and a copy of the Gospels, together with a shrine or “*cumdach*,” in which the sacred book was inclosed; the shrines themselves being made of some precious metal, generally highly-wrought and ornamented with precious stones. Many of the books referred to are not now known to exist, and are probably lost for ever. Happily, however, a few still remain. The *Book of Kells* and the *Book of Durrow*, both of the sixth century, and the MS. in the *Doulnach Airgid*, as old even as the age of St. Patrick, are among them.

A book of the same kind, which is not, perhaps, so well

¹ Cambrensis, on the *Book of Kildare*.

² As showing the perfection and influence of Irish art in those early times, it may be of interest to quote the words of a distinguished visitor spoken at the very last General Meeting of the Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland, at Limerick:—“In Scandinavia, Irish influences could be traced in its antiquities—not only of Norway, but of Sweden. The ornamentation peculiar to Irish manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries was imitated in Scandinavia. Classical old tales had come to the Norsemen from Ireland, which formed part of the Scandinavian mythology.”—Professor Soderberg, Lünd University.

known, but which is, nevertheless, a most interesting and valuable relic, and not without features of interest peculiar to itself, is that, the name of which I have placed at the head of this Paper. A manuscript written more than twelve hundred years ago must have an interest for all; written in the old abbey, beneath whose shadow I write, it naturally has an especial interest for us here, and it will be a great pleasure if I can show that, like Armagh, and Durrow, and Kells, Roscrea can lay claim to one of those venerable and priceless heirlooms, which have now become the treasure of a nation, and in which every Irish scholar must take a just pride. Writers who treat of the *Book of Dimma*, lay it down as very probable that the book now in Trinity College Library is the same as that mentioned in connexion with St. Cronan, of Roscrea. I hope to be able to show that there can be no reasonable doubt on this head. But apart from that question—it is hardly necessary to premise—it is beyond all doubt an object of the greatest interest and value, as well as of unquestioned antiquity. What is the *Book of Dimma*, as found in Trinity College, and how did it come there? Then, what is known of *Dimma's Book*, written in Roscrea Abbey for St. Cronan? And, finally, what are the reasons to believe that they are one and the same?

I. The *Book of Dimma*, which any visitor can see in Trinity College Library, is an illuminated MS., inclosed in the usual case or shrine. The MS. consists of a copy of the Four Gospels, and an Office for the Visitation of the Sick and forms a small quarto of seventy-four leaves. It is written in Latin, but in pure Irish character; and, in this respect it is, perhaps, the very oldest MS. extant.¹ The reverence shown to the sacred writings is proved by the costly shrines made to inclose them, and hence the *Cumdachs* of our ancient MSS. divide our attention with the MSS. themselves. The box in this instance is of brass, and part, at least, of it is of the same date as its contents; there have been, however, several repairs. It is open at one end

¹The *Book of Armagh*, which belongs to the same century, is, curious to say, written partly in Irish and partly in Greek character.

to admit the book, is silver-plated, and ornamented with a crystal and eight pieces of *lapis lazuli*. It was repaired in the twelfth century, by O'Carrol, Lord of Ely, and again by Donald O'Cuanain, Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe, in 1230 A.D. At the bottom there is a representation of the Passion, with the two Marys, and the following inscription beneath:—

“Tatheus O'Kearbuill Beideev Meipsum
Deauravit Dominus Domnaldus Ocu-
nain Converbius Ultimo Meipsum res-
tauravit: Tomas Ceard Dachorig in
Minsha.”¹

Petrie, in his *Christian Inscriptions*, edited by Miss Stokes, refers as follows to it:—

“The manuscript and box were preserved in the Abbey of Roscrea till the dissolution of monasteries, when it disappeared. It was found, in the year 1789, among the rocks of the Devil's Bit Mountain, in the Co. Tipperary, carefully concealed and perfectly preserved. . . . It then came into the possession of Dr. Harrison of Nenagh, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Monk Mason, who afterwards sold it to Sir William Betham. Then it was purchased by the Rev. Dr. Todd, for Trinity College, in the library of which it is now deposited.”

Sir William Betham, in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, gives a somewhat similar account of it; and reference is also made to it in O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, as well as in the *National MSS. of Ireland*. It is, we think, the last-mentioned glorious work that traces it one or two steps further, by saying that the Mr. Harrison got the MS. from a Father Meagher, of Birr, who, in turn, received it from a priest in Roscrea. While in the hands of Mr. Mason it was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London. He afterwards exhibited it at the Royal Irish Academy, with a Paper, afterwards published in its *Transactions*. The Paper was headed: *A Description of a rich and ancient Box, containing a Latin copy of the Gospels, which was found in a Mountain in the Co. Tipperary.*² So far about the MS. now in Trinity College.

II. St. Cronan, founder of the Abbey of Roscrea, lived in the

¹ See *Antiquarian Researches* (Betham).

² *Idem*.

later part of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, the probable date of his death being A.D. 620. One of the most notable events, mentioned in his Lives, is his asking a famous scribe named Dhimma, or Dimma, to write for him a copy of the Gospels. The scribe could afford but one day for the Saint's work, but St. Cronan, "by divine grace and power," caused the rays of the sun to shine forty days and forty nights, Dimma writing on the while, without feeling the want of rest or food till his work was completed.

"Beatus Pater Cronanus [says the old author of his life] quemdam scriptorem, rogavit ut sibi quatuor scriberet Evangelia; ipse jam scriptor *Dimma* vocabatur, et noluit scribere sancto nisi uno die. Et ait ei Sanctus; scribe sine cessatione, donec sol tibi occubuerit. Hoc scriptor promisit. Et constituit ei sanctus sedem scribendi sed gratia S. Cronani, divinaque virtute, ac potentia radium solis quadraginta diebus, et quadraginta noctibus, indesinenter, in illo loco fecit semper esse; et nec scriptor lassus erat tanto tempore, nec tam continuo labore, taedium habuit nec desiderio cibi, vel potus, sive somni gravatus est. Putabat enim tempus quadraginta dierum, et noctium unum diem esse; et hoc tempore quatuor Evangelia non tam bona, quam veraci littera scripsit, et ipso die sensit noctem et esuriam; perhibentesque ei viri religiosi cum S. Cronano, quia ipse scripserat spatio quadraginta dierum, et noctium, sine obscuritate, gratias Christi potentiae egit, et alii qui ibi erant."¹

Whatever may be thought of this legend—and it is not at all, for our purpose, to be insisted on—the fact itself, to which the old chroniclers, after their custom, append it, is authentic, and indubitable. Many would entirely eschew, as unworthy of attention, the whole body of such legends; but most of us would be disposed to concur in the opinion of one who was of such matters the most competent of critics, in recent times: viz., "that in doing so we would be only depriving ourselves of the intimate knowledge of the social, political, and religious state of society obtained through the medium of this most valuable class of Irish writings."² And if we do not insist on their acceptance, it should be also observed, it is nowise in deference to the views of that modern school of criticism, which leaves no room for the

¹ Vide Betham's *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, Part I., p. 42.

² O'Curry.

supernatural; which is shocked at nothing so much as the appearance of the finger of God in the affairs of men, and whose creed, with some slight alteration, may be expressed

“ A part du Roi défense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.”

III. As before stated, the value of the MS. preserved in Trinity College in no way depends on its identification with the copy of the Gospels written by the scribe just referred to: of their identity, however, we think there can be no doubt, for the following, among other, reasons:—

(a) The *matter* in each case is the same. Dhimma wrote for St. Cronan the four Gospels: and the *Book of Dhimma* that is extant consists of the four Gospels, with the addition of a *Visitatio Infirmorum* which, however, there is reason to believe, may be of later date. In Irish MSS., and books, different styles of writing are often met with.

(b) The *name* coincides. In both cases it is Dhimma, or Dimma. But more than this. The writer of the extant MS. subscribes himself “Dimma *Mac Nathi*.” Now, of the many persons of this name “Dimma,” it would appear it was the Dimma *Mac Nathi* that was St. Cronan’s scribe; for the saint is said to have been a grandson of *Nathi*, and, at the same time, a relative of Dimma, who was son of Nathi-Mac Nathi.

(c) The *place* is the same. There are many persons of the name Dimma; but one of the most remarkable was Dimma, a scribe of *Helin* or *Ely O’Carrol*. The writer, then, of the MS. in question was a native of Ely O’Carrol; in the same place it was written, and in the same place we find it preserved, and traced from hand to hand, until we find it in its present secure abode. This is, I think, the most important link in the evidence of identification, in presence of which there can be no reasonable doubt that the venerable *Book of Dimma*, which is one of the richest treasures of our national collections is the same which was written *circa* 600 A.D. in the Abbey of Roscrea. The only difficulty against this thesis, of which we are aware, arises from an inscription, at the end of the Gospel of St. Luke, in which prayers are asked for *Dimman of Dissidu* who wrote (or for whom was

written) the book. As there is a difference of opinion as to the exact meaning of the words, we will not delay further to consider it. It may be a confusion of two names that were so similar, or that part of the book—the Gospel of St. Luke—was dedicated to the person indicated, *Dimman Dissidu*.

Coming to the contents of the MS. the reader will agree with Sir William Betham, that the most interesting and curious part of it is the Office for the Visitation of the Sick; and we will, therefore, give the exact copy of it, as it is found in his *Researches* :—

“ VISITATIO INFIRMORUM.

“ Oremus fratres, dominum deum nostrum, pro fratre nostro N. quem duri ad praeseus malum langoris adulcerat quem, eum domini pietas, coelistibus dignetur curare, medicinis qui dedit animam det etiam salutem, per dominum nostrum.

“ Deum vivum omnipotentem cui omnia opera restaurare confirmare facillimum est fratres carissimi pro fratre nostro infirmo suppliciter oremus quo creatura manum sentiat creatoris, aut in repuniando aut in recipiendo, in nomine suo pius, per opus suum recreare dignetur per dominum nostrum.

“ Domine Sancte pater universitatis, auctor omnipotens, aeternae deus, cui cuncta vivunt, qui vivificas mortuos, et vocas ea, quae non sunt tamquam ea quae sunt. Tuum solitum opus qui es artifex pie exerce, in hoc plasmate tuo, per dominum.

“ Deum, in cujus manu tam aliori viventis quia vita morientis, fratres dilectissimi deprecemur quod corporis hujus infirmitatem, sanet etiam animae salutem, praestet, quod per meritum non meretur misericordiae gratia consequatur orantibus nobis, per dominum.

“ Deus, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, sed quod convertatur etiam vivat huic ad te, ex corde converso, peccata dimitte, et perennis vitae tribue gratiam per dominum.

“ Deus, qui facturam tuam, pio semper donares affectu, inclina aurem tuam, supplicantibus nobis, tibi, ad famulum tuum N. adversitate valitudinis corporis laborantem placitori respice. Visita eum, in salutare tuo etiam caelestis gratiae ad medicamentum, per dominum.

“ Si, in hac vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Nunc autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis, primitiae dormientium, quoniam quidem per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita et in Christo omnes vivificantur.²

¹ Sic originale, |

² 1 Cor. xv. 19.

“ In illo die accesserunt ad eum Sadducei, qui dicunt non esse resurrectionem et interrogaverunt eum. Respondens autem Jesus, ait illis: erratis nescientes Scripturas, neque virtutem dei. In resurrectiones enim, neque nubent neque nubentur; sed erunt sicut angeli in coelo. De resurrectione autem mortuorum, non legistis quod dictum est, a deo dicente vobis: Ego sum deus Abraam, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, non deus mortuorum, sed viventium. Audientes turbæ, admirabantur, in doctrinam ejus.¹

“ Divino majisterio edocti, etiam divina institutione formati, audemus dicere. Credo in Deum, patrem omnipotentem. Credo etiam in Jesum Christum, filium ejus. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. Credo (in) vitam, post mortem. Credo me resurgere.

“ Ungo te, de oleo sanctificato, in nomine Trinitatis, quod salveris in saecula saeculorum.

“ Concede nobis, famulis tuis quod orantes, cum fiducia, dicere mereamur: Pater noster.

“ *Infirmus canit si potest; si non persona ejus canit sacerdos.*

“ Agnosce, domine verba quae praecepisti, Ignosce presumptione quia imperasti; ignorantia est nobis, non agnoscere meritum, contumaciae, non servare praeceptum quo jubemur dicere: Pater noster:—

“ Libera nos, domine, ab omni malo, et custodi, nos semper, in omni bono.

“ Christe Jesu auctor omnium bonorum, qui regnas in saecula.

“ Pax et caritas domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper, nobiscum.

“ *Hic pax datur ei: etiam dicis*

“ Pax etiam communicatio sanctorum tuorum, Christe Jesu sit semper nobiscum. *Respondit. Amen.*

“ *Das ei Eucharistiam dicens.*

“ Corpus etiam sanguis domini nostri Jesu Christi, filii dei vivi conservat animam tuam, in vitam perpetuam.

“ *Post adsumptum ait.*

“ Agimus deo patri, omnipotenti gratias, quod terrenae nos originis atque naturae sacramenti sui dono in celestem vivificaverit de motatione.

“ *Item oratio.*—Ostende, nobis, Domine miser—

“ Convertte nos deus salutem nostrum, et firmare praesta salutem nostrorum qui regnas in saecula saeculorum.

“ *Ait.*—Calicem salutaris vos invocabo:—

“ *Ac.*—Fortitudo mea vos in salutem:—

“ *Ac.*—Refecti Christi corpore, etiam sanguine tibi semper dicamus.

¹ Matt. xxii., 23, 29, 33.

“*Ac.*—*Laudate dominum omnes gentes vos in fin—*

“*Ac.*—*Sacrificate sacrificium iusti vos, in domino.*

“*Tunc signas : etiam dicis—Pax detur.*

“*Benedicat tibi dominus et custodiat te, conservat vultum tuum ad te quod det tibi pacem.*

“*Respondet.*—*Deus tibi gratias agimus per quem ministeria sancta celebramus, et a te, dona sanctitatis deprecemur, qui regnas in saecula.*”

The reader will not fail to notice, in this most interesting old *Order*, that mention is made of the two sacraments which are still administered to the sick—Extreme Unction and the Viaticum. The order, however, of their reception is reversed, for this was pretty generally the custom, for many ages in the Church. “*Antiquitus*,” says Lehmkuhl, quoting from Ben. XIV., “*Extrema Unctio ante Sacrum Viaticum administrabatur ; nunc vero quum praxis et ordinatio Ritualis contraria sit, sine rationabili causa id non est faciendum.*” The reason for the change, to the order as at present in the Roman Ritual is, theologians tell us, “the importance of receiving the Viaticum while the mind is clear.” Till the publication of the Ritual of Paul V., in 1614, there was, in fact, a great variety in the names as well as in the matter of such books, and each diocese was practically free to adopt its own. According to the circumstances of time or country such books were called Ritual, Manuale, Pastorale Sacerdotale, Agenda Institutio Sacramentale, Baptizandi, and the like. It would also appear that the MS., including Gospels and *Ordo* was meant to be a manual for the priest in the discharge of his duties ; “and in this respect,” observes Sir W. Betham, “it is perhaps the oldest Irish MS.”¹

In conclusion, a few words on the first portion of the MS. There are four pictures, or illustrations, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, before their Gospels, and that of an eagle before that of St. John ; but, though we would not, perhaps, be justified in claiming for either illumination or pictures any high degree of artistic merit, we cannot fail to observe in

¹ In two other Irish Books, at least—those of Moling and Deer—there is also a *Visitatio Infirmorum* ; and in all three cases it is attached to an Evangelisterium, for the convenience, as would appear, of the priest who carried them.

both the peculiar features of the early Irish school in this branch of art, for the design is everywhere as bold and fantastic as the tracery is intricate. It need hardly be noted—for it is too obvious—how fervent was the zeal of the saints of the early Church in Ireland to multiply copies of the Gospels. Of one it is said that he copied no less than three hundred copies, and made as many croziers and as many shrines. In the first, we presume, some modern critics and historians would find an argument for the undying hatred of the Church for the Scriptures; and in the remaining work, a proof, just as convincing, of the indolence and ignorance that reigned supreme within the walls of the monasteries. In the *Manuscript Materials* O'Curry points out some slight but curious differences from the reading in the Vulgate, as also from the *Book of St. Moling* attributed to a later part of the same seventh century. At the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew is the inscription: "Finit. A prayer for Dimma who wrote (this) for God; and a benediction." At the end of St. Mark: "Finit, amen, deo gratias ago," and in Irish, "Pray for Dimma." The inscription after the first Gospel is also in Irish. At the end of Luke: "Finit, amen; deo gratias ago," and some Irish, of which there are various readings. At the end of the last Gospel, is written in Irish characters:

Finit Amen: Omma Mac Nathi.

Then follow two lines of verse in Irish—"the oldest piece of pure Gaedhlic writing, perhaps, in existence," says O'Curry—in which the Scribe hopes to escape "venomous criticism" and to come to a reward for his labours. With those lines he concludes his book. With a translation of them, by the learned writer just mentioned, and with same hopes as the scribe, we will conclude this rather lengthened notice of it:—

"I beseech for me, as the price of my labour
(In the following chapters without mistake),
That I be not venomously criticized,
And the residence of the Heavens."

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

“ROBERT ELSMERE.”

THE fact that Mrs. Humphrey Ward is just now striving to bring *Robert Elsmere* into real life gives a new turn to the interest which Mr. Gladstone's review first created. We see by the newspapers to date that about 55,000 copies of the book have been sold, and that, owing to the great demand, a new cheap edition (half-a-crown) has been issued. This has encouraged the authoress, and, as we read in the *Pall Mall Budget*, a house has been taken in Gordon-square, where a new sort of Toynbee Hall is to be established, with Mrs. Ward as high priestess (as it were) of the new religion. “I don't imagine” (reflects the *Pall Mall* editor, quoting from *Robert Elsmere*), “they will call themselves a Church! Something much humbler will do, if you choose to make anything of those suggestions of mine—‘Association,’ ‘Society,’ ‘Brotherhood,’ what you will.” It is also said that her scheme has been widely taken up—amongst others by Dr. Martineau and Mr. Stopford Brooke.

These facts make us a little curious to know what the book is all about, and what is the new religion preached through its means. Well! about Robert Elsmere himself and his doctrines, if we search the whole book we shall not find anything deeper or more original than the natural consequences of the shaky position in which the inconsistent principles of the Church of England have left her parsons. Any morning they waken they may find themselves thrust on a Church of England congregation believing in the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist; the priestly power of absolving from sins; aye, and it may come to it, in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; and there is no one to say yea or nay, except, perhaps, there will arise out of the recent arraignment and trial of the Bishop of Lincoln, the belief in the infallibility of the Archbishop of Canterbury or a provincial council! A Catholic will, therefore, be a little disappointed in reading *Robert Elsmere* with the hope of finding something new in religion. He will

simply close the book with the natural feeling that, after all, the surprise is not to have one Robert Elsmere, but if parsons were consistently thinking men, why they would not all become Robert Elsmeres of one kind or another, or turn in a different way, and follow the Newman path. When the book was first published a Church of England young lady of a very intellectual turn of mind told me as a very strange thing that their minister had forbidden his congregation from the pulpit to read the book. There is no doubt that there would be every danger of a Protestant being lured on to follow in the hero's footsteps; but a Catholic imbued with the principles of his faith in infallibility will stand firm on the rock, and smile as the broken reeds float by with the current.

From a literary point of view, the style of the book is charming. The descriptions and narratives are, of course, all that can be desired, coming as they do from such a powerful pen. To enter into a critical analysis of Mrs Humphrey Ward's style would be presumptuous for most of us. But it may not be displeasing even to such a writer to hear of individual influences, and it is, of course, only by these that inferior intellects judge, and they mark their likes and dislikes by the personal effects produced. The more powerful the writer, the deeper the depths into which he can draw one, and fascinate them there. It does not require much force to bring us with interest through the shallow excitements of a new novel; but to lure us on, and hold our attention in deep reasoning, is another thing, and requires a genius which few possess. Now, in this latter regard, if we except George Eliot, no one shows greater aptitude than Mrs. Ward in her new book. She first weds us to the personality of her hero, and then down we must go in our interested reading into the many sombre intricacies whither serious reading leads him; and, in watching the struggles of a somewhat noble character, we forget that we are in the mazes of a controversy. This is the principal reason why a Protestant minister might warn his congregation against reading *Robert Elsmere*. The Protestant will be brought on into these depths of thought and sophistic reason without any plank to which he might

cling in danger, and I cannot imagine but that this reading will lead him, whither he would not, in one way or another.

The plot, as may be easily guessed from the foregoing remarks, centres in the religious struggles of Robert Elsmere and their final development ; or, perhaps, I should rather say, their narrowing.

Robert is the son of a rural rector, and on the death of his father the living is promised him in the event of his entering the Church. Robert in time goes to Oxford. The Tractarian movement is over there, and a reaction has taken place. He makes friends with two remarkable men, very heterodox in their opinions. Yet this friendship does not seem to have influenced his religious feeling in Oxford much, for we find him taking Orders, and becoming a very hard-working, and for a time, most orthodox country rector. The circumstances of his parish lead him to a quarrel with the squire and his agent ; and, strange, it is his after-friendship with the former which begins his religious doubts. Robert's wife is a noble lady who had before acted as guardian to her mother and sisters and the whole neighbourhood in which she lived. She was, as they said, a kind of St. Elizabeth, and in her new position of rector's wife she continued her saintly ministrations amongst the poor and the sick. Her strict Church notions, together with his fondness for her, were always a stumbling-block to Robert in his religious meanderings.

In the parish are portrayed, faithfully, the relations of Irish tenants and landlords as a body, introduced into English life, and it was because of Robert's siding with the poor that the squire began to regard him as an enemy. In aftertimes diphtheria broke out amongst the tenants, and the squire, being prevailed on to visit them, recognised the wrong he had done Robert, and strove to repair it by kindness both to him and the poor tenants. Hence arose a friendship from which sprung unbelief. The squire was a kind of free-thinker, a man who had written some large volumes in defence of his freethinking and in ridicule of orthodoxy. By companionship with him, and by the many studies they

made together, Robert slipped away gently from simple belief, and soon found himself believing nothing, or next to nothing. The past memories of his Oxford friends came back to him with the impress of their opinions, and in the end he found no other honest course open than to relinquish the living. He went to London with hazy notions of a new religion founded on a belief in God, in Christ as man, and evidence. In time he brought his notions into effect, establishing "The Brotherhood of Christ" in an out-of-the-way part of London, where, amongst poor workmen, he found his first disciples. He had a house where lay-preaching and social controversy was carried on, and in time rooms for women and girls were attached to it, a club for boys, a natural history museum, &c. He brought the newfangled Association thus far, and died whilst it was in its infancy.

So much for the general plot. The other characters, of course, are well-drawn; but Elsmere and his wife monopolize our attention. Although we thank Mrs. Humphrey Ward for her realization of scenes from Irish tenant-life, we cannot but protest, and Irishmen cannot too often protest, against English writers always connecting some strange peculiarities with any Irish characters they originate in their writings. Only one instance for an example. I think connecting strange flashy dresses with a lady because she is Irish, is entirely out of place. For modesty and neatness of taste in style, Irish womanhood can compare favourably with even their London sisters. Those little flashes of English anti-Irish prejudice do not fall sufficiently under the lash of Irish critics, and it is to be regretted that sometimes the Irish critic himself is too ready to join in laughter at the expense of his nation's ridicule.

Now, a little concerning the embryo religion, its doctrines, and its disciples. The unfortunate squire with whom Robert cultivated friendship had discarded every kind of religious belief, except in evidence, and, at the same time, he discredited every great miracle—of which the men of the time give evidence enough—by explaining the prejudices of the

people, which lead them to believe miracles where there were none. He was a profound historian ; but where any historical fact was against him, he leaned on the prejudices of the men of the time, and read out his own doctrines in the light of those prejudices. I do not propose to enter here into theological arguments, but simply to touch on the points of interest in Elsmesianism. In fact, to my mind, it would be loss of time for a Catholic to strive refuting the doctrines of those who recognise no higher authority than their own self-will ; and a very shallow and contemptible thing is a self-willed man.

Robert Elsmere was not a Catholic, and naturally fell into the ways of thinking of the self-constituted teacher, the quondam bad landlord, and comfortable-living squire. The end was unbelief, or belief only in the existence of God. Christ lived in history as a mere man, and His teachings were to be valued as such ; but, as the evidence of Resurrection and Incarnation were read away in the prejudice of the times, Christ could not be recognised as God. There is not enough of logical sequence to make things clear in the new developments of Robert's religion. It is not laid down any place in the book why God was to be believed in at all, when other truths were discarded ; why the want of evidence only stopped at the existence of God, or why it was that Christ and His teaching were to continue the basis of the new religion, rather than Isaias and his teaching if Christ was not God. And why the system should be put forward as a new thing entirely, is stranger still. There is too much simple Theism in the world, and, alas ! too many associations living on that bond ; and Elsmesianism is nothing else when you narrow it down. It may be called a modified Christianity ; so might the play be called "*Hamlet*" when you would change his character, and make another principal, putting *Hamlet* in the background. Or, again, shall we call it a modified Positivism, regarding good as we see it in humanity, and Christ as the highest example of that good ? The two watchwords of the new religion of evidence were to be Trust and Memory—"trust in the God of experience and history ; memory of that God's work in man, by which

we alone know Him.” We shall give the whole quotation as it stands to enunciate the principles :—

“ However, I don't imagine we should call ourselves a Church! Something much humbler will do, if you choose ever to make anything of those suggestions of mine. ‘ Association,’ ‘ Society,’ ‘ Brotherhood ’—what you will! But always, if I can persuade you, with something in the name, and everything in the body itself, to show that for the members of it life rests still, as all life worth having has everywhere rested, on trust and memory!—trust in the God of experience and history; memory of that God's work in man, by which alone we know Him and can approach Him. Well, of that work I have tried to prove it to you a thousand times—Jesus of Nazareth has become to us by the evolution of circumstances, the most moving, the most efficacious of all types and epitomes. We have made our protest—we are daily making it—in the face of society, against the fictions and overgrowths which at the present time are excluding him more and more from human love. But, now, suppose we turn our backs on negation, and have done with mere denial! Suppose, we throw all our energies into the practical building of a new house of faith, the gathering and organizing of a new Company of Jesus! ”

The adherents of this new religion are represented in the persons principally of poor working-men and their families. This fact points to a marked feature in the Church of England, and a feature from which is developed a great social question. Anyone who has spent a short time in London or other English cities will soon find out, if he is observant, that a show of poverty has no place in Established Churches. Let him watch the congregations as they file out on Sunday evenings, and he will not see many signs of rags or misery. From this fact, that they are more or less ostracised, has the Church of England become unpopular with the poor, and this great unpopularity is gradually becoming its ruin. Because Christ's Kingdom is in the hearts of the poor, their exclusion from the churches will be a more certain cause of ruin than all the divisions which Dr. Ryle, Protestant Bishop of Liverpool, so lately prophesied would deprive Protestantism of its candle of glory. The English poor are blessed with susceptibilities as pure as their richer brethren. They feel that they have no place as a body in the Established Churches. And what is the result? They make conventicles of their

own. They have their socialist meetings to upbraid the rich. What English city is without these meetings? Take on the other hand, the case of Ireland, where silk and rags, poverty and power, find place together in their Catholic Churches; where, on any Sunday, at any Catholic Church door, you may see the motley crowds, as they issue, poor and rich; the judge and the journeyman, the mistress and the servant. And where amongst the Irish people in Ireland will you find socialistic conventicles? The Irish poor have places in their own churches, built by their own hands, and they are not driven to find a refuge to express distorted religious feelings. Now this is one of the reasons why Elsmesianism, or any other *ism*, which will give shelter to the religious desires of the poor, will find adherents amongst them. Seek no other cause for the success of the Salvation Army.

There is also, of course, the encouragement of social intercourse developed in Mrs. Ward's book; and alas! strange to say, it has been this over-study of man and his wants which has led many astray. In the study of man, and the desire to alleviate his sufferings, there is a tendency in intense natures to put the whole strength of charity into the object of it, forgetting to whom charity must be referred, that it may be virtue and godly at all. We may get morose and strict in our duty to our fellow-man, and think that unless our actions tend for the benefit of our brother they are valueless, forgetting that supreme command, above every other command, to love God above all things. There is a strange tendency in our nature, too, that social intercourse without religion drifts into limiting God's authority. Man becomes jealous of his power for even good with his fellow-man, and begins to minimise God's influence for good in the thought of his own. Hence you will mostly always find conventicles of social intercourse are in the way of unbelief, questioning all authority to interfere in their social relations.

We can give a sigh of pity for those poor deluded workmen, the victims of Elsmere, without true shepherds to lead them into that true religion which is built in the

hearts of the poor. Poor deluded souls, unconscious of aught outside themselves, and depending for their new schemes on the plottings of weak human minds, forgetting the Infinity whose children they are, and in obeying whom is the only true nobility.

At the last moment the circular of the new religion has been published. A short extract will be sufficient to show the objects and religious views:—

“It has been determined to establish a Hall for residents in London, somewhat on the lines of Toynbee Hall, with following objects in view:—1. To provide a fresh rallying-point and enlarged means of common religious action for all those to whom Christianity, whether by inheritance, or process of thought, has become a system of practical conduct, based on faith in God and on the inspiring memory of a great Teacher rather than a system of dogma based on a unique revelation. Such persons especially, who, while holding this point of view, have not yet been gathered into any existing religious organization, are often greatly in want of those helps towards religious life, whether in thought or action, which are so readily afforded by the orthodox bodies to their own members. The first aim of the new Hall will be a religious aim.”

Then the circular proceeds to a description of the work for the Hall and its members, and its interior management. Continuous teachings on the Old and New Testament criticism: history of Christianity and of non-Christian religions. Sunday teaching in all parts of London will be encouraged. Mrs. Humphrey Ward thinks orthodoxy undermined by the new social upheavals, and that a more popular form of religious teaching is required. This she will try to supply, and train the children in its ways. Professional men are invited to take up their residence in the Hall, to aid in carrying on the work by evening and Sunday lectures:—

“The new Society will aim rather at representing a school of thought than any particular religious body of the present day . . .

“In conclusion, we appeal for help, in carrying out such a scheme, to all those who have at heart the adaptation of the faith of the past to the needs of the present—who desire to live their lives in the faith and fear of God, and in the memory of His

noblest servants on earth—while holding with a firm conviction that God is manifest, not in miracle or special revelation, but in law and in the ever-widening experience of the conscience ; not in the arbitrary selection of individuals or nations, as special channels of grace, but in the free communication of Himself, through the life of reason and the Spirit, and under lower or higher forms of faith, to all His creatures. But every religious conviction requires a corresponding form of action, or it is apt to become starved and withered. Men want the help of their fellow-men, they need to feel themselves members one of another, heirs of a common hope and faith. It is in the desire of doing something to meet this need among those especially who are still wandering and drifting without the direction or help which comes from associated life, that the scheme above described has been suggested.”

As we may see, the thing is something cloudy in its present form, and hard to be consistently and clearly explained. It is curious that she should build so much on faith in a religion whose vital principle seems the evidence of the senses; and a belief in and love of Christ, without regarding much His true teachings, will be a very hollow thing. When we examine, we can scarcely find anything newer in the new religion than rationalistic Christianity—and that is not very new, as any student of old theological objections knows. This can scarcely come as a popular settlement of the difficulties and want of religion arising out of the social problems of the day.

M. HOGAN, C.C.

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.

IV.—YPRES.¹

YPRES, or Yperen, a town of West Flanders, on the river Yperlée, at the time of its greatest prosperity had a population of about 200,000; now-a-days it contains but some 15,000 inhabitants, who are mainly engaged in the manufacture of linen and lace.² Formerly cloth-weaving was the chief industry of Ypres, and a noble memorial of this exists in the cloth-hall, standing in the market-place; a building four hundred and sixty feet long, which took more than a hundred years to build. The *façade* is ornamented with a number of statues, and chief among them is one of our Lady, of whom the Yprois have for centuries been the faithful clients. The present statue, which was only erected in 1850, is a representation of our Lady of the *Tuine*, or Palissade, the patron and protectress of Ypres. To trace the origin of the Yprois devotion to this Madonna, we must go back five centuries.

On June 9th, 1383, the watchers in the belfry of Ypres saw in the distance a hostile force approaching the town; and the sound of the great bell warned all able-bodied men to gather together in the market-place. The invading army turned out to be that of the insurgent Ghenters, who had risen under Philip van Artevelde against Louis of Male, Count of Flanders. With them was a body of their English allies. Though the attack had long been foreseen, and precautionary measures taken, it was a very anxious time for the men of Ypres, who were vastly inferior in numbers to their foes; for at that time the town only contained about 80,000 all told, men, women, and children, whilst the besiegers numbered some 75,000 men-at-arms. For eight weeks the siege lasted, and so closely were the lines drawn

¹ See *Notre Dame de Tuine*, Patronne et Protectrice de la ville d'Ypres, par le R. P. Henri Marie Iweins, des frères-prêcheurs, Louvain, 1883; from which this account of our Lady of the *Tuine* has been taken. F. Iweins, who belongs to a distinguished Yprois family, is now Prior of the Dominican Convent at Ostend, and was formerly Prior of Louvain.

² *Diaper* (d'Ypres) takes its name from this town.

that, according to Meyer, an old chronicler, a dog could not have got through them unperceived. Cannon were used, and according to some historians red-hot bullets were poured into the town. An attempt was made to break down the ramparts with rams; but the besieged made a successful sortie and captured them. A final and very fierce assault was made on August 8th; it lasted the whole day, and, as many others had done, proved a failure. The siege was raised the same day, and once more the men-at-arms assembled in the market-place; this time to receive the ovations of their fellow-citizens. Then all trooped off to the different churches to thank God and our Lady.

Whilst the brave defenders of the town had been at their posts on the walls, the wounded, the lame, the blind—in short all who could not bear arms—had prayed incessantly, day and night, in the Franciscan church. By choice they would have gone to the chapel which contained their favourite statue of our Lady of Brielen, but this was without the walls, and had fallen into the hands of the enemy. So, instead, they passed their time before our Lady's statue in the friars' church. It was felt by all that these prayers had secured the safety of the town, and the magistrates formally attributed the victory to our Lady, who from this time forth was venerated in Ypres as our Lady of the Tuine, in reference to the palissades which formed the main defence of the town.

Those who had spent their time to such good purpose in the Franciscan church formed themselves into a guild, which was regularly instituted, and possessed a house by 1385. The brothers and sisters who belonged to it were charged with the maintenance of the chapel of our Lady of the Tuine, and were required to assist at certain offices, especially on Saturdays. The guild came to an end during the Gueux troubles; but a new one was founded, and its statutes approved by Urban VIII. in 1627. A few years later Innocent X. established a new guild or confraternity, *Confraternitas maniciporum B. M. V. de Thuynis*. This, having survived the French Revolution, still exists in St. Martin's, and its principal feasts are the Immaculate Conception, St. Joachim, St. Anne, and the Monday within the Octave of our Lady of

the Tuine, which falls on the first Sunday in August. The clergy of Ypres have a proper Mass and office for this feast.

One of the first works of the new guild was to make a statue of our Lady, with a palissade round the lower part, for which the municipality gave a jewelled crown. This was placed in a chapel, in the south aisle of the Franciscan church, which had to be twice enlarged to satisfy the devotion of the people; and at last the whole south aisle, with the exception of a small chapel dedicated to St. Anne, was given up to it, and magnificently decorated. Ypres fell into the hands of the Protestant Gueux, who, of course, made havoc of everything holy: amongst other sacrileges the chapel of our Lady was destroyed. When Spain recovered possession, Ypres contained but 5,000 inhabitants, but the town at once undertook the restoration of the Franciscan church. The people vied one with another to decorate the chapel of our Lady of the Tuine; candlesticks, lamps, and vases of solid silver, and ornaments of gold set with precious stones poured in, to say nothing of many *ex voto's*. When the French Revolution broke out the convent and church were destroyed, and these treasures seized. The statue of our Lady, which there is good reason for believing to be the original, fortunately escaped, and was hidden in the house of a pious lady named Mary Casteleyn. When the fury of the revolution had abated it was brought from its hiding-place, and placed in the church of St. Martin, where it still remains. The whole population turned out to do honour to their beloved statue, which they had believed irrevocably lost.

In gratitude for the deliverance of the town in 1383 the magistrates of Ypres decreed that a procession should be made annually on August 8th. The first took place in the following year, and, excepting for two or three short periods during which the procession was prevented by insurmountable difficulties, each succeeding year has witnessed this homage to our Lady of the Tuine; though eventually the day was changed to the first Sunday in August. First of all went, in former times, the *Ommegang* or procession of the fifty trade guilds, each of which was obliged to appear with its

officials and its banner. Then came the historical procession, representing various events in the history of the town and the statue; and after this the religious part of the procession. In this last part pilgrims and barefooted penitents, of either sex, came first, and then a number of young girls who preceded the statue, which was carried by members of the guild of our Lady of Tuine till the year 1609, when their place was taken by four Recollects in cotta. After the statue came the remaining members of the guild, an assembly of lame men on crutches, blind men led by dogs, and other unfortunates, in company with the hale and hearty. The members were drawn from all classes, rich and poor, noble and plebeian. These were followed by the confraternities with banners, relics, and statues; the torches of the different parishes; and the clergy, secular and regular. Then came the Provost of St. Martin's,¹ or, in later times, the Bishop of Ypres, bearing the Blessed Sacrament, which was followed by the corporation; after which came first the men, and then the women of the commune.

In addition to the procession, various secular festivities lent a charm to *Tuindag*, and prizes were offered by the town for racing, shooting, and other sports. Thousands of visitors came into Ypres, and the most illustrious among them was generally asked to open the sports by shooting the "arrow of honour." On one occasion this was done by the Archduchess Isabel. But the chief prize, and the one most eagerly sought after, was that given, not for sports, but for the best panegyric of our Lady. This prize consisted of two gold rings.

In addition to those drawn by the procession and sports, many other visitors were attracted by the *Tuindag* fair; and so great was the influx of strangers that the guards were doubled, the watchers against fire on the belfry were doubled, and the members of the fire brigade were required to be at their posts; and, among other enactments made,

¹ S. Martin's was originally a collegiate church served by Austin Canons. It became the cathedral when Ypres was raised to the dignity of an episcopal see; and still is generally called "the cathedral."

was a very curious one to the effect that every baker who should be unable to supply all the bread asked for, should spend four-and-twenty hours in prison !

But the most remarkable processions took place on the various centenaries of the siege. In 1483 the visitors were so numerous that accommodation could not be found for them in the town, and tents had to be erected outside the walls, in such numbers that it looked as if Ypres were once more being besieged ; but, in spite of this, thousands had to sleep in the streets, or other public places. No procession could be held in 1583, as the Gueux were in the town ; but 1683 witnessed a very notable one. The *Ommegang* included various groups representative of Scriptural and mythological subjects : the tower of David, Goliath, two camels with negro attendants, hell surrounded by devils vomiting flames, Neptune, and, finally, a ship guided by the Star of the Sea. The second part of the procession, composed of boys from the Jesuit school, was just as incongruous ; our Lady was twice represented ; but Mercury, Vulcan, Bacchus, Ceres, Flora, and Pomona figured in the procession—the last three sitting in the same chariot as our Lady, whose guards were composed of Moors, Turks, and other enemies of the Christian faith. This remarkable mixture of paganism and Christianity was succeeded by the third part, which, as in ordinary years, was entirely religious.

After this the jubilee was fixed for every half-century. The processions of 1733 and 1783 were much the same as the one just described ; but in both years the clergy protested against the introduction of hell into a procession which ended with the Blessed Sacrament. The people, however, were so devoted to hell, which an old writer called “the idol of the Yprois,” that in 1733 the clergy were forced to give way. Fifty years later, after an alarming dispute, it was arranged that there should be two processions ; a religious one in the morning ; and, in the afternoon, the *Ommegang*, with the giants, camels, and hell. The procession of 1833 was religious only.

In 1883 it was divided into two parts ; the first historical, and the second religious. On this occasion, everything was

done with great magnificence.¹ At 6 p.m., on Saturday, August 2nd, according to the ancient custom, twelve trumpeters announced the coming feast from the tower of St. Martin's. All the bells of Ypres then pealed forth, whilst a band played the air of "Our Lady of the Tuine" in the market-place. Thousands of strangers came to the town for the *Tuindag* festivities, which began at 9 a.m. on Sunday, by Mgr. Faict, the venerable Bishop of Bruges (who has recently received the pallium), singing the proper Mass of our Lady of the Tuine, in St. Martin's. The procession began at 11 o'clock; the historical portion going first. This was a reproduction of the procession of 1384, and was rendered a great success by the efforts of a learned son of Ypres, who even succeeded in finding out the names and arms of the chief defenders of the town. First of all came a detachment of gendarmes, who were followed by six trumpeters, preceding a knight on horseback, carrying the Ypres flag. The "trades" in existence at the time of the siege came next, and were closely followed by the four great guilds in military uniform, with their respective banners. The members of the Guild of St. Michael carried swords; those belonging to that of St. Sebastian, bows; those under the banner of St. George, crossbows; and the devotees of St. Barbe, culverins. After the guilds came all the captains of the city guards, whose names were known, sixteen in number; the clergy, the town council, musicians in fourteenth-century dress, and the chariot of our Lady of the Tuine. This was followed by the religious part of the procession. The Confraternity of Mercy formed a kind of connecting-link; as it was composed of three groups, representing St. Martin as a soldier, a monk, and a bishop. The confraternity was followed by the relics of St. Martin and St. Donatian; the latter being the titular of the old cathedral of Bruges, which was destroyed at the Revolution, and the co-titular of the present cathedral. Then came the statue of our Lady of Alsemberg, belonging to the Church of

¹ See *Cinquième centenaire de N. D. de Tuine*, par le R. P. Henri Marie Iweins. Louvain, 1883.

St. Nicholas; and after this a fine group, in which the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary were represented; whilst St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Catherine of Lima, and St. Rose of Lima formed an escort for the Queen of the Holy Rosary. Immediately before the statue of our Lady of the Tuine, a page bore the keys of Ypres on a cushion; and the statue itself was escorted by girls belonging to the chief families of the town, in fourteenth-century dress. After the statue was a group representing the Cultus of the Sacred Heart; and then the Blessed Sacrament, borne in turns by the Bishops of Bruges and Tournay. This procession wended its way through the streets of Ypres, halting once at an altar of repose erected in one of the squares. Benediction was given there; and the elevation was announced by trumpeters in the tower of St. Martin's, and by the bells of the various churches. The festivities were kept up during the octave; and on the Thursday the procession took place again. It has been estimated that on that occasion there were over 60,000 strangers in Ypres. On the octave day, the "octave of devotion" began, and there were sermons in St. Martin's daily, both in Flemish and in French; the former being preached by Fr. Hypolite, a Recollect; and the latter by the Dominican Fr. Henry Iweins. And the Holy Father granted a plenary indulgence to all who should visit the statue during the octave of devotion, after approaching the sacraments. The account of this festival is sufficient evidence that the Yprois have not ceased to be grateful for the benefit they received five centuries ago.

There are two other statues in the town which are objects of great devotion. One of these has already been mentioned, the statue of our Lady of Alsemberg, which at Ypres is known as our *Lady of Help*. The other which bears the name of our *Lady of the Ramparts*, was found about the year 1625, attached to the wall of the Jesuit school. A devotion sprang up, and with some difficulty, the people obtained permission to build a chapel for it. The reign of terror did not stop the pilgrimage to our Lady of the Ramparts, whose statue escaped the fury of the revolutionists. In 1805 it was placed in the Church of St. Nicholas, but in

1847 was, with great pomp, restored to its own chapel. Every year, on the eve of the Visitation, this statue is carried in procession to St. Nicholas's, where it remains during the Octave.

The country round about Ypres is very rich in shrines. At *Messines* there is a statue which has been venerated since the beginning of the eleventh century, and with its history are associated a number of miracles which were authenticated by a former Bishop of Tournay. *Westroosebeke* possesses a statue of our Lady of Dolours, which was already regarded as ancient at the end of the fourteenth century; whilst the devotions to our Lady of St. John at *Poperinghe* dates from the end of the fifteenth, when it began with one of those cases so common in the annals of the Belgian shrines, of the coming-to-life of a still-born child. More celebrated than any of these is the pilgrimage, to our Lady of *Dadizeele*, one of the places which were visited in the old "pilgrimage to the three Maries," the other two being Lincelles, near Lille, and Hollebeke. The church at Dadizeele was built about the year 1120, in a spot which, according to a venerable tradition was marked out by our Lady herself; it is the object of many pious pilgrimages especially during the octave of the Nativity B. V. M. Among the pilgrims of former days were to be found royal personages seeking Mary's help against their foes, or thanking her for victories gained over them.

It would be difficult to conclude an article on Ypres without making some reference to the Irish Benedictine Abbey which exists within its walls. It is hardly necessary to make an apology for doing so; but should one be necessary the name of the convent, *Our Lady of Grace*, must be pleaded as a sufficient excuse for linking its history to an article on the Shrines of our Lady.¹

This convent, which, with the exception of the priory of Dominicanesses at Belem, near Lisbon, was the only house for Irish nuns established on the continent, was founded, with the consent of King Philip IV. and the local authorities, in

¹ The writer is indebted to the Rev. F. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., for the following notes on the history of the Irish Abbey.

May, 1665, by Monsignor Martin de Praets, Bishop of Ypres. The first nuns were Dames Mary Beaumont, Flavia Carey, Helen Wayte, and Vincentia Aire, who came from the English Benedictine Abbey at Ghent, an abbey with which Monsignor de Praets must have been well acquainted, as before his elevation to the episcopate he had been a canon of Ghent. Four years later Lady Beaumont was blessed as first abbess, and, on the proposal of Lady Knatchbull, Abbess of Ghent, it was decided to hand over Ypres for the Irish nuns professed in various English abbeys. The first nun professed at Ypres, D. Josepha Carew, was Irish. On the death of Abbess Beaumont, Lady Mary Caryll, Abbess of Dunkirk, took four of her nuns, two of them being Irish, to Ypres; these nuns settled there, and in 1682 Dame Flavia Carey was appointed Abbess. Various Irish nuns were sent from other convents, *e.g.* D. Ursula Butler, from Ghent; D. Josepha O'Bryan, from Dunkirk; and D. M. Joseph Butler, from Pontoise. The Irish foundation was thus fairly started. Abbess Carey died in 1686, and was succeeded by D. Mary Joseph Butler. King James II. wished the nuns to remove to Dublin. The Earl of Tyrconnell arranged all the secular business, and the Archbishop of Dublin the ecclesiastical. By the king's orders the Lord Lieutenant took a house for them in Great Ship-street, and James himself visited it to see that all was right. The abbess and some of her nuns, both choir and lay, set out for Dublin, and *en route* visited London, where they were received by the Queen. They reached the Irish capital on the eve of All Saints, and were presented to the King by the Earl and Countess of Tyrconnell. On June 5th, 1689, they were established by Letters Patent "His Majesty's First, Chief, and Royal Abbey of the three Kingdoms," with leave to settle in any part of Ireland. They began to flourish, and had eighteen postulants when the disastrous battle of the Boyne upset everything; and though urged to stay and promised protection for herself and her nuns by the Duke of Ormond, her relative, and King William himself, the abbess returned with her community to the continent. The nuns from Pontoise and other places went back to their convents, and Abbess Butler was left at Ypres,

with four lay sisters and no one else, in great poverty. Regular observance was resumed in 1700, when several postulants were received. She died in 1723. Her successor was D. Xaveria Arthur, a very holy soul who had a great devotion to the Five Wounds, which Feast she caused to be celebrated in her abbey. Dame Xaveria was succeeded in 1743 by Dame M. Magdalen Mandeville, great niece of Abbess Butler. Dame M. Magdalen succeeded in recovering the church plate, &c., belonging to their house, which had been hidden in Dublin, to which place she went for the purpose. She died in 1760, and was succeeded by Dame M. Bernard Dalton, who established the famous Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which still flourishes in the abbey church and attracts many pious persons. The next abbess was Dame M. Scholastica Lynch, who succeeded in 1783. With her community she had to bear the terrors of the French invasion. The Abbey of our Lady of Grace was the only convent not broken up during the revolution, though the nuns were once under orders to quit. They were, too, actually in great danger as their monastery was close to the ramparts, and suffered from the shells thrown into the town during the siege. By the help of the Irish officers in command of the French forces at Tournay, they were relieved of the soldiers who had been billeted upon them. They had to endure fresh troubles, and a second siege, but they escaped unharmed. The abbess died in 1799, and was succeeded by her sister Dame M. Bernard Lynch. During her reign, the government, decreed the sale of their house and their expulsion. They had packed up and were ready to go on November 13, the Feast of All Benedictine Saints, but a heavy rain delayed their exodus. News came of a change of government; the nuns were left alone, and allowed to buy back their own house. They went on quietly, but in extreme poverty, and the failure of Wright's Bank, somewhere in the "forties," still further crippled their resources; in fact, it almost ruined them. Bishops Malou of Bruges, and Morris, O.S.B., the latter of whom had three sisters professed in the abbey, helped them to rebuild their convent. The present abbey is a fine Flemish Gothic building, red brick with

limestone dressings, with the square cloisters which are so prominent a feature of real monastic architecture. The refectory tables are of Irish oak, and were brought over by the Lady Abbess Butler. The nuns have some beautiful old things, among which must be mentioned the tattered fragments of colours won by the Irish Brigade at Ramillies; and some lace, the handiwork of Mary Queen of Scots, which was given to the nuns by James II. Of late years, with more prosperous times, the community, which has always numbered some Irish nuns in its ranks, has begun to flourish again, and several professions have lately taken place. The Abbey of our Lady of Grace, is so out of the world, that but very few people know of its existence, else there can be no doubt that Ireland would give substantial assistance to its only Benedictine Convent!

E. W. BECK.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

CHAPTER IV.—THE ABSOLUTION.

SECTION I.—WHEN THE CORPSE IS PRESENT.

The absolution at the bier is an essential part of the solemn burial service, and must, therefore, follow the solemn Requiem Mass celebrated when the corpse is present in the church.¹ But after solemn Requiem Masses, celebrated when no corpse is present, the absolution at the *catafalque* may be omitted,² though custom is decidedly in favour of retaining it in this case also. The celebrant himself should give the

¹ *Ritual*, De Conny, l. 2, ch. 3, *De l'Absoute*.

² *Finita missa si facienda est absolutio*, etc. *Rubr. Miss.*, Pt. ii., Tit. xiii., n. 4: "Non ex obligatione sed ad arbitrium facienda est absolutio in anniversariis mortuorum." S. R. C., July 31, 1665, *ad 7*.

absolution. A simple priest is never permitted to perform this ceremony, unless in connexion with a Requiem Mass of which he is the celebrant.¹ A bishop, however, whether in his own, or in another's diocese,² may take the place of the celebrant in discharging this function.

The celebrant, having read the last Gospel, goes to the centre of the altar, accompanied by the deacon on his right, and the sub-deacon on his left. All then make the proper reverence to the altar, and proceed to the bench by the steps on the Epistle side. At the bench the celebrant lays aside the chasuble and maniple, and puts on a black cope. The deacon and sub-deacon put off their maniples.³ The clergy in choir in the meantime light their candles; as soon as the celebrant has put on his cope they rise, and remain standing, holding their candles lighted during the entire ceremony.

The sub-deacon then takes the processional cross, and preceded by the thurifer, carrying the thurible and incense boat, an acolyte with the holy water and aspersory, and two other acolytes bearing lighted candles, he goes to the centre of the altar, where he awaits the celebrant and deacon. In front of the altar all arrange themselves in three lines, as follows:—

ALTAR STEP.		
M. C.	C.	D.
3 A	S.D.	2 A.
	TH.	1 A.

All, with the exception of the cross-bearer and the acolytes with the candles, genuflect,⁴ and proceed to the bier.

¹ "Post missam in die obitus alius sacerdos a celebrante diversus accedere non potest ad absolutionem peragendam; hoc jure gaudent tantum Episcopi. S. R. C., August 12, 1854, n. 5208.

² De Herdt, *loc. cit.*, n. 249. S. R. C., September 4, 1875, n. 5625. September 25, 1875, n. 5637, 7.

³ If there is not a cope for the celebrant, he performs this ceremony in alb and stole, in which case the deacon and sub-deacon must put off the dalmatic and tunic.

⁴ If the Blessed Sacrament is not in the tabernacle, the celebrant does not genuflect at this time, nor at any time throughout the whole function, unless, of course, between the consecration and communion in the Mass.

The thurifer, having on his left the acolyte with the holy water, is in front. Next comes the sub-deacon with the cross, between the two acolytes with the candles, then the master of ceremonies, and finally the celebrant, with the deacon on his left.¹

The thurifer and first acolyte go round the bier by the Gospel side of the church, pass by the head of the corpse, and return towards the altar by the Epistle side of the church. Arrived at the feet of the corpse, they stand towards the Epistle side, a little behind the celebrant and deacon. The sub-deacon, with the two acolytes, follow the first two by the Gospel side till they come to the head of the corpse. Here they halt and stand facing the altar, the sub-deacon holding the cross so that the figure shall be towards the altar. The celebrant, the deacon, and the master of ceremonies remain at the feet of the corpse towards the Epistle side, so that they may not turn their backs on the altar.

If the corpse be of a priest, then, since the head is next the altar, the place of the sub-deacon with the cross will be between the altar and the bier, while the celebrant's place will be at the feet, facing the altar. In taking up their positions the ministers will observe the following directions: The sub-deacon, preceded by the clerks with the thurible and holy water, and accompanied by the other two, proceeds as before, by the Gospel side, but instead of stopping opposite the altar, all pass on by the Epistle side, and return to the head of the corpse between the altar and the bier. The thurifer and his companion with the holy water do not halt with the others, but go again by the Gospel side to their

¹ Usually the clergy who are present at the Requiem Mass are directed to take part in the procession to the bier, and to stand round the bier during the whole ceremony of giving the absolution. But many writers (for example, De Herdt, *loc. cit.*, n. 251; Bauldry, p. 3, c. 14, n. 3; Merati, p. 2, tit. 13, n. 22, etc.) are of opinion that when the absolution is given "in choro, vel juxta seu ante chorum," to quote De Herdt's words, the clergy need not leave their places. Since with us the absolution is always given "in choro vel juxta seu ante chorum," it is unnecessary to lay down rules which cannot regard us.

place behind the celebrant and deacon. The celebrant¹ with the deacon and master of ceremonies follow the others till they arrive at the feet of the corpse, when they turn towards the altar. In this case the celebrant stands directly behind the bier, and in a line with it, and not, as in the preceeding case, a little to one side.

When all have taken their places the celebrant reads or chants in the ferial tone the prayer *Non intres*, keeping his hands joined, and reading from the book held by the deacon. In this prayer the words *cum servo tuo*, being taken from Sacred Scripture,² are never changed, but are always said in the singular number and masculine gender.³

When the celebrant has recited this prayer the chanters intone the responsory *Libera me Domine*, which is then taken up by the choir. The versicle *Requiem aeternam* is sung by the chanters alone,⁴ the choir singing the response *Et lux perpetua*. During the repetition of the *Libera me Domine*⁵ the deacon and the thurifer, having genuflected to the altar,⁶ pass behind the celebrant to his right. The deacon presents the spoon to the celebrant, but does not kiss either it or the celebrant's hand. He, however, says *Benedicite Pater Reverende* when presenting the incense. The celebrant, having put incense into the censer, blesses it as usual, saying *Ab illo benedicaris, etc.*

When the responsory has been sung the chanters sing *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*, and the celebrant at the end of the last *Kyrie* intones the *Pater Noster*, which

¹ The celebrant and deacon are directed to put on their birettas before leaving the bench, to remove them when saluting the altar, resume them again until they reach their place at the feet of the corpse. This, however, supposes that the clergy take part in the procession to the bier, and as that case is not here contemplated, the celebrant and deacon should be directed to remain uncovered all the time.

² Psalm cxlii. 2.

³ "In depositione defunctorum in verbis illis; non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo Domine, quia nullus apud te justificabitur homo, quando est mulier aut plures sunt defuncti, non possunt verba, *servo tuo*, permutari in *serva tua*, vel *servis tuis*." S. R. C., August 31, 1697, n. 3292. January 21, 1741, n. 3956.

⁴ De Carpo, Pars. 2., cap. 19., n. 261. Martinucci, l. 4. c. 9, n. 17.

⁵ *Ritual*.

⁶ De Herdt., loc cit., n. 252. Falise, P. 1, ch. 4, sect. 5, n. 6.

he continues in a low voice. In the meantime, the thurifer having retired, the acolyte with the holy water comes to the deacon's right, having genuflected when passing the altar. The deacon takes the aspersory, and presents it to the celebrant without kissing it. The celebrant having received the aspersory, makes the proper reverence to the altar,¹ and the deacon, at the same time, genuflects. Then, turning towards the bier, with the deacon on his right holding the border of the cope, the celebrant passes by the left of the corpse, sprinkling the bier with holy water, first towards the feet of the corpse, then in the middle, and again towards the head. Having arrived in front of the cross, held by the cross-bearer at the head of the corpse, the celebrant and deacon turn towards it, and the former inclines profoundly, while the latter genuflects. They then go by the right of the corpse, sprinkling on this side also, first towards the head, then in the middle, and lastly towards the feet. Having now come to the feet of the corpse, the celebrant hands the aspersory to the deacon, who restores it to the acolyte. The deacon then receives the censer and hands it to the celebrant, and both salute the altar,² the deacon always with a genuflection. After this the celebrant, accompanied by the deacon holding his cope as before, makes again the tour of the bier, incensing it three times on each side in the same manner in which he sprinkled it. Both salute the cross when passing in front of it.

When the ceremony of absolution is performed over the remains of a priest, the sub-deacon with the cross stands, as has been said, between the altar and the bier. Hence, when the celebrant and deacon are going round the bier, they do not salute both the altar and the cross by separate reverences,

¹The *Ritual* apparently directs the celebrant to salute the cross borne by the sub-deacon before beginning the aspersion. The Rubrics of the Missal say nothing about the cross, but direct him to salute the altar. Writers are not agreed as to what should be done. Following what seems to be the custom of this country, and what certainly is the teaching of the best Rubricists, we have thought it right to omit the previous reverence to the cross. The curious will find very good reasons for this apparent departure from the words of the *Ritual* in Falise, *loc. cit.* note.

²Authors generally.

but salute the cross only, as it alone is supposed to be *in conspectu*.¹

When the incensation has been completed the deacon again holds the book open before the celebrant, who, with hands joined, sings *Et ne nos inducas etc*, with the versicles which follow, and the prayer *Deus cui proprium est*. At the end of the prayer neither *Requiem aeternam* nor *Requiescat in pace* is said.²

SECTION II.—THE ABSOLUTION WHEN THE CORPSE IS ABSENT.

When the corpse is not present a *catafalque* is erected in the place which the bier should occupy if the corpse were present. The ceremonies connected with the absolution in this case are practically the same as in the preceding. There are, however, some few minor differences.

1. The sub-deacon with the cross always stands between the *catafalque* and the door of the church, whether the person for whom the Requiem Office is recited were a priest or a layman.³

2. The prayer *Non intres* is not said.⁴ Hence, as soon as the ministers have taken their places round the bier, the chanters begin the responsory *Libera me Domine*.

3. The prayer said is not *Deus cui proprium*, but *Absolve*, or the prayer said in the Mass. The versicles which precede and follow this prayer, and the prayer itself, are varied, according to the number and sex of the persons, or person, for whom they are said. The prayer said, whatever it may be, is always terminated with the short conclusion.⁵

4. After the prayer, the celebrant says *Requiem aeternam dona ei (vel eis) Domine*, making, at the same time, with his right hand, the sign of the cross over the *catafalque*. He does not,⁶ however, as some direct, add *Anima ejus (vel Animae earum seu eorum) et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum*

¹ Authors generally.

² De Herdt, *loc. cit.*, n. 253.

³ S. R. C., July 21, 1855, n. 5219, 3.

⁴ It may, however, be said, especially where the custom exists of saying it; see De Herdt, *loc. cit.*, n. 266, 2°.

⁵ De Herdt, *ibid.*, 5°.

⁶ De Herdt, *ibid.*; Martinucci, l. 4, c. 10, n. 14.

per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace; but the chanters having sung *Requiescat* (or *Requiescant*) *in pace*. *Amen*—all retire.

CHAPTER V.—THE INTERMENT.

The prayer *Deus cui proprium est*, with which the Absolution at the bier is terminated, having been said, the corpse is removed to the place of interment, unless there be some reason for deferring the interment. The procession to the cemetery is formed precisely as the procession which should conduct the corpse to the church. The thurifer, and an acolyte with holy water and aspersion, walk first. Immediately behind them is the cross-bearer, between two acolytes carrying lighted candles; then the others, who take part in the procession, in the order already mentioned. Last of all is borne the corpse, right in front of which walks the celebrant of the Mass, with the deacon on his left. As soon as the procession begins to move from the church, the choir sings the antiphon *In paradisum*,¹ and, if the way is long, they repeat the antiphon, or sing some appropriate psalms, either from the Gradual or Penitential Psalms, or from those of the Office for the Dead.

On arriving at the cemetery, the cross-bearer places himself at the end of the grave, towards which the head of the corpse will lie; the acolytes, with the candles, keep their places on his right and left. The other two remain near the opposite end of the grave, where the celebrant and deacon also take their stand, as soon as they arrive. The clergy and members of the choir arrange themselves about the grave.

If the grave is to be blessed,² the celebrant at once reads the prayer *Deus cujus miseratione*, the deacon holding the Ritual open before him. Having finished the prayer, the celebrant puts incense into the censer, and blesses it in the usual way, saying: *Ab illo benedicaris, etc.* He then receives the aspersion from the deacon, and asperses the corpse and the grave, first in front of himself, then towards his left, and

¹ *Ritual*.

² When the cemetery in which the grave is simply *dug* has been solemnly blessed it is not necessary to bless the grave. But even in such a cemetery if the grave be lined, as is often the case, with masonry it requires to be blessed on account of the unblessed material introduced. The same is true of a grave in a church.

lastly towards his right. He now takes the censer, and incenses similarly both the corpse and the grave.

After the blessing of the grave, or, if the grave does not require blessing, immediately on arriving at the grave, the celebrant intones the antiphon *Ego sum* of the *Benedictus*, the choir proceeding immediately with the Canticle itself. The antiphon is sung in full after the Canticle, and afterwards the celebrant sings *Kyrie eleison*, the choir responds *Christe eleison*, and the celebrant again sings *Kyrie eleison*, and immediately in the same tone *Pater noster*, which all continue in silence. During the *Pater noster* the celebrant asperses the body three times, as above, without moving from his place. He sings the versicles after the *Pater noster*, and then the prayer, in which he must be careful to make the gender of the words correspond with the sex of the deceased. While saying the versicle *Requiem aeternam*, after the prayer, the celebrant makes the sign of the cross with his hand over the corpse. The chanters sing *Requiescat in pace*, and when the response has been sung, the celebrant in a subdued tone says, *Anima ejus, etc.*¹ All then return to the sacristy in the order in which they came to the cemetery, repeating on the way the antiphon *Si iniquitates* with the psalm *De profundis*.

When the cemetery is at a distance from the church, as is generally the case in cities, the whole ceremony is completed in the church. The corpse is borne to the door of the church, while the choir sings the antiphon *In paradisum*, and is there laid down. The celebrant then intones the antiphon *Ego sum*, the *Benedictus* is sung, and everything else done which should be done at the grave. But even the removal of the corpse to the door of the church is not necessary, especially where the custom exists of completing the ceremony while the corpse remains before the altar.²

D. O'LOAN.

¹ In many places it is customary for the officiating priest to remain until the coffin has been lowered into the grave, and then to throw three shovelfuls of earth on it, saying meanwhile, *Memento homo quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris*. This custom is mentioned approvingly by Baruffaldi. (Tit. 36, n. 172), and by several other authors (see Vavasour, Part 10, sect. 3, n. 259, note, Wapelhorst, n. 300, note 6), and may undoubtedly be preserved.

² S. C. R., July 28, 1832, n. 4545. 4694.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONDITIONS REQUIRED BY THE CIVIL LAW FOR THE VALID
CELEBRATION OF MIXED MARRIAGES, *i.e.*, BETWEEN A
CATHOLIC AND A NON-CATHOLIC.

VERY REV. SIR,—In the I. E. RECORD of December, 1880, there is an essay on the above subject by Dr. Healy, now Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert, and he lays down that, under the Act of 33 & 34 Victoria, the following conditions are to be complied with:—

“(1) That due notice be given, either to the person duly authorized by the bishop, in writing under his hand, to issue licences, or to the registrar of the district in which one of the parties shall have resided for fourteen days previous. This due notice must be given at least seven days before the licence or certificate shall issue; and

“(2) The person receiving such notice, whether licenser or registrar, shall forthwith send by post a copy thereof to the clergyman officiating at the place of worship where the parties intending marriage shall have been in the habit of attending.

“(3) The licence, or certificate, is to be delivered to the clergyman solemnizing the marriage at the time of the solemnization of the marriage.

“(4) Such marriage must be solemnized in a building set apart for the celebration of divine service, according to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the clergyman solemnizing such marriage, and situated in the district for which the licence, or certificate, is issued.

“(5) It must take place, with open doors, between the hours of eight in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses.”

The learned writer proceeds then to ask the question: “Whether all these conditions are required under *penalty of the marriage being legally void?*” He is of opinion that the 59th section of the Act, 33 & 34 Victoria, is conclusive as to the answer; and he cites the section:—

“Any marriage solemnized by a Roman Catholic clergyman, between a person who is a Roman Catholic, and a person who is not a Roman Catholic, *shall be void, to all intents, in cases where the parties, knowingly and wilfully, intermarried*

without due notice to the registrar (or, in lieu thereof, to the licenser); or without the presence of two credible witnesses; or in a building not set apart for the celebration of divine service, according to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the clergyman celebrating such marriage."

He remarks: "On this clause we may observe, *that it would seem*, from the words 'knowingly and wilfully,' that a mistake made in good faith, or in ignorance, would not make the marriage void in law. Secondly, in this voiding clause, there is no mention of the hours eight and two o'clock as necessary limits; whence it *would seem* that this condition is to be regarded, not as mandatory, but directory."

Now, as the civil validity of these marriages is a question of very great importance, I think it will be most useful to your readers if you will insert in the I. E. RECORD a summary of a recent decision of the Court of Appeal, which fully bears out Dr. Healy's interpretation of the above-quoted sections of the Act 33 & 34 Victoria. It is to be found in the January number (1890) of the *Law Reports (Ireland)*, at pp. 542 *et seqq.*

One Andrew Knox, a farmer, died, leaving a will, in which he bequeathed all his property, both in land and otherwise, to his son Andrew, on condition, *inter alia*, "that, if he should marry, he would marry a Protestant wife, the daughter of Protestant parents, and who had always been Protestants; and that being the case, he appointed him sole executor." But he proceeded to declare, that if his son should violate any of the conditions prescribed, he was to forfeit all right to the property.

Now, Andrew Knox, junior, it was proved, was married by the Rev. J. J. Gallagher, a Catholic priest, on the 6th March, 1889, to one Mary Sheron, a Catholic, in the *sacristy* of the Catholic church in the town of Donegal, at *about half-past four o'clock* in the afternoon; *the doors of the sacristy were closed*, and the doors of the church were also closed; no notice of the marriage was given to the registrar of the district, or to any other registrar. Fr. Gallagher, it seems, was the bishop's licenser for mixed marriages. Neither Knox, nor Sheron, nor any person on their behalf, gave him notice of their intention to get married, in writing, seven days before said marriage; and he deposed that he "performed said ceremony of marriage without any licence, not considering any licence was necessary." Two witnesses were present at the marriage. Hence it will be seen that all the

conditions, set forth from the Act by Dr. Healy, were violated, except the presence of the two witnesses.

It was contested, on the part of Knox, that the marriage was civilly null and void, for want of observance of the formalities required by the 33 & 34 Victoria, sections 35, 39, though it might be valid in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church.

The case came before Judge Warren, in the Probate Court, on May 3rd, 1889, and this judge decided against Knox, holding the marriage to be valid ; and hence Knox, having violated a condition of his father's will, lost all right to his land and other property.

From this judgment Knox appealed, and the Court of Appeal gave judgment on July 25th, 1889. The Court consisted of Lord Ashbourne, Chancellor, and Fitzgibbon, Barry, and Naish, Lords Justices. The decision was unanimous, confirming the judgment of Judge Warren. Lord Justice Naish delivered the judgment of the Court, from which I make the following extracts :—

“ I will deal with the question of the validity of the marriage first. As I said, no affidavit was filed upon behalf of Andrew Knox, junior, in the Court below ; but, for the purposes of this appeal, an affidavit, made by the Rev. Mr. Gallagher, the clergyman who performed the ceremony, has been filed and made use of by Andrew Knox's, junior, advisers. In that affidavit the Rev. Mr. Gallagher states that he did, on 6th March, 1889, perform the ceremony of marriage, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, between Andrew Knox and Mary Sheron. He also states that he performed the ceremony about half-past four in the afternoon, in the presence of two witnesses, in the sacristy of the Church of Donegal, the doors of which were closed ; that, so far as he was aware, no notice of the marriage was given, either before or after, to the registrar ; that he himself was, and is, authorized by his bishop to assist at marriages where one of the contracting parties is a Roman Catholic, and a parishioner of Inver (which Mary Sheron was) ; that he also was, and is, authorized to grant dispensation as to the proclamation of banns (which he did in this case), and also to issue licences for such marriages ; and that, being himself the administrator of the parish of Inver, and the clergyman to grant the licence, he performed the ceremony, not considering the licence necessary. He further states, that no registrar's certificate was given to him regarding the marriage, either before or after its celebration ; and that, when applying to him to perform the ceremony, Andrew Knox, junior, informed him that he was an Episcopalian Protestant.

“It is evident, from this affidavit, that, on 6th March last, Andrew Knox, junior, and Mary Sheron, went to the church at Donegal for the purpose of entering into, and going through, a ceremony of marriage, and that such ceremony was gone through. It is also a fact that it was, as the law stands, permissible for them, in that church and on that day, subject to the conditions of the Marriage Act of 1870, to have lawfully gone through that ceremony, and become husband and wife, and that the Rev. Mr. Gallagher was authorized, subject to the conditions of that Act, to have performed the ceremony.

“We are now asked, on behalf of Andrew Knox, junior, to say that what took place upon the occasion was, so far as the legal status of the parties is concerned, a mere futile ceremony, and destitute of any legal effect.

“It must be admitted that, when parties, free to contract a marriage, go through a ceremony of marriage, at a place where they may lawfully intermarry, the ceremony being performed by a clergyman capable of performing it, it would be against all public policy to allow them lightly to come forward and say that the whole thing was, in point of law, a mere sham; that, so far as the woman was concerned, the ceremony was gone through as a salve to her conscience, and to place her in the condition of being, in the contemplation of her Church, the man's wife, but, so far as the law was concerned, to leave her in the condition of her being his concubine; while, so far as the man was concerned, it left him as he was, free to contract another marriage the next day. If the parties who have gone through such a ceremony seek to have it declared that such was its effect, it certainly lies upon them to make that out clearly; and a Court is not to go out of its way to hold such a state of things to have arisen.

“What are the grounds on which, in the present case, we are asked to say that this marriage, so celebrated, is invalid? On the grounds that the provisions of 33 & 34 Victoria, c. 110, were not complied with

“It has been argued, for the respondent, that when in a Marriage Act you have a section enabling marriage to be performed, subject to certain conditions, and a breach of these condition has occurred, it does not follow that the marriage is null; but you must look to the nullifying section, *i.e.*, the section (if any) which declares the marriage to be void in certain specified events, and see whether the case comes within that section; and,

if it does not, then you are not to hold the marriage void for breach of a condition not specified in the nullifying section. And the case of *Catterall v. Sweetman* was referred to. In my opinion, the principle there laid down applies to the present case. We have here a section (the 38th) enabling the marriage to be performed, subject to certain conditions; but, when we come to see in what case, under section 39, marriage is to be void, we find that *some only* of the conditions were included, and, furthermore, that, in order to invalidate the marriage, the parties must have 'knowingly and wilfully' intermarried without complying with these particular conditions. It follows, almost necessarily, that the statute, saying the marriage is to be null when there has been a breach, knowingly and wilfully, of certain conditions, did not intend that it should be null and void when something not included in the nullifying section had not been complied with. Take, for instance, one of the conditions: section 38 says the marriage may be celebrated subject to certain conditions, one of which is, that it be in a building 'set apart,' as mentioned, and 'with open doors;' but, when it comes to say the marriage is to be deemed null, it does not say that it is to be so deemed when the doors are closed during the ceremony. And, as pointed out during the argument, if the parties repaired to the church for the purpose of being married, and, having come there, some one were to shut the doors without the knowledge of the parties, it would be an intolerable state of things if we were obliged, under the 38th section, to hold the marriage was void. In my opinion, the validity of the marriage will have to be determined on the nullifying section, *i.e.*, the 39th. That provides that a marriage celebrated by a Roman Catholic clergyman, between a Roman Catholic and a person not such, shall be void when the parties, 'knowingly and wilfully,' intermarried without due notice to the registrar, or without certificate of notice issued, or without the presence of two witnesses or more, or in a building not set apart as therein mentioned.

"How, then, are we to act in the present case? The parties who went through this ceremony come in and ask us, for the purposes of their own convenience, or the convenience of one of them—the man—and in order to enable him to retain property, to say that this marriage was celebrated by them *both*, 'knowingly and wilfully,' in breach of the conditions of the Act. It may have been; but has it been established affirmatively to the satisfaction

of the Court? In my opinion, it has not; there being a total absence of all evidence as to the knowledge or state of mind of the parties. And, as I have already said—and I think it is a matter of high public policy—when parties go through a ceremony of marriage which might be validly contracted, they should not be allowed, except on clear grounds, to set up a case that they did so with the deliberate intention that the ceremony was to be a sham.

“On these grounds, in my opinion, the Court would not be warranted in treating the marriage in the present case as void. . . . And I am of opinion the order below was correct, and must be affirmed, and the appeal dismissed with costs.”

This, then, is now the settled law with regard to the civil validity of a marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic, celebrated by a Catholic priest; and it seems certain that every such marriage, celebrated *in bonâ fide* by the contracting parties, will be valid, *quite irrespective of any of the conditions* in the Act of 33 & 34 Victoria; and it further appears that any knowledge of those conditions, which the officiating priest may possess, will not in any way affect the validity of such a marriage.—I am, Very Rev. Sir, your obedient servant,

A LIMERICK LICENSER.

March 1st, 1890.

DOCUMENTS.

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

SUMMARY.

The Mass on occasion of blessing Foundation Stone of a New Church.—On occasion of blessing a New Church.—The Commemorations in the Mass on the recurring feast of Dedication.—Votive Mass for an occasion of a *gravis necessitas*.—Votive Mass of the B. Virgin.—Mass for the Dead *absente cadavere*.—The Privileged Octaves.—Questions regarding them.—Relics in Altars.—Days for the use of the Pallium.

NEAPOLITANA.

Ut in Ecclesiasticis functionibus omnia ordinate fiant, rectaque methodus servetur, sacrarum Caeremoniarum Magistri Neapolitanae Ecclesiae, annuente suo Rmo Archiepiscopo, insequentium

Dubiorum declarationem a Sacra Rituum Congregationem humilime postularunt, nimirum:

Dubium I. Pontificale Romanum habet sub fine tituli *De benedictione et impositione primarii lapidis pro Ecclesia aedificanda*, his expletis (Episcopus) si velit, parat se ad celebrandam Missam in dicto loco de Sancto in cuius nomine Ecclesia fundatur. Quaeritur:

1. Adsunt ne dies, in quibus talis Missa uti prohibita habenda est?

2. Haec Missa sive canatur sive legatur, quo ritu celebranda est, scilicet ut votiva sollemnis pro re gravi, exclusa omni commemoratione, an ut votiva privata?

3. Si Episcopus nolet talem Missam celebrare, potestne illam alius Sacerdos celebrare?

Dubium II. Rituale Romano titulo *Ritus benedicendi novam Ecclesiam*, praecipit, ut peracta benedictione, dicatur Missa de tempore vel de Sancto. Quaeritur:

1. De quo Sancto celebranda erit haec Missa, scilicet de Sancto occurrente, an de Sancto in cuius honorem dedicatur Ecclesia?

2. Quatenus negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam, quo ritu celebranda est, ut in secundo quaesito Dubii praecedentis?

Dubium III. Peracta consecratione alicuius Ecclesiae vel Altaris in Pontificali Romano praescribitur ut dicatur Missa prout notatur in Missali "in ipsa die dedicationis Ecclesiae vel Altaris." Quaeritur:

1. In hac Missa, sive agatur de consecratione Ecclesiae sive Altaris debentne fieri illae Commemorationes, quae ne in Duplicibus quidem primae classis omittendae, uti de Dominica, de Feria privilegiata, etc.?

2. Licetne celebrare talem Missam in utroque casu exposito, in omnibus diebus anni, nullo excepto?

3. Si aliqui dies excipiantur in Missa diei, debetne saltem fieri Commemoratio Dedicationis?

Dubium IV. Occurrente aliqua gravi et urgente necessitate, nulla Missa specialis in Missali notatur pro ea, sed adest tantum Collecta ex. gr. ad petendam pluviam, ad postulandam serenitatem, etc.; si in his rerum adiunctis Episcopus vellet Missam solennem *pro re gravi* celebrare, quam Missam dicere deberet? Quod si haec Missa esset illa *pro quacumque necessitate*, oportet

bitne tollere Collectam ipsius Missae *pro quacumque necessitate*, et substituere Collectam particularis necessitatis, quae urget; an retenta illa, addere et hanc sub unica conclusione?

Dubium V. S. R. C. Die 12 Martii 1678 in Mexicana ad primum decrevit, ut Missae propriae festivitatum B. M. V. non possint celebrari uti votivae. Quaeritur:

1. In hac prohibitione includiturne etiam Missa proxime concessa Immaculae Conceptionis *Gaudens gaudebo?* Ratio dubitandi vero oritur quod post Graduale praedictae Missae, inveniuntur variationes in ipso Graduali faciendae, prout diversa sunt tempora anni, praemissis verbis “in Missis votivis.”

2. Missae sub variis titulis B. M. V. ex. gr. de Monte Carmelo, SS. Rossarii, Boni Consilii, Auxilii Christianorum Puritatis etc. comprehenduntur in regula Festivitatum, ita ut nunquam dici possint, uti votivae, exceptis diebus Octavae si habent?

3. Item Missa Ss. Cordis Iesu *Miserebitur* potestne celebrari uti votiva?

Dubium VI. In hac nostra civitate Neapolitana non est interdictum deferre cadavera ad Ecclesiam, sed ita fert consuetudo, ut vix aliquis obit, cadaver in propriis aedibus exponatur, et, ut plurimum, horis vespertinis diei insequentis ad Ecclesiam deferatur, ubi adimpletis de ritu adimplendis, ipsis horis vespertinis ad coemeterium extra moenia situm transfertur. Unde fit ut raro comprobetur, quod Rubrica Ritualis Romani optat et insinuat, ut nempe cadaver non tradatur sepulchro, quin prius aliqua Missa dicatur praesente corpore defuncti. Posita igitur tali consuetudine, quae difficillime eradicari potest, quaeritur:

1. Licet ne in horis matutinis in quibus cadaver in propriis aedibus remanet expositum, celebrare Missam cantatam in aliqua Ecclesia quaecumque sit, in iis diebus determinatis in Decreto unius Florentinae sub die 23 Aprilis 1781 scilicet etiam in diebus festivis de praecepto, et in Duplicibus secundae classis?

2. Quatenus affirmative, in diebus quibus talis Missa prohibetur, comprehenduntur ne etiam illi qui excludunt Duplicia rinae classis secundum regulam quam statuit Aloysius Gardellini in Decreto diei 20 Aprilis 1832 in Derthonen. ad 3 et in Instruct. Clement. § XII. n. 8 et 11?

Dubium VII. S. Rit. Congregatio Decreto diei Martii 1862 in una Palmae in Balcani ad secundum decrevit: Quod ad celebrandam Missam de Requie in duplici non impedito diebus 3, 7, et 30 non requiritur quod defunctus sic ordinaverit in suo

testamento, sed sufficit voluntas consanguineorum, amicorum, vel testamenti executorum quaeritur:

1. Sub verbis Duplici non impedito, comprehenditur ne etiam festum Duplicis maioris?

2. Quatenus affirmative, licetne hanc decisionem retinere etiam pro funeribus anniversariis ad petitionem vivorum non relictis a testatoribus?

Dubium VIII. Pluries S. R. C. decrevit, ut infra Octavas privilegiatas celebrari non liceat anniversaria pro defunctis. Hinc quaeritur: Praeter Octavas Epiphaniae, Paschalis Resurrectionis, Pentecostes et Corporis Christi, debetne considerari uti privilegiata etiam Octava Nativitatis Domini, ita ut et haec quoque anniversaria funus excludat? Dubium oritur ex eo quod Scriptores rerum liturgicarum de hac re alii aliter sentiant.

Dubium IX. Decreto S. R. C. diei 3 Decembris 1701 in una Bergomen. ad tertium statutum fuit, ut anniversaria pro Defunctis quae in Octavas privilegiatas incidunt, cum post praedictas Octavas transferri debeant, privilegium amittunt ut celebrari possint in duplici maiori. Quaeritur:

1. Cum haec anniversaria celebrari non possint in duplici maiori poteruntne celebrari saltem in duplici minori?

2. Quatenus affirmative ad primam partem, valetne id etiam pro iis anniversariis, quae cum in Hebdomadam maiorem inciderint, post octavam Paschatis celebranda sunt?

Dubium X. Indeterminando die 3, 7 et 30 cum possit talis dies computari vel a die mortis vel a die depositionis, quaeritur: dies mortis vel depositionis, debetne includi vel excludi? ex. gr. si depositio fiat die prima mensis, et cum velit determinari dies tertia a die depositionis, erit dies tertius an quartus eius mensis?

Dubium XI. Avulsis ob humiditatem lapidibus, qui tegebant Reliquias quorundam altarium, et nova calce firmati, dubitabatur utrum praedicta altaria indigerent nova consecratione. Exposito dubio S. R. Congregationi sub die 25 Septembris 1875 Ordin. Cisterciens. responsum fuit: Si sepulchrum apertum non fuerit, sed tantummodo de novo coemento firmatum, negative; secus affirmative. Nunc quaeritur: Haec decisio potestne etiam retineri cum tota mensa altaris consecrati ad modum fixi e suis stipitibus sublevata, non omnino dimota, novo coemento ipsis stipitibus firmatur et coniungitur?

Dubium XII. Pontificale Rom. et Caeremoniale Episcoporum

inter dies in quibus reverendissimus Archiepiscopus uti potest *Pallio* adnumerat etiam “ Principales festivitates Ecclesiae suae.” Quaeritur :

1. Comprehenditur ne inter principales festivitates Ecclesiae suae etiam centenarius festus alicuius Sancti, sollemnis Incoronatio alicuius Imaginis B. M. V. vel aliae similes festivitates extraordinaria pompa celebratae, sive in Ecclesia Metropolitana, sive in Ecclesiis suae Archidioeceseos?

2. Si Rñus Archiepiscopus per specialem gratiam debeat benedictionem Papalem impertiri in aliqua die, in qua uti nequit *Pallio* in Missa, debetne, peracta Missa, *Pallium* induere hac una de causa ut praedictam benedictionem impertiatur?

DUBIA ADDITIONALIA.

Dubium XIII. Potestne Archiepiscopus his diebus, quibus ei permittitur usus *Pallii*, absoluta Missa Pontificali dimittere *Pallium* cum ceteris indumentis Pontificalibus sumere Pluviale, et sic indutus impertire Benedictionem papalem?

Dubium XIV. Absoluto choralis officio, etiam hora Nona recitata, potestne iterum cantari hora Tertia, quando Archiepiscopus assumit paramenta Pontificalia ad celebrandum?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, audita relatione infrascripti Secretarii, nec non sententia Rñi Assessoris Sacrae ipsius Congregationis, hisce Dubiis maturo examine perpensis rescribere rata est :

Ad I. Quoad primum affirmative, scilicet dies infra annum solemniores ; quoad secundum affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam ; quod tertium affirmative.

Ad II. Quoad primum negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam ; quoad secundum ut in prima die ad 2.

Ad III. Quoad primum negative ; quoad secundum negative iuxta Rubricas et Decreta : quoad tertium affirmative sub unica conclusione.

Ad IV. Quoad primum in casu dicenda foret Missa *Pro quacunque necessitate* ; quoad secundum negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Ad V. Quoad primum negative, quoad secundum affirmative ; quoad tertium affirmative iuxta Decreta in Mechlinien. die 1 Septembris 1838 ad 3, et Cameracen. die 11 Septembris 1805 ad 5.

Ad VI. Dilata.

Ad VII. Quoad primum affirmative ; quoad secundum provi-
sum in praecedenti :

Ad VIII. Affirmative.

Ad IX. Quoad primum affirmative; quoad secundum, provisum in praecedenti.

Ad X. Utrumque servari posse iuxta Ecclesiae consuetudinem.

Ad XI. Negative.

Ad XII. Quoad primum servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum; quoad secundum negative.

AD DUBIO ADDITIONALIA.

Ad XIII. Negative, et hic usus servatus in Ecclesia Metropolitana est eliminandus, quia Benedictio Summi Pontificis nomine impertienda dari debet, absoluta Missa Pontificali a Celebrante, induto iisdem paramentis, reassumptis etiam chirothecis, et Pallio ornato, quippe actionem exercet plenitudinis Pontificalis dignitatis.

Ad XIV. Negative. Et quatenus Canonicis non placeat recitare Sextam et Nonam, post Missam Pontificalem, Beneficarii Ecclesiae Metropolitanae recitent privatim easdem duas Horas in Ecclesia Sanctae Restitutae.

Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit ac servari mandavit. Die 23 Februarii 1884.

DECREE REGARDING THE POWER OF THE ORDINARY TO SUB-DELEGATE IN CERTAIN MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS, "MODO GENERALI," IN MORTIS PERICULO.

ILLME. AC RME. DOMINE,

Supremae huic Congregationi Sancti Officii propositum fuit dubium: "Utrum Ordinarii in casibus extremae necessitatis facultatem dispensandi super impedimentis publicis matrimonialibus in mortis periculo, literis Supremae Congregationis die 20 Februarii, 1888, concessam, parochis et universim confessariis adprobatis modo generali subdelegare valeant, an non." Quo dubio mature perpenso, Eminentissimi Patres una mecum Generales Inquisitores fer IV. die 9 Januarii, 1889, dixerunt: "Supplicandum Sanctissimo ut decernere et declarare dignetur, Ordinarios, quibus memorata facultas praecitatis literis dici 20 Februarii, 1888, data fuit, posse illam subdelegare habitualiter parochis tantum, sed pro casibus, in quibus desit tempus ad ipsos Ordinarios recurrendi et periculum sit in mora." Eadem feria ad die Sanctissimus D. N. D. Leo divina providentia

PP. XIII., in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, benigne annuere dignatus est juxta Eminentissimorum PP. suffragium.

Haec tibi dum nota facio, fausta cuncta ac felicia precor a Domino.

Datum Romae ex S. O. die 1 Martii, 1889.

R. CARD. MONACO.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SERMONS, 1877-1887. By the Rev. Arthur Ryan, President of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1890.

SUCH of our readers as are acquainted with *The Story of the Passion and Death of Our Lord*, and *The Life of St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland*, by Fr. Arthur Ryan, the learned President of Thurles College, will rejoice at the announcement that a volume of *Sermons* by the same distinguished author has just issued from the Press. From the reputation which Fr. Ryan has long enjoyed, both as an ecclesiastic and as a man of letters, and which he has considerably enhanced by the publication of the books referred to, they will be led to expect, in his *Sermons*, a work calculated to be of the highest utility to the missionary priest, and of profit and edification to the devout layman. And in neither respect shall they be disappointed. A profound and varied knowledge, conveyed in clear and simple, yet elegant and impressive style, and breathing a spirit of earnest piety and conviction through every line, is the pervading characteristic of Fr. Ryan's admirable book.

The knowledge embodied in these pages bears little resemblance to that of the phlegmatic unimaginative student, whose every idea is suggestive of the dusty book-shelf, and whose language is a faithful transcription from the time-coloured, moth-eaten page. Such sermons we have often encountered, but not in the brilliant volume we have undertaken to review. If there be one quality more prominent than another in the subject matter of Fr. Ryan's *Sermons* it is its freshness and originality. The

mysteries of Faith and the profound teachings of philosophical science are, no doubt, treated at due length, but with a practical bearing on modern life and manners, not often met with in discourses on such subjects. Thoroughly conversant with Sacred Scripture and the Patristic writings, Fr. Ryan, in applying their language, does not quote them in the abrupt and isolated fashion in which they are usually introduced, but so interweaves them into the texture of his sentences that it is the Holy Ghost or the Fathers that appear to speak to us throughout. Nor is our author's knowledge bounded by the limits of philosophical or theological science, comprehensive though these limits are. He is pre-eminently a man of culture—of profound and varied information, of refined and sympathetic taste; and these qualities he makes manifest in every page of his book. Wordsworth does not love the changing phases of beauty in the external world, nor Ruskin the harmonious colouring and graceful forms of art with a finer appreciation; and the rich poetic thoughts derived from these sources of artistic pleasure are handled with all the tact of genius, being made to subserve to the illustration and confirmation of the truths of faith. From this point of view we may apply to Fr. Ryan's *Sermons* the laudatory criticism once written by Jeffrey on the somewhat similar productions of Dr. Allison:—"They are calculated to lead us to piety through the purification of our taste and the culture of our social affections—to found a love of God on the love of nature and of man—and to purge the visual orb of the soul for the contemplation of the Creator, by teaching us to recognise the unspeakable beauty and grandeur that reign in all the aspects of the physical and moral world."

Although such sublimity and erudition characterize the subject-matter of these *Sermons*, yet the arrangement of ideas is natural and unaffected, and the style so clear and simple as to be easily intelligible to the intellect of a child. There is no formal division and sub-division of the subject such, as we are accustomed to meet with in the preachers of the French School; and even those time-honoured principles of the Regular Discourse, so strongly insisted on by Aristotle, Quintilian, and most of the older rhetoricians, are not always adhered to. But to our mind this departure from the stereotyped traditions of Rhetoric constitutes one of the most attractive features of these *Sermons*. The appearance of art in the arrangement of a sermon, it has always appeared to us, is calculated to distract the audience,

if not to prejudice them against the preacher; and the same words which, if delivered spontaneously and without the restraints of artificiality, would be sure to produce conviction, may, when bound up in the rigid shackles of a rhetorical arrangement, have the effect of putting the hearer upon his guard against what he may consider as the devices of art. Fr. Ryan, for the most part, avoids such devices, and, as a consequence, his *Sermons* appear to us all the more natural and effective. Then there is no straining after parallel and antithetical expressions, no affected use of alliterative words and far-fetched figures of speech, no grandiloquently-rounded sentences, musical to the ear, but bearing no meaning to the mind. Everything is clear, direct, and forcible. When the intellect is appealed to, the argument is lucid, the logic convincing; when the feelings are addressed, the language employed strikes the chords of the heart with no uncertain sound, evincing the skill of a practised performer who plays upon an instrument he thoroughly understands. Indeed, it is in his address to the feelings that we regard Fr. Ryan as particularly successful. The sermons on *Heaven*, *The Sacrament of Union*, *The Prayer in the Garden*, *The Dereliction of Christ*, *The Mother of Sorrows*, *Judgment and Mercy*, and *St. Patrick's Day*, we would strongly recommend to the study of our readers, as perfect models of how addresses to the feelings should be conducted in preaching to an Irish audience. They exemplify the principles of this obscure department of Sacred Rhetoric better than any book of sermons with which we are acquainted.

The evidences which this book furnishes of earnest piety and sincere conviction, we would strongly exhort our readers to study for themselves. They are to be found in every page, and constitute the peculiar charm which these *Sermons* must possess even for the devout layman. By means of them this book rises far above the level of ordinary books of its class, and becomes suitable as an ascetic work for the purpose of spiritual lecture. They supply us with a most convincing proof that these discourses were not originally written—as is the case with many of our published sermons—as mere literary exercises, without any view to their delivery, but were primarily intended to convince, to persuade, to sanctify a body of the ordinary faithful—to nourish the seed of piety in their hearts, that in due season it might bud forth and fructify into a rich spiritual harvest.

We rejoice, therefore, that Fr. Ryan has given these *Sermons* to the world. Through them his salutary influence as a preacher will be sure to touch the hearts of many whom his voice can never reach. And possibly it may do more. There is many a priest in Ireland who preaches admirable sermons, yet whose influence for good, from his hiding his light under the proverbial bushel, is confined to the narrow limits of the parish in which he dwells. This is not as it should be. Sermon-literature in this country, as compared with France, or Italy, or Germany, is anomalously scarce; and it is the duty of every priest possessed of special talent for this department of sacred science, to increase the stock at our disposal, as far as in him lies. Fr. Ryan has set a praiseworthy example, which others will do well to imitate, and which, we trust, he himself will make the prelude to many others of a similarly useful kind. The thirty sermons of this book cover only ten years of his missionary career; but this decade has been so successful that we hope many other decades will follow, equally fruitful in literary labour for the service of the priesthood and for the good of souls.

J. J. C.

CONVENT LIFE; OR, THE DUTIES OF SISTERS DEDICATED IN RELIGION TO THE SERVICE OF GOD. Intended chiefly for Superiors and Confessors. By the Rev. Arthur Divine, Passionist. Second Edition. Dublin: 1890.

FATHER DIVINE'S book on *Convent Life* contains far more than the title might lead one to expect. The name lends itself as readily to a brief presentment of the attractions of a nun's daily duties as to a lengthy exposition of the Asceticism, Theology and Canon Law, engrossed by the religious state. But the work before us is chiefly of the latter kind, with detailed application to the requirements of female communities in modern times; and that a hard-worked missionary could find out of spare odds and ends sufficient time to put such a large mass of varied information into such good shape and order is enough to excite our admiration at what intelligent perseverance can accomplish.

Convent Life is divided into four Parts, each Part being subdivided into Chapters. *Part First* explains "The Obligations of Religious by Reason of their State;" *Part Second*, "The Vows and their Obligations;" *Part Third*, "The Principal Spiritual Duties of their State;" and *Part Fourth*, "The Election of

Superiors—the Duties of Superiors and other Officials in the Convent.”

The book throughout speaks well for the care and ability of its author, who seems to have been unsparing in his pains to treat usefully the many difficult subjects that called for his attention. His quotations are not at all too numerous, and seem to be very judicious. We will not be supposed to imply that his opinions are not sound and reliable, when we say that he appears, to us, to use the words “true religious” in a sense wider, not than the current or evangelical acceptation, but than the canonical or legal sense. The tendency, indeed, seems to be to enlarge the inclusiveness of *vere religiosi* in ecclesiastical law itself. We wish Father Divine’s book a large circulation, and we are confident that it will be highly prized wherever Irish nuns are found.

ST. PATRICK’S HYMN-BOOK. Compiled by a Missionary Priest.
Dublin : Browne & Nolan. 1889.

THE compiler of this little book, like the householder in the Gospel, has brought forth out of his treasure new things and old. Along with what he considered best in existing hymn-books, he has given us, he says, many beautiful hymns that have not hitherto found a place in any hymn-book. The Rev. M. Russell, S. J., so well known, and so highly esteemed for his exquisite contributions to sacred song, supplies several of the choicest in the latter class. *Voices of the Heart*, by Sister Alphonsus Downing—the gifted “Mary” of the *Nation*, has also been laid under contribution; and a few of the new hymns are from the pen of the Rev. E. Gaynor, C.M. Father Gaynor is quite a recent addition to the school of hymnology, but yet a very important one, if we may judge from the specimens of his muse printed in this collection. Here is a stanza from a hymn on the Nativity, which we believe may be credited to him, and which is a fair type of what he can accomplish:—

“ All in a stable cold and bare
A lovely infant lay;
The night was dark, but round that babe
Was bright as summer day.
A lowly maiden watched beside
To soothe His plaintive cry,
While angel voices filled the air
With sweetest lullaby.”

We are glad to find that the compiler has not overlooked the fine translation of the *Dies Irae*, from the pen of Dr. M’Carthy,

the Venerable Bishop of Cloyne. For fidelity to the original, for rhythm and vigour, Dr. M'Carthy's translation far excels, in our judgment, any attempt hitherto made at rendering this sublime sequence into English, and will compare favourably even with Sir Walter Scott's version of the opening stanzas. This latter version, by the way, is printed in this collection, under the heading *That Day of Wrath*, but contains a few "emendations," of which Sir Walter would hardly approve.

This hymn-book is intended to supply hymns for singing at meetings of Confraternities and other pious Associations; and in the great variety of hymns contained in it, every kind of Association will find some to suit its own peculiar object. But without appropriate music the hymns will only half attain the end for which they are intended. Consequently we hail with satisfaction the hope expressed by the compiler, that he may soon be able to supply this want. And here we may be permitted to offer a suggestion. Many of our present hymn-tunes are, to say the least of it, not good; and, moreover, very few of them have any settled form. Why, then, should not a movement be made to compile a great national hymn-book, with appropriate music, which would be adopted in all churches and schools throughout Ireland? We have plenty of men with poetic taste and musical training; why should not a committee of these be appointed by the Bishops, and this work entrusted to them? If this were done it would, undoubtedly, profit both religion and public worship. It might be possible, also, to have spirited translations made of some of the beautiful old Irish hymns which are hidden away in old manuscripts, or treasured up in the memories of the Irish-speaking peasantry. For this task no living man is better suited than the compiler of this little hymn-book. For though he modestly hides his identity under the *nom de plume* of a "Missionary Priest," we know him as the author of a fine Irish translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, and as one of the very best living Irish scholars.

D. O'L.

THE BISHOPS' RESOLUTIONS AND THE INTERMEDIATE BOARD.

By Didaskalos: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS pamphlet draws attention to two very important matters affecting the Board of Intermediate Education. The Board is composed of seven Commissioners, who have at their disposal the interest of one million pounds sterling, or a sum of about £23,000

per annum for the general purposes of Intermediate Education in Ireland. This amount was intended at the outset for boys' schools only ; but at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stansfeld, and other English Liberals, a clause was introduced in Committee by Mr. James Lowther, then Chief Secretary, giving power to the Commissioners "to apply the benefits of the Act as far as conveniently may be to the education of girls." One of the reasons advanced by Mr. Gladstone for this proposal is worth remembering. According to the original destination of this money which was taken from the Church Surplus Fund, the female portion of creation had a large share in its enjoyment ; and in its new application it would not be fair to leave them out of consideration altogether. At all events the Irish Catholic representatives did not ask for this amendment. Some of them opposed it very strongly. It was not that they objected to something practical being done for female education, but, because in the present circumstances of the country, they regarded the education of boys as of paramount importance, and considered the sum then granted as barely adequate to give anything like the required impetus to the Intermediate Schools of boys. The English supporters of the project looked more, however, to the principle involved than to the practical necessities of Ireland, and the clause was passed. But whilst the Commissioners were left absolute discretion in the matter it was the intention of Parliament, as it is surely the demand of the common sense of the country, that the amount granted should be used in the main for the development of the Intermediate Education of boys. Anything like a serious encroachment for other purposes would make the Act practically worthless. The boys are to be the bread-winners of the family, and in a poor country like this necessity should surely be looked to before luxury. But, according to the computation of the author of the pamphlet, the sum given by the Commissioners for the Intermediate Education of girls has risen from £6,300, in 1885, to £10,600 in 1888. It has probably by this time reached a higher figure still. And the tendency to increase has been noticed in direct proportion to the disinclination which Catholic parents and schools have shown to have any part in this kind of education for their girls. Many convent schools have proved that they could succeed in the competition if they wished, but they have withdrawn because they found that education in this particular form would not suit them. Other convent schools

never entered the competition at all for the same reason. It is plain, therefore, that the Commissioners, the majority of whom are Protestants, have so arranged that this money which formerly went to support the State Church should still find its way, as far as possible, into Protestant pockets. The strong objections which Catholic female schools have shown to this kind of feverish competition should, at least, be a reason for reducing the amount granted to a minimum until some more practical arrangements can be definitely made.

A considerable portion of the pamphlet refers to the age-limit, fixed by the Board. The author does not object so much to the age-limit even as it stands, as to the fact that over-age boys whose numbers have not been at all reduced, are in a far worse position now than they were before the Intermediate Act. It is certainly a grave matter that this large class of boys who, if they are to come to anything must get even more attention than others, and who in the great majority of cases are most deserving and worthy of interest, should run the risk of being totally neglected; and we are not surprised that the author so strongly advocates the principle of the National Board, which would secure them, by results, their share of attention. There are many other facts and figures and valuable suggestions in the pamphlet on which we can not touch, but we are sure they will have the careful consideration and attention of those who have in their charge the interests of our Intermediate Schools.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION. A Paper, read by Mr. Alfred Harris of Kirkly, Lonsdale, at the Conference on Local Government Administration of the Four Northern Counties. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 50, Upper O'Connell-street.

THE object of Mr. Harris's interesting Paper is to show "the great necessity for a much more thorough organization of practical instruction than exists at present." The author advocates a limited technical training at the elementary schools: technical education in its higher and more practical developments he would have imparted at separate institutions to be established for the purpose. The Christian Brothers' School at Cork, and the Catholic Industrial School at Artane, are given as examples of institutions where these methods are already in successful operation: "In these two schools," Mr. Harris says, "may be seen, probably, the highest results which have been obtained."

Mr. Harris's Paper was written previous to the introduction of the recent Technical Instruction Bill, and the author has some reason to congratulate himself—as he takes good care to do—that the Vice-President of Council's measure practically embodies the news here set forth.

A VISIT TO EUROPE AND THE HOLY LAND. By the Rev. H. F. Fairbanks. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company; London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

Books of travel are, as a rule, dry reading. They are often the merest transcript or translation of the guide-books, and for one not visiting or about to visit the places mentioned in it, a guide-book is the most uninteresting volume imaginable. Father Fairbanks' work is, however, a exception to the general rule. In company with two other priests from the Archdiocese of Milwaukee the author made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, visiting *en route* the principal European countries and cities. The impressions received from these Old-World scenes are admirably told "from the point of view of an honest and unprejudiced American." The book is written in a graphic and graceful style, and, whilst describing everything worth description, the author carefully avoids those elaborate and useless details so commonly found in books of travel. This volume is turned out in a manner which reflects credit on the publishers. It is well printed, handsomely bound, and profusely illustrated.

THE ARMOURER OF SOLINGEN, AND WRONGFULLY ACCUSED. Translated from the German by H. J. Gill, M.A., T.C.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

MR. GILL has done good service in translating these two charming and healthy tales from the German of Wilhelm Herchenbach. Both are excellent examples of what may be done in the way of story-telling without the introduction of that sentimental nonsense which makes the modern novel so dangerous reading for our young men and women.

The Armourer of Solingen is a story of the sixteenth century. The hero, Peter Simalpuss, with all the primitive, childlike veneration for the Catholic Church so characteristic of his time, is truly a most admirable character.

Wrongfully Accused is a narrative of more modern times, dating since the introduction of railways; the plot is deeper and

more complicated than that of the first story, but in its working anyone would distinguish the tone and fibre of the same mind.

The translator's part of the work is done with the skill which indicates the master-hand, and the publishers have left nothing to be desired in the "get up" of the volume. We heartily bespeak for Mr. Gill's book a wide circulation.

THE WANDERING KNIGHT; OR, A MEDIEVAL PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. By Jean de Cartheny. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS is a translation, we suppose, from the Latin, of an old allegorical romance, which was first published at Antwerp so far back as the year 1557. The author was a brother in the Order of Mount Carmel, and Canon Theologian of the diocese of Cambrai. His work attracted great attention at the time, and was soon translated into several languages, including Flemish, German, Welsh, and English. The old English translation was made by a Southampton merchant named William Goodyear, and was afterwards "manipulated to his own mind" by Robert Norton, the then hydrographer to the Admiralty. The present translation is published under the direction of the Fathers of Charity, and bears the "*Imprimatur*" of his Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The principal character in this quaint old romance is a knight whose career is modelled after that of the Prodigal Son in the Gospel parable. This knight relates "the observations, conversations, and discourses of such other persons as he is represented to have met or fallen in with upon his way; such, for instance, as folly, voluptuous pleasure, virtue, penance, good understanding, conscience, faith, and several more besides." The narrative is divided into three parts, entitled "The Broad Way," "The Narrow Way," and "The Way of Peace." In the first part the knight, following the bent of his evil inclinations, finds himself entangled in the world's sinful follies and pleasures; in the second he tells how, under the guidance of God's good grace, he found his way first to the "Castle of Penance," and afterwards to the "Mansion of Virtue;" the third part of the work is devoted to the happy life which the knight led in the "Mansion of Virtue," and the salutary instructions he there received from an old hermit named "Good Understanding."

The translator professes to have followed the author's text as

literally as possible. Many readers will probably think that he has carried out this purpose just a little too well. Here are a couple of examples, which will serve to show what we mean :—
 “With marble stone, in black and white, that hall was paved ; and out of jasper were the columns formed, whereby its framework was sustained. Therein was an ivory throne set up on high, with fine gold overlaid ; and the steps were of alabaster that up towards it led ” (p. 74). Again :—“Predominant amongst them one paramount stood, who seemed in her beauty and her habits all the others to excel ” (p. 79).

The book is well brought out, is brimful of deep piety and solid instruction, and will, we are sure, command an extensive sale.

J. C. C.

A MANUAL FOR DOMINICAN TERTIARIES. By F. Philip Limerick, O.P. London : Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS manual is not a collection of prayers, but a hand-book containing everything that it may be interesting or useful for Tertiaries to know concerning their holy confraternity. The manual hitherto in use was felt to be very imperfect, and very ill-suited for use in these countries, it being only a translation from an old work, written for circumstances altogether different from those which now prevail. Father Limerick tells us that he undertook the work of compiling this manual at the command of the English Provincial of his Order, and with the cordial consent and co-operation of the Provincial of Ireland.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, D.D.
 By Father John Edward Bowden. London : Burns & Oates, Limited.

In the brilliant galaxy of the converts of half a century ago not one, we may venture to say without invidiousness or exaggeration, shines with kindlier or tenderer light than Father Faber. His personality was most winning ; his life most sacrificing ; his work most heroic. His name is imperishably associated with the growth of Catholicism in England, and in after and long-distant ages it will be revered and venerated.

That the biography of this great man—if at all worthy of its noble theme—should be widely read was to be expected. Hence we are not surprised that Messrs. Burns and Oates are issuing a new edition of Father Bowden’s *Life of Father Faber*. It is a work that bears accumulated evidences of the biographer’s com-

petency for, and devotion to, his task. All the praise that great diligence, and scrupulous accuracy may claim, belongs of right to Father Bowden. And, besides, he may be fairly credited with a goodly share of that nice and discriminating judgment that is so essential a requisite for the biographer. He has shown what to include in the limits he allowed himself, and what to exclude. We are glad he included so many letters. All Father Faber's letters, however unimportant, have upon them the stamp of the writer's personality, and for this reason are acceptable. Those describing his travels on the continent show how closely he could observe character, or criticise institutions, and how penetrated he was with all the beauties of scenery or of climate. His later ones are marked by serious thought, large tenderness of heart, and the wisest charity. They are all of them—the earlier and the later, but more especially the later—characterized by easy grace, and a charming buoyancy of manner.

T. A. M.

BEFORE OUR LORD CAME. By Lady Amabel Kerr. London : Burns & Oates, Limited.

THIS purposes to be a history of the Old Testament for children's reading, and we have no hesitation in saying that it fulfils its end in an admirable way. Lady Kerr has selected the striking events, and the prominent names of the Old Testament, and has told in a short chapter the history of each. The language is so simple that even in the nursery it will be easily understood. Wood-cuts—rude enough in all conscience, but for that very reason having an archaic and therefore appropriate appearance—are scattered through the handsome little volume.

CONTEMPLATIONS AND MEDITATIONS ON THE HIDDEN LIFE OF OUR LORD. Translated from the French by a Sister of Mercy. London : Burns & Oates, Limited.

THE sixty-six Meditations contained in this little book are every one most practical, and replete with suggestive thoughts and pious affections. To those who feel difficulty in developing the points of their meditation, and in exciting themselves to make appropriate acts of the will, these Meditations will be a great boon. This volume completes the translation of the original French work, which was published about fifty years ago in five small volumes. All the Meditations in the entire work are on the life and mysteries of our Lord, and make an exceedingly useful collection.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1890.

ST. KILLIAN OF WURZBURGH.

IN the north of Bavaria and in the southern part of the old Duchy of Franconia there is a city which has a peculiar interest for Irishmen. It is situated on the banks of the Main, in the midst of vine-clad hills and wide-stretching fields of pasture and tillage. On a clear day the forests of Thuringia and the blue mountains of Nassau can be seen in the distance. It is a quaint old city with many narrow streets and pointed gables. The marks of time are deeply traced in some of its features, whilst in others the signs of youthful vigour and stirring industry are no less visible. The kings of Bavaria have here a residence which they seldom occupy, but which, from its resemblance to the Palace of Versailles, from its rich decoration and valuable works of art in sculpture and fresco—a few masterpieces of Vandyck and Paolo Veronese—is not without its interest. Here, too, is a University, founded in the sixteenth century by a great Prince-Bishop, Julius von Mespelruun, whose halls are frequented by upwards of thirteen hundred students, and whose faculty of Catholic theology holds a place of recognised eminence in the Church. But it is not its pleasant site, nor its royal castle, nor even its flourishing University that chiefly attracts the attention of the Celtic visitor. It is rather the fact that here more than twelve hundred years ago, and almost on the very spot where now a stately cathedral perpetuates his memory, an Irish apostle shed his blood for the faith, and sealed by “the greatest proof of love

a man can give" his devotion to the cause of his Master and to the interests of the people he left Ireland to evangelize. The name of Wurzburg—the Latin Herbipolis—and the name of its martyred prelate, St. Killian, have ever been closely united in the mind of the Church and in the annals of German civilization.

Everywhere at Wurzburg there is something to remind one of St. Killian. The cathedral is dedicated to him; it is St. Kiliansdom. In the church next in importance in the city are the relics of the Saint, richly encased, and in the crypt beneath is the well in which he baptized the warlike duke who ruled these regions in the seventh century. His statue is on the bridge that spans the Main, on the fortress that overlooks the city, in gothic niches in the streets and on the houses. Scenes from his life and death are worked in rich tapestry, laid in costly mosaic, or painted on the walls and ceilings of almost every church in Wurzburg. The chief treasure of the University Library, a splendid collection of 250,000 volumes, is St. Killian's *Evangeliarium*, or "Book of the Gospels." The *Review* of the faculty of theology, which contained some of the best articles of Cardinal Hergeuroether and Mgr. Hettinger, was the *Kilianium*. A popular local organ of the Catholics is *St. Killian's-blatt*. Nor are these memorials confined to Wurzburg itself. They extend over a vast territory from the Rhine to the Danube and from Westphalia to Upper Austria. Every year, in the month of July, a special celebration is held in honour of the Saint in the Church of St. Dorothy in Vienna. In the diocese of Prague his festival is observed with unusual solemnity. He is the chief patron of the Cathedral of Bamberg, being associated in this honour with the canonized emperor, St. Henry, and his royal spouse, St. Cunegunde, both of whom were buried within the walls of that historic church. The Cathedral of Paderborn is dedicated to the "Virgin Mother and the Blessed Killian." In the Cathedral of Mayence, the Irish Saint has a special side chapel under his protection. The same is the case in the Cathedrals of Spiers, Augsburg, Eichstadt, and Limburg. The principal church in the flourishing city of Heilbronn, in Wurtemberg, is St. Kilians-

kirche. At Fulda, the great Rhabban Maur had already, in the ninth century, erected a chapel in honour of St. Killian. On one of its altars, still preserved, is the inscription—

“Hoc altare Petrus, Bonifatius et Chilianus
Exornant meritis laudibus atque suis.”

The librarian of the University of Wurzburg, Dr. J. B. Stammerger, in an article written last summer, enumerates over one hundred important churches all dedicated to St. Killian, and scattered over Baden, Westphalia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, the principalities of Nassau, Waldeck, and Hesse. Still more numerous are the places where a crucifix, an oratory, a well, or an oak tree commemorate the passage of the apostle. And these are not lifeless monuments. They speak through the centuries a living and eloquent language to the people.

Very little is known of the life of St. Killian before his departure from Ireland—so little, indeed, that the Scotch historian, Dempster, thought he might claim him as a countryman. The confusion arising from the ancient name of Scotia and the fact that in all likelihood St. Killian spent some years in the Island of Iona, were the only grounds on which such a claim could be based. The Bollandists,¹ when discussing the Saint's nationality, consider the matter of but little importance, and pronounce no opinion one way or the other; but all the great chroniclers assign to Ireland the honour of being St. Killian's native land. Colgan² and Lanigan,³ so well accustomed to these controversies, have no doubt whatever about St. Killian. Mabillon,⁴ who was a great authority on the sacred history of Germany, states, in several places, that St. Killian was an Irishman. In a fragment of a chronicle kept by Thaddaeus,⁵ Abbot of the Scots in Ratisbon, in the fifteenth century, Ireland is expressly mentioned as the birthplace of the Saint. Trithemius and

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, July 8th.

² Colgan, pp. 328-332.

³ Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, vol. i., p. 563.

⁵ Tempore Pepini regis Romanorum venit egregius episcopus, celebris vir, magnae virtutis de Hybernia, nomine Kilianus cum duobus sociis Colonatus et Totnanus,

Marianus Scotus give the same testimony. In the *Martyrology* of Notker,¹ the famous Abbot of St. Gall, composed in the ninth century, and in the *Martyrology* of Rhabban Maur,² which is older still, we find again the same. The oldest extant life of St. Killian, which is published in the collections of both Surius and Canisius, tells us that he came from Scotia, which is also called Hybernia.³ No doubt this work contains many anachronisms and false statements. It was composed probably in the ninth century, by Egilward, a monk of the Monastery of St. Burchard, who was totally untrustworthy, and who received and deserved the title of "interpolator." But his *Life of St. Killian* was overhauled, in the seventeenth century by the learned Jesuit, Nicholas Serrarius, whom Baronius called "the light of the German Church." Serrarius sets aside many of its exaggerations, but finds no fault with the assertion that St. Killian came from Hibernia. This has, indeed, been the constant tradition of Germany—a tradition which finds expression in all the German biographies of the Saint that have appeared in recent times.⁴

We learn, from the same sources, that St. Killian was of noble origin, and that he was deeply versed in sacred science and letters. It is probable that if he did not belong directly to the Monastery of Hy, he was at least educated within its

¹ *Passio Sancti Killiani primi ejusdem civitates (Herbipolis) episcopi et duorum discipulorum, qui ab Hibernia Scottorum insula venientes, &c. Martyrologium, Notkeri.*—Canisius, vol. ii., p. 150.

² *In Pago Austriæ et castro nomine Wirzburg juxta Moin fluvium Sanctorum natale Chilian Martyris et duorum sociorum ejus qui ab Hybernia Scottorum insula venientes, &c.—Martyrologium, Rhabbani, Can. ii. 333.*

³ *Beatus Kilianus Scottorum genere nobilibus ortus parentibus, divinae tamen gratiae factus est nobilitate clarissimus. Scotia quae et Hibernia dicitur insula est maris oceani, faecunda quidem glebis sed sanctissimis clarior viris, ex quibus Columbanus gaudet Italia, Gallo ditatur Allemannia, Kiliano Tentonica nobilitatur Francia. Vita Egilwardi.*

⁴ Die Heimath Kilians ist Schottland. Damals als Kilian zur Welt kam, rechnete man das heutige Inland auch zu Schottland. Man kann also sagen, seine Heimath ist die grüne Insel, Irland, das Schmerzenskind von Grossbritannien.—*Life*, by Father Koneberg, O. S. B. 1889.

Wie die meisten Glaubens prediger zur Bekehrung Deutschlands aus Irland—"Insel der Heiligen" genannt—von Gott berufen und gesandt wurden, so auch der hl. Kilian und seine Gefährten zur Bekehrung unseres lieben Frankenlandes.—*Life*, by Father Jacob Hofmann. 1889.

walls. There is scarcely any spot in these western countries of more historic import for the German people than this little island of Iona. For centuries it was to them a centre of light and of salvation; and it is there, too, their traditions fix the starting-point of St. Killian. All the surroundings of that holy place appeal not alone to the fancy, but also to the intelligence. For there it was that the great St. Columbkille fixed his abode, when, after a life of extraordinary energy, which led him finally to a rash undertaking, he submitted in penance to the command of his confessor and "the power of the keys," leaving the country and the monasteries and the monks that he loved with such ardent devotion, and listening only to the voice of conscience and of authority. That great act has left a deep trace in the early ecclesiastical literature of Europe. It became the secret of salvation, not to the Picts alone, but to many distant nations; and it was enhanced by the well-known attachment of the Saint to his native land and by the grief of his life-long exile:—

“ Were all the tribute of Scotia mine,
From its midland to its borders,
I would give all for one little cell
In my beautiful Derry;
For its peace and for its purity;
For Heaven's angels that come and go
Under every leaf of the oaks.

“ Beloved are Durrow and Derry,
Beloved is Raphoe the pure,
Beloved the fertile Druunhome,
Beloved are Swords and Kells;
But sweeter and fairer to me
The salt sea, where the seagulls cry;
When I come to Derry from far,
It is sweeter and dearer to me.”

It was, as far as can be ascertained, in this far-famed home of learning and sanctity that St. Killian was prepared for his great work. One day, when meditating on the words, “If anyone wishes to come after Me, let him deny himself, let him take up his cross and follow Me,” he felt that the time had come for active duty. He started on his journey with several companions. Two of them—St. Colomannus

and St. Totnanus, a priest and a deacon--followed him beyond the Rhine, and their names have ever remained associated with his own ; for they were with him to the end, shared his labours and his martyr's crown.

Supported by these intrepid companions, he penetrated into the country till he reached a place called Wurzburg. There he found a rich soil and a splendid race of men ; but the latter were heathens without exception and given up to all kinds of idolatry,

Tacitus informs us that the German people adored Mercury, Hercules, and Mars :¹ Caesar, that they were worshippers of the sun and moon.² These Roman writers were, no doubt, struck by the points of resemblance between their own and the German or Scandinavian mythology, the fundamental outlines of which were common to all Indo-European races. The first Christians recognized in them a far-off echo—a distant and disfigured trace of the Unity and Trinity of God and of man's redemption and immortality. But the Germans and all those northern peoples had their own names for their deities. They were chiefly Odin or Wodan, Thor and Freyta. They were worshipped in sacred groves and in rude primitive temples. They watched over the destinies of men and guided them through the ways of fortune, their own relations and their command of mortals being shaped and moderated by Balder. War, treachery, and blood seemed to be their delight. The heroes who fell in battle were carried by elves or Walkyries to the golden palace of Walhalla, there to enjoy immortal felicity. There is no literature in the wildest extravagance of its infancy and youth so full of blood-curdling tales of murder and carnage as the early heroics of these northern pagans. The chants of the Edda and the Niebelungen can defy all others for thrilling tragedies. The Grecian sacrifices of Pelops, of Iphigenia, and Polyxena pale before those that were practised on the shores of the Baltic. Siegfried, the Scandinavian Sigurd, will sur-

¹ "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. . . . Herculem et Martem concessis animalibus placant."—*Germania*, ix.

² "Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam."—*De Bell. Gall.*, vi.

pass, in his pursuit of Brunehilde, the feats of the Danish Beowulf or of the Saxon Hengist. The cult of these legendary heroes was mingled with that of the deities themselves and had become part of the national life. But perhaps the most noteworthy feature in the religion of these races was their worship of natural elements and forces. Light and darkness, heat and cold, good and evil, were personified and adored. Nature, in all her manifestations of life, became an object of worship.

“Man, thrown back upon himself, [writes M. Ozanam,¹] delivered up to his conscience, and to his senses was divided between the need of adoring a God that he did not see, and the temptation of adoring Nature which he saw—stronger, older, and more durable than himself. He satisfied his conscience by recognizing something divine, and satisfied his senses by deifying the phenomena that astonished him. He thus came to the adoration of the creature without effort, and without any rules except his changing impressions. And because those superstitious beliefs and practices, in the dark part of the human heart, where they take root, are less easily grappled with than dogmas and acts of supreme worship, it was this part of German paganism which gave most trouble to the Christian missionaries; which resisted their zeal with the greatest obstinacy; and which has left, to this day, the deepest traces in the history and morals of the people . . . The aspect of nature in these severe climates caused terror as well as admiration. If there was everywhere a marvellous order which conspired to spread and communicate life, there was also another design which seemed to make for death. The elements were animated; but rival powers disputed empire amongst them. Heaven had its favourable constellations; but it had also its unlucky stars. The good winds struggled against the tempests. Night and day were in perpetual warfare. For six months of the year night had the victory, bringing cold and sterility in its train. During six others, day was the conqueror. Public festivals marked the successive triumphs of both. We have still many pagan observances practised throughout the North on Christmas Night, which have no other origin. Hence, also, come the banquets and dances around the May-tree, and the dramatic combats between Summer and Winter that were so long represented on the banks of the Rhine. But, when the cold season returned, fire was the only consolation of man. Hence, the divine power attributed to the active flame, which had all the appearance of life. They adored it in the virgin spark that was

¹ *Les Germains avant le Christianisme.*

first lighted in their forests, as the comfort of the home, the attractive power of the domestic hearth. Even when the sun shone down in summer, it was not forgotten; but was lighted as a propitiatory 'bonfire,' vestiges of which may still be witnessed at Easter or St. John's Day through Germany, Norway, and Britain."

Earth and water, rivers and mountains, had also their share of worship. Great oaks, the birds of the air and beasts of the fields, were not neglected. The wolf and the serpent were evil powers. The serpent guarded the stores of knowledge and the caverns in which gold was amassed—knowledge and gold, which tempt men so strongly, and are the ruin of such numbers! Worse than all these, were the infamous rites by which degrading vices were celebrated, if not adored. In modern times the pessimism of Schopenhauer, the pantheism of Goethe, and the naturalism of a host of German materialists, seek refreshment and strength in the superstitions of these barbarous ages.

It was to a people steeped in such idolatrous practices that St. Killian had to address himself. "Now," he said to his companions,¹ "you see a beautiful country and a noble race of people, though steeped in error. If you are willing, we shall go to Rome and visit the tombs of the holy Apostles, and present ourselves to the blessed Pope John; and, if it be the will of God, having received his authorization and approval, we shall return and preach to them in confidence the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

They accordingly crossed the Alps and the Appenines, and were received with great favour in the Eternal City by Pope Conon, who had just succeeded Pope John V. If Killian was not already a bishop, he was now consecrated, and received full jurisdiction over the whole of Central Germany.

Of the preaching and missionary work of St. Killian, after

¹ "Fratres, videtis locum elegantem hominesque jucundos, licet in errore deceptos. Si vobis videtur sic ut condiximus usque dum in nostra fuimus patria, cauius Roman et visitemus limina Sanctorum Apostolorum et presentemus nos obtutibus Beatae Papae Johannis et si Domini voluntas sit, accepta licentia, cum illius consultu, iterum revertamus et praedicemus illis fiducialiter nomen Domini Nostri Jesu Christi."—Extract from old *Life*, found in the Dominican Monastery of Eichstadt, and published by Canisius, vol. ii., page 180.

his return to Franconia, only a few prominent facts have been preserved. The rest were, no doubt, condensed in the hymn of the Middle Ages :—

“Intelligentiae dono tu rutilas
 Ignotae patriae fidem tu praedicas
 Romanos ut Cephas, Achayos Andreas
 Salvas Francos idolatras.”¹

The Saint was fortunate, at an early stage of his mission, in winning over to the true faith the Duke Gozbert, who ruled over Franconia. Thousands of subjects quickly followed the example of the ruler. The greatest obstacle in the way of the Duke's complete conversion was the fact that Geilana, with whom he was living, had been the wife of his brother. To make a sacrifice of this union was the most delicate point St. Killian had to propose. But, so deeply had he impressed Gozbert with the beauty and perfection of Christian life, that the prince consented to this also. He told the Saint that, on his return from an expedition on which he was engaged against the Jutes and Frisians, he would make arrangements to separate permanently from Geilana. When this came to the ears of the lady her anger knew no limits. The same spirit that excited Herodias against St. John the Baptist, urged her to compass the ruin of St. Killian and his companions. She found willing courtiers ready to carry out her behests. Assassins were hired, and the wicked design was easily accomplished. The deed was perpetrated at the dead of night, as the Saint and his companions were engaged in prayer. “My children,” said the fearless Bishop, “the long-wished-for day has arrived. Enter with me this spiritual contest without fear or trepidation, according to the words of the Lord : ‘*Fear not those who kill the body, but the soul they cannot kill.*’”² The

¹ *Office of St. Killian, De Burgo*

² “Contigit autem ut quadam nocte dum Dominus omnipotens suos finire voluisset milites temporale certamen, tempore nocturno quando in Dei laudibus unanimiter consistebant, accessit lictor ad eos ense acuto praeparatus ad Dei amicos jugulandos, complexus praecepta Geilanae uxoris Gosberti Ducis, quod videus Kyllena, Pontifex Christi dixit ad suos. O filii mei spirituales, jam dies diu optata : spirituale certamen mecum inite absque timore, sine trepidatione secundum Domini vocem. *Nolite timere eos qui corpus occidunt animam autem non possunt occidere.*”

remains of the holy martyrs were reverently removed by St. Burchard and placed in the church, where their relics are still venerated, under the inscription :—

“ Hi sunt, Herbipolis, qui te docuere, magistri.”

The murder of the Saint did not remain long unpunished. All who had any hand in it were swiftly overtaken by divine retribution, and the Christian faith was planted all the deeper. *Sanguis martyrurum, semen Christianorum.* St. Boniface, when introducing Burchard as Bishop of Wurzburg, congratulated the Eastern Franks that such testimony had been given amongst them. It was, he told them, a bright augury for the future.¹ And his words were prophetic ; for, whilst other cities and provinces around fell away from the faith and rebelled against the Church, Wurzburg and Franconia never failed. They remained faithful to St. Killian, who came to them confirmed by the blessing of the Roman Pontiff. The *Reformers* found there an uncongenial soil. The children of St. Killian had no more welcome for heresy than the sons of St. Patrick. Throughout their history they have cherished the memory of their Apostle ; and never was their devotion more sincere and widespread than it is to-day.

On the 8th of last July an unwonted scene was witnessed at Wurzburg. The streets were decorated with banners and festive wreaths. The flags of the Pope and of the German Empire were unfurled from the spires of the cathedral. The inhabitants were, for the most part, out of doors, attired in their gayest costumes. About 40,000 strangers had assembled there from all parts of Germany. In the early morning, the bells of the city rang out in joyous peals. At mid-day, rounds of cannon were fired from the Marienberg fortress, in royal salute. At night, the whole city was illuminated in the most brilliant and varied colours. All day long the churches were thronged with eager worshippers. The streets were almost impassable, so great were the crowds. These were the sons of St. Killian, who had come to celebrate the anniversary of his triumph. Twelve hundred years had

¹ “Felix eris, Wirzburch, et inter Germaniae non ignobilis urbes et quamvis bis temporibus quarundam civitatum postrema, tamen exornata corporibus martyrum inferior non habebis.”—Mabillon, page 702.

just elapsed since he gave idolatry its death-blow in their beloved Frankenland. It was, indeed, a jubilee ; for the joy which only Christianity can give, was in every countenance. Rich and poor, nobles and peasants, joined, without distinction, in the old-fashioned hymn that had come down to them from their forefathers :—

“ Wir rufen un den Theuren Man
Sainet Kiliän
Sainet Colonat und Sainet Totnan
Dich loben, dir danken
Deine kinder in Franken
Sainet Kiliän.
Du hast geliebt das Frankenland,
Dein Blut gabst du zum Unterpfand.
Du hast gemacht uns Franken frei
Von gräuel der Abgotterei.”

Meanwhile the students of the University had assembled in their great hall to hear the Saint extolled in the cultured language of the schools, and to applaud, amongst other items, the Latin strophes of Mgr. Hettinger :—

“ Chilianum virum fortem
Perferentem diram mortem
Impiorum gladio.
Primum fidei satorem,
Gentis nostrae amatorem,
Celebremus jubilo.
‘ Dulcem patriam reliquit,
Nostrae salutem sitivit,
Immortalis animae
Quot labores exantlavit ;
Quot dolores, heu ! portavit
Praesidium Franconiae.
“ O Franconia beata
Tantis bonis cumulata
Pande gratum animum :
Ejus qui per salvatricem
Undam tibi tam felicem
Novum dedit spiritum.
“ Corpus sacrum trucidatum
Munus superis oblatum
Efferamus gloria.
Stellae instar nostrae mentis
Praefulgens pii parentis
Splendeat memoria.”

During the whole octave the festival continued. The processions were particularly interesting from the fact that they included such large numbers of working-men, and particularly of the trades and guilds of the towns and cities of Franconia. And these serious and industrious men did not come for a mere spectacle or passing impression; they came to make an act of faith, and to pledge themselves to be true to St. Killian and his teaching. The authorities of the Church do not shut their eyes to the returning tide of paganism which is the legacy of Luther to Protestant Germany. Everywhere its influence is felt, in philosophy, in art, in poetry, in religion. Spinoza is publicly apostrophized in the pulpits of the Evangelical Church, as one of the divine teachers of modern times. The universities have become centres of thoughtful and systematic infidelity. The amount of labour, of energy, of erudition, that is spent by professors of rationalism in their unholy cause is simply untold, and has, beyond doubt, a world-wide effect. There is no detail neglected that can tell against Christianity. Every science and every faculty is laid under contribution, and asked to bring its defiant evidence into the field. The natural world is explored in its phenomena and its laws—in chemistry, in geology, in botany, in anatomy—and turned in unnatural rebellion against its author. The study of the human race, and of the languages that nations have spoken is pursued with an ardour unknown elsewhere, and seeks to discredit the great monument of revelation, which tells us whence we came and for what purpose we are here. The new apostles call themselves free-thinkers, rationalists, critics, *savans*, as if outside their circle there was neither liberty, nor reason, nor criticism, nor science. And the results of their unhallowed work is brought to the door of the peasant in popular manuals, and cheap, attractive literature. If the poor man accepts it, so much the better for him in the eyes of these proud and selfish teachers; if he rejects it, so much the worse. After all, he is of the common herd, and it matters little if he prefers to cling to his superstitions. Indeed, it seems better to them to preserve the outward organization of the Church, such as it is, without any shock or upheaval,

provided old beliefs are laid aside, and the new gospel adopted in their stead. The edifice will be all the more safely undermined when it is done gradually and from within. In reality, that is what takes place. The Protestant Church is undergoing a natural process of evolution. From Luther to Von der Hardt and Wolf; from Christian Wolf to Reimarus and Lessing; from Lessing to Eichhorn and Paulus. Baur, Vater, Schleiermacher, de Wette, each contributes his share to the movement. David Friederich Strauss surpasses these in the boldness of his impiety, and is, again, left behind by Feuerbach, Hartmann, and Wellhausen. And thus it is that wave of error follows wave till each is rejected in its turn and broken on the shore. It could not be otherwise, once the authority founded by Christ to keep intact the deposit of truth, and to act as the guardian and faithful interpreter of His revelation, was cast off and denied. And as has always been the case in the dealings of God with men, He has concealed the high truths of His mercy and grace from the proud and self-sufficient, and has revealed them to the humble and the docile. The honour of the Church demands, according to St. Paul, that heresy should be combated; and it has been done in Germany by able hands, and with increasing activity and fruit. The interests of religion require that much more should still be done. But high intellectual work and the industry of the learned, whilst always of the greatest value, are by no means the only elements to be taken into account in such a struggle. Not to speak of the mysterious ways of God's grace, which are, of course, first in importance, peoples are often more deeply stirred by an appeal to the great traditions of the past than by the closest reasonings and most learned works. This is particularly true of that great and busy mass of men who are wholly engrossed in the pursuits of worldly life, and have but little time to bestow on high speculations of thought, or the intricacies of controversy. It was thus St. Killian's jubilee, whilst it afforded his faithful children an occasion of making public their unfailing gratitude, strengthened the wavering, and called up in the minds of many, even outside the Church, the first triumphs of the Christian faith, and the secrets of its propagation and success.

It was a great demonstration of Catholic loyalty, worthy of the ages of faith, and destined to give confidence and courage to those who feared most the evil influences of the present time.

Saints as learned and as devoted as St. Killian may, indeed, have left our Irish shores in those early centuries, but we doubt if there be a single one whose work has endured with such lasting vitality, or whose memory is more faithfully cherished by the descendants of those whom he converted.

J. F. HOGAN.

A SPECIMEN OF RATIONALISTIC PREJUDICE.

IT would perhaps be hardly fair to take Professor Huxley *au sérieux*, when, in a recent controversy, he sneeringly refers to theologians who maintain the traditional teaching as to the Sacred Scriptures as “theologians who are mere counsel for creeds.” He wrote, no doubt, smarting under the castigation he had received only a little time before, at the hands of Principal Wace, in the pages of *The Nineteenth Century*. Still it requires no proof that those whom we venture to term orthodox interpreters of Holy Writ, are regarded by modern rationalists as a body of men who look at the facts before them, not in the light of the evidence that tells for or against them, not with a view to finding out what the real state of the case may be, but with minds darkened by preconceived ideas and prejudices, and with a fixed determination to arrive at certain conclusions, whether the evidence conducts to them or not.

Such views are undoubtedly held, and such charges made, by modern rationalistic critics. We, therefore, not unnaturally, expect to find rationalists to be a body of men led by the pure light of reason alone—men who are above the vulgar weakness of faith, who bring to the examination of the Holy Scriptures minds completely free from bias, emancipated from all preconceived ideas, and bent only upon

the discovery of the truth. But, alas! though such are the ideas we are naturally led to entertain in regard to the followers of the "higher criticism," we find, upon a very cursory examination of their writings, that we have been lamentably mistaken. It is true they sneer at the so-called prejudice of their opponents, and speak eloquently of the virtue of judicial impartiality; but none the less they themselves approach the interpretation of the Holy Bible with every indication of bias and prejudice. Nor do we refer merely to what we may call dogmatic prejudice; that is to say, such prejudice as a refusal to believe in prophecy, even in cases in which it has been established on sound historical bases, on the plea that it is impossible for man to foretell the future. We refer to a grosser and more palpable form of prejudice; such prejudice, in fact, as at times warps their judgment, and renders their conclusions untrustworthy in regard to ordinary facts of history occurring in Holy Scripture. An instance of such prejudice it is proposed to enter into in the following pages.

One of the most generally accepted conclusions of modern Biblical criticism is the historical untrustworthiness of the Books of Chronicles.

"With what show of justice," says Wellhausen,¹ "can the chronicler, after his statements have over and over again been shown to be incredible, be held at discretion to pass for an unimpeachable narrator? In those cases, at least, where its connection with his 'plan' is obvious, one ought surely to exercise some scepticism in regard to his testimony; but it ought at the same time to be considered that such connections may occur much oftener than is discernible by us, or, at least, by the less sharp-sighted of us. It is, indeed, possible that occasionally a grain of good corn may occur among the chaff; but to be conscientious one must neglect this possibility of exceptions, and give due honour to the probability of the rule. For it is only too easy to deceive oneself in thinking that one has come upon some sound particular in a tainted whole."

Such is Professor Wellhausen's opinion as to the historical value of the Books of Chronicles. Indeed, Dr. Mivart, in a

recent article in *The Nineteenth Century*,¹ sets forth very fairly the conclusion of modern rationalistic criticism in regard to that portion of the Old Testament when he says "The Book of Chronicles is considered as a thoroughly unhistorical work (certainly not older than 320 B.C.), the history contained in it being habitually falsified in accordance with the point of view of the priestly code and history. Indeed fiction is therein said to be carried even farther."

If, then, orthodox interpreters contend for the inspiration of the sacred writings, the historical unsoundness of the Books of Chronicles has become no less an article in the creed of the followers of the "higher criticism," and in support of this dogma they not unfrequently bolster up their arguments with the powerful assistance of a strong prejudice in favour of the conclusion. The line of argument, as is well known, which they pursue, is to compare the narratives of Kings with those corresponding in Chronicles. As a result of this comparison, they declare it to be beyond doubt that glaring contradictions and inconsistencies exist between the two. More than this, they discover that the chronicler has systematically altered and added to the older narrative of Kings, with a view to bringing the history more in conformity with the point of view from which he was writing. It is with one of these so-called additions that we are concerned in the present paper.

The history of King Manasses' reign is set forth in the Fourth Book of Kings.² It is there told of him how he "did evil in the sight of the Lord." He encouraged idolatry, shed innocent blood, and eventually slept with his fathers, after a reign of five-and-fifty years. In the Second Book of Chronicles³ these facts are also related of him; but it is further stated:—

"Therefore He (the Lord) brought upon them (the inhabitants of Juda) the captains of the army of the king of the Assyrians: and they took Manasses, and carried him bound with chains and fetters to Babylon. And after that he was in distress, he prayed to the Lord his God: and did penance exceedingly

¹ July, 1887, p. 41.

² Chap. xxi.

³ Chap. xxxiii.

before the God of his fathers. And he entreated Him and besought Him earnestly : and He heard his prayer, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom, and Manasses knew that the Lord was God.”

This account of the captivity and repentance of Manasses, though occurring in the Book of Chronicles is completely omitted by the author of Kings. The circumstance was promptly explained by the rationalistic school. Gramberg, Rosenmüller, de Wette, Winer, Hitzig, K. H. Graf, and others, declared the whole passage to be an invention, inserted by the chronicler to suit his purpose. This view they supported by arguments tending to discredit the story, which came to be considered as one of the stock objections to the historical credibility of the Book of Chronicles. The restrictions as to space imposed upon a writer in a Review compel us to lay aside the part of the narrative that refers to Manasses' repentance : we shall enter only into the question of his captivity, and begin by setting forth the arguments that have been brought against it.

Speaking in regard both to the captivity and repentance of Manasses, Davidson remarks that “ Graf has fully shown the untenableness of both facts.”¹ He is alluding to an article by K. H. Graf in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*,² in which the arguments against the captivity are put more forcibly than in any other paper that has appeared upon the subject. It will therefore, perhaps, be best to set down the arguments as brought forward by him. As Graf's article, however, extends over some thirty pages, obviously we cannot reproduce it in full. We shall, in fact, be obliged to have recourse to the usages of the law-courts, and to fall back upon the usual mode of action in the profession—since we belong to the class of “counsel for creeds”—and to draw up a statement of particulars. We may say, at the outset, that we have no intention of entering into a discussion of that part of the article which endeavours to discredit the credibility of the chronicler by adducing

¹ *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. ii., p. 100.

² 1859, p. 467, *et seq.*

a long list of instances in which he is said to be at variance with the writer of Kings. We maintain that each of the cases brought forward can be explained consistently with the corresponding passages in the Books of Kings; but then to enter into the matter would require a treatise. The only bearing the introduction of such instances into the question of the captivity of Manasses can have, is to prejudice the mind, and prevent an impartial consideration of it upon its own merits. Neither do we intend to follow Graf in his speculations as to how the story of the captivity might have arisen. It will be time enough to consider that when the historical untrustworthiness of the passage has been demonstrated. Leaving these matters therefore aside, we shall proceed to set down under four heads the chief objections that have been brought by K. H. Graf against the credibility of the captivity of Manasses.

Many interpreters—among them Movers, Keil, Ewald—on account of a passage in the First Book of Esdras,¹ refer the captivity of Manasses to the time when, as is there stated, Esarhaddon carried away settlers from Babylonia and Upper Asia to Samaria. It was on that occasion, they say, that the king of Assyria subjugated Juda and took Manasses prisoner. To this Graf replies—and this we take to be his first objection—that there is no connection between transplanting colonists from the East into Samaria and undertaking a hostile expedition against Palestine. There is no evidence to favour the idea that Assyria enjoyed any preponderance at this time in that part of Asia. “If it be thought,” says Davidson,² really reproducing Graf,³ “that the testimony of Abydenus (in Eusebius, *Chron. Armen.*), favours a war of Esarhaddon in Palestine, when we read that Axerdis got possession of Egypt and the interior parts of Syria (*partes-que interiores Syriae*), it should first be shown that Axerdis and Esarhaddon are identical, and that the phrase *inner parts of Syria* refers to the conquest of Jerusalem. This is impossible.”

A second objection is based upon the fact that Manasses

¹ iv. 2.

² *Introduction to Old Testament*, page 100.

³ Page 472, &c.

is said to have been taken prisoner to Babylon.¹ Why to Babylon, and not to Nineveh the capital of the Assyrian empire? Besides, there is a reason which makes it unlikely that Manasses would have been taken to Babylon at this time. Babylon had in the time of Manasses' father endeavoured to conclude an alliance with him, and was at this very time inclined to revolt.

In the third place, Graf finds an objection² to the historical truth of the narrative in the indefiniteness of the language. We have no mention of any ruler in Jerusalem whilst Manasses was in captivity. On the other hand, when Pharaoh-Necho carried away Joachaz into Egypt, he appointed Eliakim, his brother, king in his stead.³ When Nabuchodonosor took Joachin captive to Babylon, he made Sedecias, uncle of the fallen monarch, king over Juda; and when, later still, Sedecias was made a prisoner, the government of Juda was intrusted to Godolias.⁴ But now that Manasses is alleged to have been taken into captivity we have no record of anyone being appointed to rule in his stead. Then there is a vagueness and poetical form pervading the verse⁵ relating the story of the captivity. "They took Manasses, and carried him bound with chains." And, again, the Lord "brought upon them the captains of the army of the king of the Assyrians." In fact, the idea of the captivity seems to have derived its origin from the words of the prophet Isaias in which he foretold to King Ezechias⁶ that his children would be carried away and made eunuchs in the royal palace in Babylon. The chronicler, seeing how inconsistent with his principles was the long though wicked reign of Manasses, and finding among the prophecies of Isaias one that spoke of a future imprisonment in Babylon of the sons of Ezechias, out of these two facts made up the indefinite and poetical story we now read in the Second Book of Chronicles.

Finally, it is objected⁷ that there is no mention of this captivity in the Fourth Book of Kings. This argument obtains all the more force from the fact that it is customary with the

¹ Page 472. ² Page 475.

³ 2 Paral. xxxvi. 4.

⁴ 4 Kings, xxv. 22

⁵ Pages 490, 491.

⁶ Is. xxxviii, 6, 7.

⁷ Page 477.

author of Kings to tell of the punishments of bad kings. "By the fact," says Graf, "that frequently the connection between sin and punishment is set forth in a way that is both arbitrary and unfair, we can see how anxious the compiler was to bring into prominence in his history the principle of Divine retribution." Nay, more; by way of illustrating this principle, the writer of Kings brings forward cases in which the punishment inflicted was not extreme. Thus, of King Joas it is told how he had to buy off the hostility of Hasael, king of Syria, with the rich treasures of the Temple;¹ and, again, of King Jothan, that he lived to see the beginning of the hostility of the kings of Israel and Syria towards Juda.² Now, Manasses was one of the worst kings of Juda. How is it, then, that the writer of Kings omits all mention of his captivity, if this was really a historical fact? Does it not look as if the chronicler, writing in later times, and seeing the awkwardness of any king living a long and wicked life, thought it necessary to insert this detail, though it rested on no historical basis?

These are the chief arguments that were brought forward some years ago by Graf and the rationalistic school against the veracity of the account given in Chronicles of Manasses' captivity, and they were regarded by the believers in the "higher criticism" as having practically settled the question. Since the appearance, however, of the article to which we have been referring, an unexpected flood of light has been let in upon the history of Israel and the ancient Assyrian empire. "Suddenly," says Professor Sayce,³ "as with the wand of a magician, the ancient Eastern world has been re-awakened to life by the spade of the explorer and the patient skill of the decipherer, and we now find ourselves in the presence of monuments which bear the names or recount the deeds of the heroes of Scripture." How extensive are the sources of information that are being brought to light, will be clear from the following words of the same writer:— "Although only one of the many libraries which now lie buried beneath the ground in Babylonia and Assyria has, as

¹ 1 Kings, xii. 18.

² 4 Kings, xv. 37.

³ *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, page 3.

yet, been at all adequately explored, the amount of Assyrian literature at the disposal of the student is already greater than that contained in the whole of the Old Testament."¹ Moreover, Professor Sayce tells us² that "striking confirmations of the Bible narrative have been afforded by the latest discoveries;" that "in many cases confirmation has been accompanied by illustration," and that "unexpected light has been thrown upon facts and statements hitherto obscure, or a wholly new explanation has been given of some event recorded by the inspired writer." Among other narratives of the Old Testament that have been confirmed, though indirectly, by the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, is the story of Manasses' imprisonment. With the aid, therefore, of the light thrown upon the subject by the labours of Assyriologists, we now proceed to reply to the objections which we have just brought forward.

Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, reigned from 681 to 668 B.C. Manasses sat upon the throne of Juda from 696 to 641 B.C. Esarhaddon spent the first eight years of his reign in recovering the territory that had been lost by his father, Sennacherib. Then—probably in the year 672 B.C.—he resolved to make a descent upon the kingdom of Egypt. His son, Assurbanipal, gives an account³ of his father's victorious campaign there, and Maspero enters into some detail on the same subject in his *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*. For our purpose it is enough to know that Esarhaddon undertook and accomplished the conquest of Egypt. Ezechias, king of Juda, had died long before (in the year 696), so that Manasses was at this time the reigning king of Juda. How he was treated by Esarhaddon on his way through Palestine to Egypt, we do not know; but this we know, that he was numbered among the tributaries of the Assyrian monarch. Esarhaddon says, upon one of the cylinders of his reign, that at this time twenty-two kings paid tribute to him. A second inscription gives the names of the twenty-two subject-kings, and among them is "Mi-na-si-i

¹ *Ibid.*, page 15.

² *Ibid.*, page 4.

³ Cylinder A, Col. i., G. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pages 15, 16.

sar ir Ya-hu-di" (Manasses, King of Juda). This cylinder belongs to the year 672 B.C. Esarhaddon also undertook expeditions against the Philistines and against Sidon; and it is most likely that, at least in the former case, the king of Juda was obliged to pay tribute to him.

In the First Book of Esdras there is—as is mentioned in Graf's objection—an allusion to the bringing of certain colonists from the East to Samaria. Certain persons are therein represented as saying to Zorobabel: "Behold, we have sacrificed to him since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who brought us in hither." The inscriptions of this monarch, as yet discovered, make no express mention of any such transportation; but they suppose it. For they refer to men taken from Palestine into Assyria, and "from the Sea of the East to the West;" and, in all probability, this transportation belongs to the period of Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt.

From what we have said it is clear—notwithstanding the opinion of Graf, Davidson, and others—that the influence and sway of Esarhaddon extended over Egypt, Syria, and Western Asia, even to the Mediterranean, and that he numbered Manasses among his tributaries. In regard to the position of this monarch, Sayce remarks:¹ "He was one of the ablest generals Assyria ever produced, and was distinguished from his predecessors by his mild and conciliatory policy. Under him the Assyrian empire reached its furthest limits, Egypt being conquered and placed under twenty Assyrian satraps; while an Assyrian army penetrated into the very heart of the Arabian desert." And again:² "The name of Manasseth, king of Juda, twice occurs on the Assyrian monuments. Once he is mentioned among the tributaries of Esarhaddon; once among those of Assurbanipal. It is clear, therefore, that at some period, shortly after Hezekiah's death, Judah was again forced to pay tribute and do homage to the Assyrian king. When Esarhaddon passed through Palestine, on his way to Egypt, he found there only submission and respect."

¹ *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, page 121.

² *Ibid.*, page 122.

Many commentators, before the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, maintained that the captivity of Manasses took place during the reign of Esarhaddon; indeed, this seems to be still the opinion of Professor Sayce;¹ but from the facts we have learned in regard to the reign of Assurbanipal, there seems to be but little doubt that this event happened during his reign. Assurbanipal succeeded his father, in the year 667, and died 626 B.C. In the beginning of his reign he had to undertake an expedition against Egypt, for the purpose of quelling a rebellion there. Hardly had he left that country, when the revolt broke out afresh, and he was obliged to return and re-establish his supremacy. On his way to Egypt, Assurbanipal was obliged to pass either through Palestine, or very close to its boundaries; and we know for certain that, at the time of his first Egyptian campaign, he received the tribute of the king of Juda. This we learn from an inscription of Assurbanipal,² which says:—

69. Towards Egypt and Ethiopia I directed my march.

70. In the course of the expedition, twenty-two kings,

71. From the borders of the sea, and from the middle of the sea, all

72. Tributaries, dependant on me,

73. Came into my presence, and kissed my feet.

A second cylinder³—though, unfortunately, much damaged—gives further information as to these kings, among whom is numbered the king of Juda. The name is unfortunately effaced; but it is certain that the king of Juda, at this time, was none other than Manasses.

No inscription, as yet discovered, alludes to the captivity of King Manasses. It may be asked, therefore, why should Assurbanipal have taken King Manassas into captivity? In all probability, we should say, because he revolted against him. We have seen that he was a tributary of the Assyrian monarch. Now, somewhat later in the reign of Assurbanipal, his younger brother, Saulmugina,⁴ Viceroy of Babylon,

¹ *Assyria: its Princes, Priests, and People*, page 47.

² Cylinder A., Col. I., Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pages 17-18.

³ Cylinder C., *Assurbanipal* 30-32.

⁴ Called by Eusebius, "Sammughes;" by Ptolemæus, "Saesduchim."

revolted, and tried to supplant him. He succeeded in fomenting rebellion ; so that nearly all the vassals of Assyria, from Lydia to Egypt, including Phœnicia, Hauran, Arabia, and the Philistines, threw off their allegiance. This is clearly stated on one of the monuments ; and among those excited to rebellion, were the men “from the coast of the sea,” by which phrase we are to understand, as it is interpreted in other passages, the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean—in this case the inhabitants of Palestine. In another inscription, Assurbanipal tells us how he treated the rebels : “I imposed upon them the yoke of Assyria, which they had shaken off. I placed over them lieutenants, the instruments of my hands. . . . I imposed on them the payment of a tribute for their lands.” This was in the year 647, whilst Manasses was king of Juda. Whether Manasses actually broke into open revolt, or was only disposed to act in that way, we do not know ; but it is very likely that it was at this time, and in connection with this insurrection, that he was carried off captive to Babylon.

Having considered, at some length, the first of Graf’s objections, we are now in a position to reply to the others more briefly. How is it, then, that the Assyrian king is said to have taken Manasses to Babylon, and not to Nineveh, the capital of his kingdom ? We reply that, for those who regard the captivity as having taken place in the time of Esarhaddon, the explanation is simple. It may be given as follows in the words of Professor Sayce :²—

“Babylon, which had been razed to the ground by Sennacherib, in B.C. 691, and the adjoining river choked with its ruins, was rebuilt, and Esarhaddon endeavoured to win over the Babylonians by residing in it during half the year. This affords an explanation of a fact mentioned in the *Second Book of Chronicles* (xxxiii. 11), which has long been a stumbling-block in the way of critics. It is there said that the king of Assyria, after crushing the revolt of Manasseh, carried him away captive to Babylon. The cause of this is now clear. As Esarhaddon spent part of his time at Babylon, it merely depended on the season of the year to which of his two capitals, Nineveh or Babylon, a political prisoner should be brought.”

Cylinder A., Col. IV., *Assurbanipal*, *ibid.*, page 334.

² *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, page 122.

Since, however, we refer the captivity of Manasses to the reign of Assurbanipal, we shall have to give another explanation of the fact. When this monarch had put an end to the usurped reign of his brother, Saulmugina, he assumed the title of King of Babylon. Accordingly, we read in the *Armenian Chronicle* of Eusebius,¹ "Jam post Samugen, imperavit Chaldæis Sardanapallus viginti annis et duo." (Sardanapallus was no other than Assurbanipal.) Moreover, from a tablet of the reign of this monarch,² it is clear that he was at least twenty years king of Babylon. Polyhistor attributes to him a reign of twenty-one years, and the Canon of Ptolemæus, a reign of twenty-two years to Kineladan, who is the same as Assurbanipal, by corruption of one of his names, Sin-inaddina-habal. We conclude that Assurbanipal reigned for many years as king of Babylon after the overthrow of his brother. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that he transacted business, received ambassadors, and had his prisoners conducted there. Nor is it unlikely that after the suppression of the revolt against him, and during the military occupation of Babylon, he would have desired to inspire dread into the conquered inhabitants, by displaying before their eyes the captive monarch of Juda.

We pass on now to the third objection, and we have to say that, as far as that part of it is concerned which points out that no mention is made of any ruler in Jerusalem during the captivity of Manasses, it seems to us entirely without weight. If it were of any use to speculate about the matter, any number of plausible explanations might be given. This much, however, we may venture to suggest. The position of Pharaoh Nechao and Nabuchodonosor, when they appeared at the gates of Jerusalem, at the height of their power and greatness, was very different from that of Assurbanipal, when, engaged in a deadly struggle with rebellious subjects, he determined to take Manasses into captivity. They might well select rulers to succeed the kings they were taking away; but we can well imagine how he would be willing enough to let the inhabitants of

¹ Lib. i., cap. v., num. 3.

Smith's *Assurbanipal*, page 324.

Juda set up a provisional form of government in the absence of their sovereign. At all events, whether a governor was appointed or not, the omission of his name by the chronicler is no argument against the truth of the passage. Indeed, if there were any significance in the omission, we might well ask why the chronicler, upon the supposition that the whole story is an invention, did not foist one more detail on the credulity of his readers, and thus bring it into conformity with parallel instances.

Coming now to the second part of the objection, we may say that some years ago the words stating that Manasses was "carried, bound with chains and fetters," might, indeed, seem strange; nor was it altogether unnatural for the rationalistic critic, if he really disbelieved in the credibility of the Books of Chronicles, to search the Prophets for something that might have suggested the words of the text in regard to the captivity of Manasses. The words can no longer create difficulty now that the history of the Assyrian empire has been exhumed and deciphered. Thus an inscription¹ belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal tells us how "they took Sarludari, king of Zihinu, and Nikku (Nechao, king of Memphis), and with bonds of iron and chains they fastened their hands and feet;" so, too,² on another we have, "with strong chains and bonds of iron I fastened the hands and feet of Dunanu and Samgunu, the enemies of my royalty;" and again,³ "Dunanu, son of Belbasa, I took alive. Our soldiers put him in bonds, and sent him to Nineveh to my presence." That the practice of chaining prisoners was common among the Assyrians, is also shown by a bas-relief that has been dug out, representing an Assyrian king with prisoners before him, bound hand and foot.

Now, how was Nechao, king of Memphis, treated when he reached the Assyrian capital? Let Assurbanipal speak for himself:—"I granted favour to him, and I made an alliance with him . . . his heart I made to rejoice, and pre-

¹ D 2675, and K. 228. Smith's *Assurbanipal*.

Cyl. A; col. iii. Smith's *Assurbanipal*, page 113.

³ Smith's *Assurbanipal*, page 148.

cious vestments and ornaments of gold I put upon him. . . . Golden rings I placed upon his feet. . . . I re-established him in his kingdom at Sais. . . . Benefits and favours I caused to be bestowed upon him." Who is it that was thus treated? Nechao, who was mixed up with the Egyptian revolt against Assurbanipal. Who was the Assyrian king? Assurbanipal. So that Nechao was carried in chains to Nineveh by order of Assurbanipal and then restored to his kingdom. Can it, then, be seriously brought as an objection against the truth of the narrative of Manasses' captivity, that for taking part in a revolt against this same Assurbanipal, he was taken in chains to Babylon and afterwards restored to his throne?

There remains but one question more to be considered, viz.: What explanation can be given of the omission of all reference to the captivity of Manasses in the Fourth Book of Kings? "It cannot," says Davidson, in almost the words of Graf, "be said that the mere silence of the king-writer is of no prejudice to the credit of the chronist, if it can be shown that the accounts of the one are irreconcilable with those of the other." Quite so. But what we require to have shown in order to make this clear is that it was necessary to the scope of the king-writer to make any mention of the captivity of Manasses. It requires no proof, that neither the king-writer nor the chronist professes to be writing a complete history. The number of important events omitted by both—events, too, of which they must have known—of itself makes this abundantly clear. In fact, the authors of both books made use of such facts as were necessary and suited to the purpose they had in view. What, therefore, seems of the utmost importance to determine is, the object that each of these writers had before him.

Fr. Cornely² is of opinion that the scope of the writer of Kings was "to show the causes that led to the final destruction of the kingdoms of Juda and Israel." "The children of Israel," he continues, "forsook the law of God; they gave themselves to idolatry, and hence they drew down upon

¹ *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. ii., page 97.

² *Introduction*, vol. ii., page 284.

themselves the vengeance of God." Davidson takes a very similar view.¹ "The history before us," he says, "shows how God preserved the kingdom of Solomon entire; and, after its division, endeavoured to recall both Israel and Judah to a sense of their relation to Himself by admonitions and chastisements, until their continued rebellion subverted them. That subversion, however, was not the extinction of David's seed. It was a severe and salutary chastisement." Such was the scope of the writer of Kings. What object had the chronicler in view? "Taking into account the argument of the work and the circumstances of the time," says Cornely,² "unless we are altogether mistaken we should say that the primary end of the author was to exhort his fellow-countrymen to the observance of the law and the worthy celebration of Divine worship, by setting before them the history of the ancient kingdom." "This opinion," he continues, "is confirmed if we consider not only how often, but also in what manner the author sets forth the relation that exists between the observance of the law and worthy celebration of Divine worship on the one hand, and the prosperous state of the kingdom on the other." That Wellhausen and other rationalistic writers take the same view of the chronist's end in writing, is obvious, since they even assert that he falsified history with the object of bringing it into conformity with this end that he had before him.

Having thus indicated the objects which the king-writer and the chronist had respectively before them, we are now in a position to suggest an explanation of the omission of any account of the captivity of Manasses in the Book of Kings. On account of the enormity of the sins of Manasses and Juda in his time, God sent His Prophets to warn the people (4 Kings xxi. 11-16) that He would efface Jerusalem, and that they should "become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies." These threats were carried into effect at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor. The king-writer, whose object was to show the causes

¹ *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. ii., page 43.

² *Introduction*, vol. ii., page 324.

that led to the downfall of Juda, sets out before his readers the wickedness of Manasses, which chiefly contributed to that overthrow. The captivity of Manasses, and his subsequent repentance were beside the point for him. For though they led to the restoration of Manasses to his kingdom—a personal favour to him from God, on account of his contrition and conversion—still they did not avert the anger of God, and His determination to punish the people of Juda. In fact, though Manasses led the people into sin, he was by no means so successful in guiding them back to repentance.¹ On the other hand, the story of the captivity and repentance naturally find a place in the Book of Chronicles. The chronicler endeavoured to show that observance of the law and the due celebration of Divine worship led to blessings; neglect of these things, to misfortune. It was, therefore, necessary for him to explain how the wicked reign of Manasses should also be a long one. Hence, he shows how God punished him by ignominious imprisonment in a foreign land, and that his reign was prolonged only as a reward for his sincere humility and penance.

Regarding the matter from another point of view, we put this objection to those who sympathise with the views of Graf, Davidson, and their school. We are told that the king-writer clutches eagerly at any punishment he can find inflicted on bad kings, with a view to bringing into prominence “the principle of Divine retribution.” Does it not seem strange then, that, actuated as he was by such an intense desire to illustrate this principle, he did not fix his eye upon the undeniable punishments inflicted upon Manasses by God? For, that he was reduced to subjection by the Assyrian kings, and compelled to kiss their feet, is beyond all doubt. Moreover, there does not seem to be any escape from the conclusion that he was punished by Assurbanipal for the part he took in an insurrection against him. Yet no allusion is made to these facts in the Book of Kings. We leave our rationalistic friends to explain this, in conformity with their principles.

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17.

It may well occur to anyone who has had the patience to read through the tedious pages that have gone before, to ask what connection it all has with the title of the paper. Where he is to look for the specimen of rationalistic prejudice? The answer to that question has not been overlooked, as we shall presently make clear. The arguments that we have been considering, were advanced before the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, and they were not unreasonable objections for a rationalist to bring forward in those days. The same cannot be said now; but still, so firmly have "critics" made up their minds that the story of Manasses' captivity is a pure invention, that apparently they have brought themselves to believe that the new light thrown upon Assyrian history has not altered the state of the question. We shall now quote the view of the guiding spirit of rationalistic criticism in Germany, about the story of Manasses' captivity. The passage we are about to reproduce does not merely give the opinion of the writer as to the truth or falsity of the story, but, on the contrary, it occurs in a book, of which the editor of the English translation says:¹ "It was entirely occupied in laying the critical foundations on which alone a real history of the Hebrew nation could be built." Here, then, are the words of Professor Wellhausen,² as to the present position of the question of the story of Manasses' captivity:—

"The Book of Kings knows no worse ruler than Manasseh was; yet he reigned undisturbed for fifty-five years—a longer period than was enjoyed by any other king (2 Kings xxi. 1-18). This is a stone of stumbling that chronicles must remove. It tells that Manasseh was carried in chains by the Assyrians to Babylon, but there prayed to Jehovah, who restored him to his kingdom; he then abolished idolatry in Judah (xxxiii. 11-20). Thus, on the one hand, he does not escape punishment; while, on the other hand, the length of his reign is, nevertheless, explained. Recently, indeed, it has been sought to support the credibility of these statements by means of an Assyrian inscription, from which it appears that Manasseh did pay tribute to Esarhaddon. That is to say, he had been overpowered by the Assyrians; that is again

¹ W. Robertson Smith's Preface to Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, page 6.

² *Prolegomena*, page 206.

to say, that he had been thrown into chains and carried off by them. Not so rapid, but, perhaps, quite as accurate would be the inference, that as a tributary prince he must have kept his seat on the throne of Judah, and not have exchanged it for the prison of Babylon. In truth, Manasseh's temporary deposition is entirely on the same plane with Nebuchadnezzar's temporary grass-eating. The unhistorical character of the intermezzo (the motives of which are perfectly transparent) follows not only from the silence of the Book of Kings (a circumstance of no small importance, indeed), but also, for example, from Jer. xv. 4; for when it is there said that all Judah and Jerusalem are to be given up to destruction because of Manasseh, it is not presupposed that his guilt has been already borne and atoned by himself."

Such, according to Wellhausen, is the position in which this question at present stands. It will require all his undoubted authority in Germany to persuade his followers of the accuracy of the estimate. Can anyone say that he has made an unbiassed statement? Are these the words of a man, who, unaffected by prejudice, considers the matter in the light of reason alone; or, are they rather the *ex parte* views of a "counsel," anxious to say the best he can for what used to be a stock argument against the veracity of the chronicler? Were it not that the idea would be absurd, we should be tempted to think that he had never come across the ordinary arguments brought against the story some few years ago. He ridicules the idea that recent discoveries have even tended towards establishing "the credibility" of the passage. He has not a word to say about the fact that every single objection brought forward by the author of the *Grafian Hypothesis* has been exploded; apparently he keeps his eyes shut to everything, except one Assyrian inscription. Assyrian inscriptions and discoveries have, according to him, thrown no further light at all upon the matter.

Professor Huxley may call orthodox theologians "counsel for creeds," but is it not quite obvious that the cause of the "higher criticism" is not left without supporters well qualified, both by acumen and by the tenacity of their belief in the views they are expounding, to do the necessary special pleading in its defence?

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

MGR. JOHN THEODORE BEELEN.

IT is many years since the works of Beelen attained standard rank in exegetical researches and hermeneutical science. His name is quoted in line with the names of acknowledged masters, such as Estius, à Lapide, and Toletus ; while the story of his life is as little known, as is that of the great masters with whom he is ranked. And yet, only six years have elapsed since the University of Louvain mourned his loss and expressed its regrets over his grave in the Abbaye de Parc. Pascal has a thought which aptly expresses the attitude of the ordinary student towards Beelen :

“We only think of Plato and Aristotle, as wearing large robes, and as persons always grave and serious. They were honest folk, who laughed, as other people do, with their friends ; and when they made their laws, and composed their treatises on politics and economy, it was only as a work of relaxation and amusement. It was the least philosophic and serious part of their lives. The most philosophical part, was when they lived simply and tranquilly.”¹

In his intercourse with others, Beelen seemed to be the only person who was unaware of his own learning, talents, and authority. Others thought of him, as they did of Plato or Aristotle ; he never thought of himself except as of one who desired to lead a simple and tranquil life. Professor Lamy, who was his pupil, his friend, and lastly, his successor in the Chair of Scripture, gives us a faithful picture of his master ; and old students of Louvain will recognise how accurate is the drawing :—

“The Abbé Beelen possessed a robust constitution, a fine frame, and good health, which supported all the fatigues of his mind. His forehead was ample and high ; his hair black ; his eyes brilliant, and his features well marked. A distinguished manner ; neat, and often elegant, attire ; a character, loyal, frank, sincere and candid to *naïveté*, yet always charitable ; bright repartees, and an original genius, tempered by those little fits of abstraction peculiar to learned men, gave to him a characteristic personality which endeared him to all. After his early Mass, he went to his rooms in the *Collège du Saint-Esprit*, and breakfasted

¹ *Pensées*, Part I., Art. ix., No. 55.

in the midst of his books. Often he discontinued his breakfast, and sometimes forgot it altogether, in order to make a search in a folio lying on his desk, on a chair, or on the floor. He was always surrounded by books, which he was unable to keep arranged. All the morning he studied, except while at class or at his breviary; and woe betide the unfortunate man that came to interrupt him at his studies. He was promptly sent out. It was a great favour to be allowed to sit and talk for a few moments."¹

But after his hours of study he was gay and cheerful, and even witty, in his intercourse with others; but his thoughts fled often back to his morning's work, and his abstraction frequently placed him in ludicrous situations. Innumerable stories are told concerning the learned master, but many of them would have no point, except for those familiar with Louvain and its University. Professor Lamy records a peculiarity which explains why Mgr. Beelen always carried a cheap umbrella, quite in contrast with his tasteful and elegant attire. He was fond of making frequent journeys by train, and almost every time, on leaving the train, left his umbrella after him. The frequent purchase of umbrellas compelled him at length to buy cheap ones, which, he used to say, was a great saving. Although he continually forgot his umbrellas, he never forgot the volumes he used to bring on his journey.

John Theodore Beelen was born at Amsterdam, on the 12th of January, 1807. His parents, who were wealthy, spared no labour or care in watching over their talented child, who made extraordinary progress in his studies. He was so gifted with musical talent, that, at ten years of age, he played the organ in one of the churches of Amsterdam; and, we have it on the authority of Lamy, that his chief recreation, after long hours of study, was to strike off preludes and variations on the piano. At thirteen years of age he commenced his classical studies in the Seminary of Hageveld, near Harlem, under the presidency of Abbé van Bommel, who was afterwards Bishop of Liège. After Beelen was five years at Hageveld, William of Holland suppressed all the seminaries

¹ *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain; L'Annuaire, anno 1885.*

in his kingdom, by royal decree, dated 11th of July, 1825. He wished the ecclesiastical students to pass through a State institution, called the Philosophical College, which he established at Louvain in the buildings at present known as the *Hôpital de S. Pierre*.

Beelen returned to Amsterdam, and there Providence formed him for his after career. He and another student studied together, and took lessons in Hebrew and rabbinical dialects from a Jew, who gave private tuitions. They studied theology under the Abbé Bogaerts, who was a professor at Ilageveld; and also laboured at several foreign languages.

King William issued a decree on the 14th of August, 1825, which affected the after career of Beelen, and, under Providence, opened up the way to his future eminence. The decree ordained that any student who, refusing to enter the State College, should proceed to study in any foreign country after the 1st of October following, should not be allowed to exercise any ecclesiastical functions in the Kingdom of Holland. Beelen and others resolved to quit their native country rather than enter the State College.

On the 28th of September, 1828, Beelen left Harlem for Paris, on his way to Rome. Owing to difficulties and delays the journey lasted for seven weeks. He hoped to enter the Propaganda or the German College, but could not gain admittance to either. He and another student took quarters in the *Via dell' angelo custode*, and followed lectures at the Roman College and the Sapienza. A letter, which he wrote to his brother on the 7th of January, 1829, describes his life in Rome:—

“ I am beginning to speak Italian quite easily ; I have scarcely any difficulty in reading prose. In general, I could not find a better opportunity for acquiring languages. Latin, as you know, is the common language used by the students when together. As for English, I speak it every day with two or three English students who sit near me in class. On Sundays, I always go to listen to the English sermon. After the sermon I go to walk with an English priest. Our common language is French, which I speak now as well as I do Dutch. I have been to the Hebrew lectures in our college, but they are only commencing the course ; and I am too advanced to begin at the alphabet. Perhaps I will go to the Propaganda. As for Greek, I go every day to hear Demosthenes explained.”

One of the English-speaking students referred to is the present rector of the Irish College in Rome, his Grace Archbishop Kirby. Beelen frequently told the fact to his Irish students at Louvain. Both he and his Grace were favoured in having his Holiness Leo XIII. as a fellow-student. In different *concursus* his Holiness gained first place, and was closely followed by Beelen and Kirby. His Holiness never forgot his Dutch fellow-student, and on the 2nd of May, 1878, he created him a prelate of his household. The Dutch government grew weary of its penal laws, and an offer of a chair in the Seminary at Warmond was made to Beelen, who declined it. On the 10th of September, 1832, he got the doctor's cap, and was ordained priest at Quarter-tense in the same year. He left Rome for Amsterdam on the 27th of May, 1833, and proceeded on foot to visit the different shrines of Italy, and the places of interest in Switzerland and Germany. In his valise he carried the New Testament in Syriac; but the police at Aosta believed it was a secret book of the Carbonari Society, and placed Beelen under arrest. It took several hours to persuade them that it was as harmless as the Greek or Latin copy. At the Hospice of St. Bernard the party remained several days. Beelen ascended a summit several hundred feet above the level of the monastery, and, seated on a rock, recorded his impressions. The MS., which is in pencil, is preserved amongst his papers at Louvain. In the visitors' book at the monastery he made the following entry:—

*“ Puer sudavit et alsit
altos dum pedibus baculoque ascenderet Alpes.”*

On his arrival at Amsterdam he received an invitation from his old president, Abbé van Bommel, then Bishop of Liège, to accept the Chair of Sacred Scripture in his diocesan seminary. In 1834 the bishop proceeded to Malines, accompanied by Beelen, to take measures for the establishment of the Catholic University of Louvain. It must be borne in mind that the French invasion closed the ancient university in 1794, and dispersed the professors, and the bishops wished to revive the higher studies so long interrupted. In

September, 1836, they appointed Abbé Beelen to the Chair of Scripture in the newly-established university. The importance of the appointment, and the aptitude of Beelen for the position, are forcibly described by Professor Lamy:—

“The French revolution had destroyed the tradition of higher theological teaching in our dioceses; the priests, often scarcely sufficient to supply the wants of the mission, had neither time to prolong their studies, nor masters to lead them. The priests, whom the bishops appointed to explain the Scriptures in the seminaries, brought to the task more good will than preparation. It was not so with Beelen. The young professor had been formed in Rome by the most eminent masters. He was thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew and Greek—two languages indispensable in interpreting the Scriptures. His great talent for languages enabled him to master Arabic and Syriac, and to make acquaintance with the Samaritan and Ethiopian languages. His teaching at Liege lent *éclat* to his entry on the duties, which he discharged with honour during forty-eight years.”¹

Beelen opened his lectures by explaining the Epistle to the Hebrews, and his commentary came on his hearers with an authority equal almost to a special revelation. Lamy has summed up Beelen’s qualities as a commentator, and as his pupil and successor, he is eminently qualified to give an opinion.

“He [Beelen] spoke and wrote Latin with a pureness equal to that of Cicero, never leaving a phrase unfinished, nor attempted twice. As he had lived much amongst Jews and Protestants, he sought, above all, to establish the literal sense of the passage, by the rigorous application of the rules of philology, to the original texts, for he knew it was the only method by which they could be successfully combated. He was the avowed enemy of all arbitrary interpretations, no matter how ingenious. Besides the literal sense, he nevertheless admitted a mystical meaning in many passages of Scripture.”²

After the Epistle to the Hebrews, Beelen explained in turn several books of the Old Testament, selected Psalms, and almost the entire New Testament. At the same time, he lectured in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, and Arabian. He was

¹ *Analectes, etc.*, p. cxvii.

² *Ibid.*, p. cxxi.

the first to revive the study of Oriental languages in Belgium after the ravages of the French revolution.

In explaining the Chaldean and Rabbinical languages, he perceived that his students felt the want of a grammar and text-book, and to meet the want he composed his first published work, of which two volumes appeared in 1841, and the third in 1843. The title is: *Chrestomathia Rabbinica et Chaldaica*. The work explains the rabbinical language and literature; gives extracts in prose and verse, and furnishes the student with a glossary, notes, and a vocabulary. Drach, a rabbin, afterwards converted to Catholicity, gives his estimate of the work in his *Harmony between the Church and the Synagogue*: "The best rabbinical chrestomathy published up to the present, is that of the learned and worthy Abbé Beelen, Professor of Scripture and Oriental Languages at Louvain." Lamy tells us that, while the learned Beelen was labouring at his lectures and rabbinical work, he found time to translate *St. Ligouri's Visits to the Blessed Sacrament* into Flemish, for the use of the people.

In 1854, he published his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*; and this work established for ever his fame as a commentator. It is too well known to call for descriptive remarks. Pius IX., in a letter signed by his own hand, addressed the following to Beelen: "It is with much pleasure that We have received your *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans*; for We know, dear son, how much the most learned philologists of our age esteem your judgment." In 1851 Beelen bought at Leipzig a fount of type in Oriental characters, and became compositor as well as author. In 1856, he published in Syriac two epistles of St. Clement Romanus, which were the first works printed in that language in Belgium after a lapse of three centuries. As a mark of recognition, Pius IX. conferred upon him the rank of honorary chamberlain. At the request of the Belgian bishops, he translated the New Testament into Flemish; and published, with notes, the Epistles and Gospels of the Christian year for the use of the laity. He also made a translation of the Psalms, and selected books of the Old Testament. Some days before his death he burned a portion

of his MSS. and correspondence ; but there remain twenty-four works, some complete and some incomplete :—

1. *Chrestomathia rabbinica et chaldaica, cum notis grammaticis, historicis, etc.*
2. *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament (in Flemish).*
3. *Liber Sapientiae graece secundum exemplar Vaticanum.*
4. *Dissertatio theologica qua sententiam vulgo receptam, esse Sacrae Scripturae multiplicem interdum sensum litteralem, nullo fundamento satis firmo niti, demonstrare conatur J. T. Beelen.*
5. *Interpretatio epistolae S. Pauli ad Philippenses.*
6. *Commentarius in Acta apostolorum.*
7. *Commentarius in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos.*
8. *Sancti patris nostri Clementis Romani epistolae binae de virginitate syriace, ad fidem codicis MS. Amstelodami.*
9. *Grammatica graecitatis Novi Testamenti.*
10. *Rules for the translating of the New Testament into Dutch (written in Flemish.)*
11. *Flemish—Epistles and Gospels of the Sundays.*
12. *Flemish—Homilies on the Gospels.*
13. *Flemish—The New Testament, translated into Flemish.*
14. *Flemish—Translation of the Psalms.*
15. *Flemish—Proverbs of Solomon, translated and annotated.*
16. *Flemish—Translation of Ecclesiastes.*
17. *Flemish—Translation of the Book of Wisdom.*
18. *Flemish—Translation of Ecclesiasticus.*
19. *Grammatica syriaca (not completed).*
20. *Grammatica et chrestomathia hebraica (incomplete).*
21. *Remarques sur la théologie dogmatique de Perrone.*

In MSS.

22. *Archaeologia biblica.*
23. *Scholia in quatuor Evangelia, in Epistolas ad Corinthios, ad Hebraeos, in psalmos, in librum Sapientiae, in Isaiam.*
24. *Version française du Nouveau Testament avec des remarques critiques sur les versions de Sacy, de Carrières et de plusieurs autres.*

One incident in the life of Beelen shows more than any other the high qualities of the man. After the Belgian revolution of 1830, he went by the Rhine to visit his parents at Amsterdam. On landing on Dutch territory, he was arrested under suspicion of disloyal sentiments towards his native government. For eight days he was kept in prison, and then brought before the court to hear the charges read against him. He listened patiently, and his only reply was to point out grammatical errors in the

document. He was remanded to prison for four weeks, during which time he prepared his lectures for the next session. The governor of the prison was so charmed by his captive that he secretly allowed him out on several occasions to celebrate Mass. After five weeks confinement the *gendarmes* conducted the *savant* and his books out of Dutch soil.

The last moments of Beelen were truly edifying. When the president of the college brought the Holy Viaticum, he raised himself up and exclaimed:—"O Jesus, my Creator, my Redeemer, I believe in you, I place all my confidence in you, I love you with all my heart. Come, come, O my love, and do not delay!" Murmuring that it was the will of God, he expired on the 31st of March, 1884. The following is the epitaph on his tombstone at the Abbaye de Parck:—

HIC JACET
ILLUSTRISSIMUS AC REVERENDISSIMUS
JOANNES THEODORUS BEELEN
S.S. PRAELATUS DOMEST.
QUI. NATUS. AMSTELODAMI. PRID. ID. JANUAR.
A. MDCCCVII.
PROFESSOR. IM. ALMA, UNIVERS. CATH. LOVAN.
RENUNTIATUS. A. MDCCCXXXVI
IBIDEM. PER. ANNOS. XXXIX. EGREGIIS
EDITIS LIBRIS
S. SCRIPTURAM. EST. INTERPRETATUS. ET
LINGUAS. ORIENTALES. DOCUIT
VARIISQUE. AUCTUS. HONORIBUS. TUM
ECCLESIASTICIS. TUM. CIVILIBUS
PIE. AC. CANDIDE. CEU. VIXIT. IN. DOMINO
OBDORMIVIT
PRIDIE. KALEND. APRILIS. A. MDCCCLXXXIV.

To fully estimate the work of Beelen's life we must always remember that when he began his career he stood alone in Belgium. Revolutions, wars, and counter-revolutions, had extinguished the deeper branches of linguistic and sacred science, and, alone, guided by his own genius, he re-established these higher studies, and won European renown.

JOSEPH P. SPELMAN,

IS THE TRUE CHURCH ONE?

THE QUESTION VIEWED FROM A PHILOSOPHICAL STAND-POINT.

IF "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," then our motto should ever be *semper gaudete*. For whithersoever we turn we discover unity amidst variety that is harmony or beauty. Vast as is the known universe, *spectrum analysis* shows that the same chemical elements enter into the composition of our earth and of the most distant stars. From the days of Pythagoras men have been familiar with the theory of the Harmony of the Spheres, so beautifully unfolded in the well-known lines of Shakespeare:

"Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim."

The Harmony of the Spheres is, of course, but the fanciful conception of the regular movements of the heavenly bodies.

Organic beings, in their form and structure, in their functions, distribution, and development, present striking illustrations of unity amidst variety. Biological science has made rapid strides onward since protoplasm came to be recognised as the *morphological unit*. Every living thing—every nerve, bone and muscle—may now be reduced to tissues, tissues to cells, and cells themselves in their primitive, fundamental form, are but spheroidal masses of protoplasm. If we pass from the individual to the species, we find amidst abounding variety an indestructible unity. Artificial and natural causes are always able to produce variation within definite limits. But if it is sought to exceed these limits, that is, if an effort is made to destroy specific unity, there will be witnessed that phenomenon so graphically described by Tennyson—

"And reversion ever dragging evolution in the mud."

If we consider the organic world as a whole, we find that "creatures the most various from man to the smallest fungus

which may attack his crops, exhibit a fundamental uniformity in their physical composition." Want of space prevents me from dwelling on the development of organisms and their geographical distribution. In reference to the latter point, however, it should be borne in mind that unity amidst variety in distribution holds good not only for animals—whose locomotive faculties enable them to seek those conditions of food and climate which best accord with their nature—but also for plants. Thus "in that great continent of foliage, Brazil, we have a land which has produced, as it were, a great symphony of organic 'harmony composed in the forest key.'"

If we consider the arts—music, poetry, architecture, painting and sculpture—where so much depends on due proportions, we shall find that an essential element in them is unity amidst variety. Take the proportional equation, $2 : 4 :: 3 : 6$. All the members are different. But the two ratios are precisely the same, and wherever there are due proportions something analogous must be the case.

If we study the nature of intelligence we shall see that generalization—that is, the power of understanding many things by one idea or by one principle—is its most distinctive characteristic. If we seek the law of its development we shall discover it in the gradually increasing reduction of multiplicity to unity. Generalization, with its presupposition abstraction, is difficult, but in no instance impossible, for the savage mind. The more civilized a nation becomes, the greater will be the facility manifested by its members in grasping general laws. The more educated an individual is, the greater is his keenness in perceiving the one amidst the many. "Men of true genius are distinguished by the *unity* and *extent* of their conceptions. If they treat a difficult and complicated question they simplify it, consider it from a high point of view, and determine one general idea which sheds light on all the others. If they have a difficulty to solve, they show the root of the error, and with a word dispel all the illusion of sophistry. If they use synthesis, they first establish the principle which is to serve as its basis, and with one dash trace the road to be followed

in order to reach the wished-for result. If they make use of analysis, they strike in its secret resort the point where decomposition is to commence; they at once open the object, and reveal to us its most obscure mysteries. If there is question of a discovery, while others are seeking here and there, they strike the ground with their foot, and exclaim, 'the treasure is here.' They make no long arguments, nor evasions; their thoughts are few, but pregnant; their words are not many, but in each of them is set a pearl of inestimable value." St. Thomas teaches that angels understand by a number of ideas smaller in proportion to the superiority of their order, and that the gradual diminution goes on even to God who understands all things by means of His own essence.

Science in the objective sense embodies the results of the greatest efforts of the human mind. But what is science? Science concerns itself with the discovery of the one amidst the many—it deals with the universal alone. On this point there is a singular unanimity of opinion amongst the adherents of widely different schools. The teaching of the scholastics is unequivocally expressed by Tongiorgi in the words, "*Scientia est de universalibus tantum, non vero de singularibus.*" Sanseverino and Archbishop Satolli write to the same purpose when they declare that no syllogism with a particular conclusion can, strictly speaking, be of any scientific value. In Sully's outlines of Psychology generality is mentioned as one of the characteristics of scientific knowledge. Finally, Mr. Herbert Spencer defines science as *partially-unified* knowledge.

To make this point perfectly clear I shall pass in review some of the exact sciences. In doing so I shall borrow freely from a great philosopher, not sufficiently celebrated, because not sufficiently known. I refer to the illustrious Spanish priest, Balmes.

The merit of our system of numeration consists in including the expression of all numbers in a single idea, making the value of each figure ten times that to the right, and filling all intervals with zeros. The expression of infinite numbers is thus reduced to the simplicity of a single rule

based upon a single idea; the relation of position with a ten-fold value. Logarithms have enabled arithmetic to make a great advance by diminishing the number of its fundamental operations, since with them it reduces multiplication and division to addition and subtraction. Algebra is only the generalization of arithmetical expressions and operations. The application of Algebra to Geometry is the generalization of geometrical expressions. In the simple expression $\frac{dz}{dx} = A$, called the differential co-efficient, is contained the whole idea of the infinitesimal calculus. It originated in geometrical considerations, but so soon as its universality was conceived, it poured a flood of light upon every branch of mathematical and natural science, and led to the discovery of a new world, whose confines are still unknown. The prodigious fecundity of this calculus emanates from its simplicity, its prompt generalization of both Algebra and Geometry, and its uniting them in a single idea which is the relation of the limits of the differentials of any function. An examination of every other science would yield similar results, notably an examination of Metaphysics, which is the science of the widest generalizations, and in which all the other sciences are in a sense synthesized. "It is to this unity of idea that the human intellect in its ambition aspires, and once obtained, it proves the cause of great progress. The glory of the greatest geniuses is that they discovered it: the advance of science has consisted in profiting by it. Vieta explained and applied the principle of the general expression of arithmetical quantities; Descartes extended this to geometrical quantities. Newton established the principle of universal gravitation; and he, at the same time with Leibnitz, invented the infinitesimal calculus; and the exact and natural sciences march, by the light of a vast flambeau, with gigantic strides along paths never before trodden. And all this because intelligence has approached unity, and become possessed of a generative idea, involving infinite other ideas."

The study of history proves that unity amidst variety is the *sine qua non* of society. The instability alike of

anarchy and tyranny, under the former of which there is no unity, and under the latter of which the multitude is entirely ignored, is a proof that moral like material forces should *duly gravitate* towards a common centre.

The human soul, though one in essence, is endowed with numerous faculties. Here, however, we meet for the first time with discord. Conformity with the Divine Will in all his actions and with the Divine intellect in all his judgments, and the consequent subordination of the lower appetites to reason, would constitute the full harmony of man's moral nature. But the continual note of discord that is ever sounding within the most perfect souls is a palpable evidence of a primitive estrangement. That it was not always so, however, that it is not the natural condition of the soul, is evident from the aspirations towards another state that have been universal both as to time and place. The wild veddahs of Ceylon, the aborigines of Australia, the Esquimaux of North America—regarded by some evolutionists as the descendants of Miocene man—and the cannibals of Tierra-del-Fuego, are all alike witnesses to the moral gravitation of the soul towards God. The remorse that follows sin is an additional proof that the soul turned away from God is in an unnatural state. There are few whose opinion on religious or moral subjects carries the same weight as St. Augustine's. A man of mighty intellect, he gave every creed a trial; he spent his youth in vice; he died a saint. One day in September, 386, the tumultuous conflict of thought drove him forth from the company of his dearest friend, Alypius, to the garden of the Villa Cassiciacum, where he threw himself under a fig-tree, and in a passion of tears prayed for deliverance from the bondage of his sins. The voice of a child broke in upon his solitude singing "Take up and read." Accepting it as a voice from heaven, he went home and opened his Bible at the passage "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, *but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.*" In the agony of his soul he gave expression to that motto which is the philosophy of human life: "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee."

In everything, therefore, which is not entirely subject to man's caprice; in the real order and in the order of cognition, in the solar system and in the science of astronomy, in the organic world and in the science of biology, in the various arts, in all firmly constituted society—in a word, in every manifestation of God in nature, we find harmony, we find unity amidst variety. Are we, therefore, to look for discord only within the kingdom which the Son of God came on earth to establish? Is it only on the brow of His spouse that the Bridegroom has imprinted deformity? Is God less perfect in His supernatural than in His natural manifestation?

The Catholic Church is spread throughout every land. People of every race and colour are among her children. Her organization is vast and complex. Her theologians extend their inquiries over a very wide field. Within the Catholic Church, therefore, there are very various elements. Yet they are harmonized by a marvellous unity. Theologians are one in their very differences, since they are always prepared to abandon their individual opinions in response to definitive teaching. The rude and the educated are one in their beliefs; they all believe the same doctrines, the doctrines of Holy Church. The great unifying power in the Church's organization springs from the plenitude of jurisdiction which the Pope enjoys throughout the universal Church. There are occasions when this truth comes vividly before the mind. Early one summer's morning, while travelling by sea, I went on deck. It was not five o'clock. A venerable old priest, who must have been into the seventies, was reading his Breviary, while the morning breeze was busy with his white hair. As I approached where he sat my eyes fell upon the opening words of Prime:

“*Jam lucis orto sidere
Deum precemur supplices.*”

His first thought in the morning was of the duty imposed upon him by the Sovereign Pontiff. Such an instance well illustrates the character of Papal jurisdiction. It knows no distinction between the high seas and the vicinity of any territorial coast-line. It is everywhere equally potent. In

the eastern States of America where sunlight had not yet dawned, many religious must have been chanting their Matins in obedience to the same voice. Further inland, most probably, some hard-worked assistant priest, after hours spent in the Confessional, was reciting the *Te lucis ante terminum*, as the minute-hand was nearing the midnight hour. Everywhere throughout the Catholic Church doctrine and discipline are thus harmonized. Surely, if God is beautiful throughout all creation, He is not deformed in His revelation.

T. E. JUDGE.

THE LEAKAGE OF THE CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN.—OUR BOYS.

THOUGH the necessity of clubs for Catholic working boys was discussed at the Second Annual Conference of the Catholic Truth Society, held at Manchester in October last, yet the question is by no means threshed out. In so many districts the working lads of our poor congregations are left "severely alone," and hence fall away from the Sacraments, and even from faith, that it is earnestly hoped that this very important matter will receive fresh attention at the coming Conference, to be held at the end of June. Nothing but good can come from the light shed upon such dark subjects at a meeting of clergy and laity, who are thus banded together to discuss matters affecting our Catholic weal.

One word as to the approaching meeting, which the indefatigable officers of the Catholic Truth Society will, doubtless, make even a greater success than the last, which far surpassed the one held in the metropolis. Though the trysting-place be but the smoky and prosaic town of Birmingham, yet for nearly a century it has been the home of Catholicity for the Midland counties, and its central position may, probably, draw as great a concourse as the one in Lancashire of last autumn. A general programme of a

most attractive order has already appeared in the public Press : but of this more anon, as the day draws near. Suffice it to say, that Birmingham, ugly though it be in shape and sound, is the heir to old Litchfield's glories, for in the Cathedral of St. Chad, in Bath-street, the bones of that blessed patron repose in a richly-gilt shrine behind the high altar, which stands beneath that rare ornament of architecture, a fine Gothic baldachino ! For over half a century has this sacred temple, whose beauty, like the king's daughter, is all within, been the home of real ecclesiastical music. There is a treat in store for the members of the Conference who can attend a High Mass or Vespers on the Sunday previous, and hear from that chancel choir of men and boys such devout minstrelsy as we have heard naught to rival, except Holy Week at Rome. This choir (which might be prevailed on to sing an early Mass each day of the Conference) will give a selection of *Palestrina* on one of the evenings, which will certainly astonish those who imagine that Rossini's *Stabat Mater* by an opera company is the acme of musical bliss !

To return to our subject. In the Conference of last October, most practical and interesting information was given by Mr. Caulfield, of St. Vincent of Paul's Society, Manchester, on the vexed question of how to manage our working-boys, that is, of thirteen to eighteen years. From his remarks we gathered the following brief and instructive facts of his own experience. In the parish of St. William, by the aid of the patronage of St. Vincent of Paul, about 250 of the roughest lads in the district called Angel Meadows, were gathered together into a suitable club, and each evening were entertained with various games, gymnastic exercises, singing, &c. By this means they had been reclaimed from their wild ways, and brought to Mass and the Sacraments in a most successful manner. At first this gentleman had been assisted by a few local gentlemen, who kindly volunteered to aid in keeping order ; but as these gradually dropped off one by one, Mr. Caulfield had to try a new expedient in getting aid. This was to select judiciously a few of the older youths of the humbler class, who answered well

to his invitation, and ever since the club has gone on with unqualified success.

In the discussion that followed among the clergy and laity present, some maintained that such a society should be made self-reliant by means of some payment, monthly or otherwise from the members. But on the above-named gentleman being questioned, he frankly stated that no payment was required from the lads, as being of the poorest, and that if this was made a condition the club would fall to the ground. All games, &c., were bought by the members of the patronage. The special blessing of this society in one of the poorest districts of a large city like Manchester was, that it stopped a dangerous street pastime called "scuttling." This is a kind of lawlessness peculiar to certain Lancashire towns, whereby certain of the rougher youths meet at nights, and have a free fight with their belts. These become a terror to the inhabitants, and the papers continually allude to brutal attacks on the police when engaged in putting it down. Yet all such wild "larking" seems to have had its origin, not in malice, but merely in the want of something to fill in a winter evening.

A well-organized club, with the attractions above stated, finally effected what neither magistrate nor police could; and thus these young Catholic roughs were removed from the streets of a night, and amused in a reasonable and peaceful way.

I do not now wish to speak of "Rescue Societies," which have their own proper sphere, and which, owing to recent painful disclosures as to hundreds of our little ones being lost, are now up and doing in more than one English diocese. But a great want of the day, I still maintain, is some club or guild for boys in every congregation. There is to be found in most parishes a truly edifying set of "Children of Mary," and other guilds for the smaller girls; but, whilst the female part of the flock is under perfect control, the boys and youths are running wild. The writer has more than once asked a pastor, who admitted such a state of things in his own parish, whether these young women, as time went on, were to be married to these wild youths? If assuredly the latter were

not fitting husbands, then what was to happen? What is happening, alas! far too often; viz., they will take the offer of some quiet and inoffensive young Protestant; and experience has taught me that this is a by no means uncommon cause of our detested "mixed marriages." It is only natural that our good young women should outwardly attract the Protestant youth of England, who, in turn, show their indisputably good taste by taking an article which their own Church cannot manufacture. But is it not rather hard on Mother Church and her pastors that, after all the care and education lavished on our Catholic girls, they should turn elsewhere for a partner in life, because, forsooth, those once rough boys have become rougher youths, and are hardly the specimen of Catholic to attract the notice of a *good* Catholic young woman!

Some parishes have a tolerably flourishing "Young Men's Society;" but consisting chiefly of *elderly* men. The reason is clear. Where the boys are allowed to run wild for a few years, and no effort is made to gather them together for meetings and amusements of their own, it can hardly be expected that there will be many *young* men in the "Society." Good young men, fit for such a Sodality, cannot usually be procured "ready-made," as they are the natural result of a well-spent boyhood; and hence a healthy Boys' Guild is a reservoir to furnish its annual quota to the Young Men's Society.

But some may urge, the boys of the parish who wish for a guild can enrol themselves as junior members of the above society. Experience teaches that nothing is more delusive, unless they are to have games in rooms of their own, in which case they are practically a Boys' Guild. But if many boys from thirteen to seventeen are to share a club-room with men from eighteen to twenty-five, the result will be only a failure. Men of that age—or indeed any age—have little in common with boys, and but less love or sympathy with them. The rough lads, in their turn, are quick in discovering that they are "in the road," and resent being "bossed," as they style it, by so many of their elders. It is a fact that, whilst girls and woman seem to have much in

common, and will easily amuse themselves together by the hour, the poor misunderstood "animal," boy, is not welcome to men either in the club-room, or on the village-green, at billiards, or bowls, or cricket. His rough and too lively behaviour seem to mark him off from those of his own gender, and constitute him, as it were, a "third sex."

Do we not see certain examples of this in domestic life of the respectable classes, where the father at times has little love or sympathy for his sons, but it is the daughter's embrace he looks for when coming home from business. The poor awkward boys get "called over the coals" by him for the slightest reason, and when summoned to walk out with father—say on a bright Sunday afternoon—it is clearly anything but a pleasure to the youngsters! They take their promenade sadly, as if in penance, being, as it were, *pro tem.*, metaphysically handcuffed!

To take another example. There are parishes where the pastor frequently visits the girls' school, but rarely the boys. The children of the former are neat, though perhaps very poor; and a white pinafore, like charity, covers a great deal. Then, they sing nicely, because a treble voice, as well as neatness, is an ordinary property of any school-girl. But the boys; alas! how different in aspect to their sisters. Ragged clothing, rough hair, a normal want of cleanliness (because his games, be he rich or poor, disturb neatness of person), are all too apparent. Hence, they are not so often visited, nor asked for a song; but when his pastor does appear, it is frequently about a complaint, which will be a source of corporal suffering to somebody. Thus, it happens that no smiling "Good morning, Father" greets the priest, as in the girls' school, but the boys rise, with half-timid half-sullen look, because a something tells their inner self that they are not "in touch" with their pastor. It is not surprising, therefore, that on leaving school the lads find themselves growing more rough and awkward day by day, and becoming objects of less love and admiration to the priest than they were before.

Who are weaker, as regards *moral* courage, than the poor working lads of our large towns. Experience has taught me—not only of many years in the ministry, but even long

before—that these, for want of a club or guild to give their faith a necessary support, have fallen away far oftener than girls. The reason is clear. Apart from the fact that the female sex is accredited with more moral courage than ours, a woman's place of employment rarely endangers her faith. But a lad is apprenticed to a trade where he is often the only Catholic among the few he works with. Hence, in such a shop, where there is ample means for constant conversation, he is simply so teased about his religion, until his life becomes unbearable. It is vain that the pastor complains of such treatment to the Protestant master. The latter, if good-natured, will strive to discourage such talk amongst his workmen; but he is powerless to prevent the shafts of coarse wit from falling on the Catholic lad from his Protestant mates. What man would not rather be kicked than ridiculed and lampooned? Many sad cases distinctly arise in my mind of even altar-boys, who have most assiduously served at the altar in their younger days, and edified all by their behaviour—some who served along with myself—and who have, after a year or two of apprenticeship, drifted away from the faith. At the request of a priest I once, in the kindest manner, tried to recall such a one to his religion. He listened for awhile in apathy, and then sharply turned, and almost shouted at me: “How can man forgive sin?” Poor fellow! he was far gone, indeed. He soon married a Protestant, and is now the clerk of the neighbouring church. Nearly every year one meets with similar instances. A youth of twenty was discovered, by merest chance, lately in my parish. He had not been to Mass for six years. He was quiet and inoffensive; nor could I, for some time, discover the reason of such neglect. A former priest had not visited his father, and thus offended him; though he was, at that time, a monthly communicant. The youth is in that state which theologians call *sapiens de haeresi*; he firmly refuses to come to church any more.

That a “leakage” in the Church is still going on, as regards our boys, can hardly be denied; and it is the duty, though a painful one, of all good men to be aware of the fact. What, then, is to be done by us to avert this calamity

in our midst? It is naught else but to give our poor and struggling lads, at that critical time of life when they leave school, that true sympathy and warm support which alone can keep them *in* the Church, attach them *to* the Church, and make them *love* the Church, by being ever in contact with the priests of the Church. There must be awaiting them some species of guild or club, with rules few and simple, or such boys will usually not be kept to Mass and the Sacraments. It is useless to urge want of time, or of money for starting or keeping up a Boys' Guild. Were the truth told, it is great dearth of love and patience that exist in far too many missions.⁷³ To mix with, and sympathize with the poor rough lads of our flock, whose clothes are greasy or dirty with honest toil in shop or factory—this may not be romantic or æsthetic; but it is, in the highest degree, thoroughly Apostolic.

To repeat what has been said above. Girls, as a rule, require no clubs or night-classes; they have home duties which amply occupy their leisure hours. Nor, again, does the Young Men's Society require any particular attention beyond a certain guidance. The members are of an age to choose their own officers, collect their own club-money, select their own games, and, if their wages allow, rent special rooms of their own. But the hapless boys, of unstable ways, cannot find a trusty leader or treasurer from amongst their own ranks; neither, with slender earnings, are they in a position to rent apartments or purchase costly games. They seek for some one around whom they will rally, and whom they will do their best to please. And who shall this be but the priest? He, by his position, is naturally fitted to be their leader, treasurer, guide, and friend. He it is who must lay out their small contributions to the best advantage. This is real paternal charity in him whom all call "father," and is surely entitled to the blessing of One Who said: "Whatsoever you do to the least of these little ones, you do to Me."

As regards the amusements for long summer evenings, when the boys require but little attention, nothing need be said here. The time when they want bringing together and entertaining is the season when the dark nights prevail—from about September to Easter. A priest engaged in missionary

duties in this country, especially if in a large town, leads, without doubt, a laborious life; yet, even from him, is it too much to ask *one* evening a week, to be devoted to the management of a Boys' Guild? Many years' experience have taught me that two hours on a Wednesday night, from seven to nine (a duty never shirked but welcomed), was a most valuable means of keeping together, and *personally knowing*, the rough "lambs" of the flock. The worst, but only a few, still preferred the streets; but some eighty or ninety valued these meetings, and in response to their pastor's voice came to monthly Communion in a manner that gratified their parents, and edified the congregation—*amicus fidelis protectio fortis*.

By being brought in contact with them I learned their employments, their sorrows, their various boyish tempers. In all this there was much to edify me, nor was the weekly meeting anything but pleasant in the highest degree. What priest could not spare at least one evening in the week to devote to his boys? Let, then, the snug sitting-room be bravely left, and the all-absorbing volume laid aside, and, in the well-lighted school-room, let him, amidst the boys and their games, study how to win those rough hearts, which, if they do seem heedless and rather selfish now, will one day remember his patient kindness, when age has brought sense. Frequently has the writer, when straying in the missionary fields where he formerly laboured, heard from his boys, now grown up, such remarks as, "Father, we missed you for the games, and the library soon came to an end! The priests don't seem to take to us at all!" Oftentimes in the early days of my ministry, when I asked advice of the older brethren as to the management of a Boys' Guild, I invariably got the same answer: "I tried it once, but gave it up. What priest can be expected to spend his time with rough young vagabonds?" And yet the lives of many holy men teach us the great interest they showed in even the amusements of boys and youths. St. Philip Neri, St. John Baptist de Rossi, Father T. Mathew, and Don Bosco, may be singled out as sufficient examples. Did not that "Apostle of Rome," when the disturbances of the youths in the house annoyed his visitors, defend their liveliness and noise in the amusing

remark: "They may chop wood upon my back, as long as they do *not commit sin!*" That humble Roman priest, De Rossi, felt the deepest sympathy for all the poor who thronged to him for help and guidance, but especially for the rough and despised of his own sex. "Anyone will attend to the rich or mighty," he would say; "but these have few who care for them." The affection of the "Apostle of Temperance" for Irish youth, and the same unbounded love shown by Don Bosco for the poor and neglected lads of Italy, are too well known to need more than a passing notice. The thousands of poor lads now comfortably housed and cared for will ever make the latter's name sacred throughout Europe. And who shall tell of the good that Italy will derive from so many who will be her support in her hour of need?

To bring to a close this subject, about which our readers may now be getting weary, what simple plan do we advocate for a Boys' Guild, and one which can suit equally a large or small parish?

I. The gathering of the lads, who have *left school*, in the school-room from seven to nine, on one night a week. Wednesday seemed to be best fitted, as the other nights were often occupied by service, or confessions, &c. If school-boys be admitted, let, then, a *very few* of the oldest; or else working lads will not attend if a number of little ones are in possession of their games.

II. Three or four young men are useful in aiding the priest to keep order, *if they are patient*; otherwise, if their manner be unkind to the boys, they are best away.

III. Select four or five of the best boys to be Guild Wardens, who, if they are favourites among their companions, will prove a powerful aid in managing the Guild. Let each warden have charge of about a dozen, but not more than twenty, who either live near him, or work in the same locality. It will be his duty to remind them of the day and hour of Confession a day or two previously, and collect the monthly contribution, which he will duly enter in a book kept for the purpose. At some convenient hour on their Communion Sunday let the priest meet these

wardens, and receive the offerings, examine their books, inquire if the members have been to the Sacraments, and if there be any complaints about the boys' behaviour in the parish.

IV. Let the rules be few and easy—say, a monthly Communion and a monthly payment of 2*d.* from each towards the games. Whilst the former rule should be insisted on, the latter may be set aside, if the boy be *continually* out of work. Otherwise the poorest and yet most deserving would be excluded from the Guild. Encourage strong attendance at the weekly meetings, which must be, therefore, made as interesting as possible. On the Wednesday evening let the door be opened promptly at the hour fixed, and the games distributed with order and care. Let the priest, when all are busy at their amusements, move quietly round the room, and have a kind word for each. Boys delight to be called by their Christian names; and, like all of us, take a pleasure in being noticed. In any momentary quarrel over a game, a word from his “reverence” will soon quell the wordy tempest. In speaking to a lad of his faults or any defection of duty, draw him aside, and do so unknown to his mates; he objects to have his character exposed, quite as much as his elders.

At about nine o'clock, gather in the games, and let them kneel for short night prayers. Insist on all going home orderly, and without disturbing in any way the houses they pass by.

Some medal or sacred badge attached to a coloured ribbon should be worn at the monthly Mass, at which they communicate. These are kept, for greater cleanliness, by the priest, and are given out by wardens before Mass, and are worn in processions. In one town there was a custom that when a member died, his warden visited his dead companion and placed this badge around the neck, and with a few boys visited the house and said prayers for the dead each day until the funeral. All the guild boys, who were free attended the obsequies, and the sight of so many boys in the procession, wearing their ribbon and medal, created quite a sensation among the Protestant population. They could say with truth, “How these Catholics love one another!”

A Boys' Guild, which thus binds together in a bond of religion the rough ones of the flock, both in life and in death, will prove a tower of strength in a parish, and will help to build up also, in due time, an active Young Men's Society. Thus, the trouble given to the boys will bear fruit sooner or later: the effect of a monthly reception of the "Bread of Angels" will produce that inward change, which is not without effect, even outwardly, in the poorest and most neglected.

S. V.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

MAY A PARISH PRIEST, WHO HAS PERMISSION TO DUPLICATE, ACCEPT A STIPEND FOR HIS SECOND MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS?

"REV. DEAR SIR—In the January Number of the I. E. RECORD, page 63, your correspondent declares that a priest, having permission to duplicate, cannot satisfy licitly two obligations arising from justice. In support of this statement he quotes the authority of Fr. Lehmkuhl, who declares that only one obligation in justice can be satisfied in one day in case of duplication. I should like to draw your attention to the following excerpt from Fr. Haine, which appears to me to oppose completely the *constans prohibitio* mentioned by Lehmkuhl. The question and answer are as follows:—

"Q. An sacerdos qui binam missam ex facultate legit, pro secunda stipendium accipere possit?

"R. Nulla extat lex generalis, quae hoc stipendium prohibeat. Quare declarationes Romanae an. 1845, 1858 et 1862 stipendium accipere vetantes (exceptis missis in Nativitate Domini, et, in quibusdam Hispaniae locis, in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum celebratis, ubi stipendium recipere licet), cum non fuerint promulgatae sub forma legum generalium, non obligant nisi in dioecesibus pro quibus fuerunt latae, vel in quibus episcopi eas declararunt obligatorias.' (Haine, *Theo. Mor. Elementa*, iii. tom., page 97, editio 1883.)"

In the January Number of the I. E. RECORD, in reply to a question addressed to us by an Irish correspondent, we replied

that a priest who has permission to duplicate, cannot, by two Masses offered on the same day (Christmas Day excepted) satisfy two obligations arising from justice; that he cannot accept two stipends for his Masses on Sundays and Holidays. We quoted, in support of our decision, the teaching of Lehmkuhl; and Lehmkuhl refers to certain decrees of the Congregation of the Council in confirmation of his doctrine on this subject.

Our present correspondent opposes the teaching of a distinguished Louvain professor to the teaching of Lehmkuhl. Now, before we proceed to argue in favour of the opinion we advocated in the January Number of this periodical—before we explain our reasons for still regarding the doctrine of Lehmkuhl as unassailable, and the opinion of Haine, in this instance, as improbable—it is necessary to notice a preliminary question discussed by theologians in connection with the decrees and decisions of the Roman Congregations. What is the binding force, theologians ask, of decrees emanating from the Roman Congregations? Are they the enactments of a legislative body, or merely solutions of particular and local *dubia* given by interpreting and judicial Councils in Rome? Do they extend over the universal Church, or shall we confine their *vis obligatoria* to the particular place from which the question was sent forward for solution?

We shall consider only the decrees and decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, as it is with its decisions alone we have to deal. However, we may remark that the principles which we are about to lay down apply to the other Councils also; but we must remember, in connection with the Sacred Congregation of Rites, that it has legislative authority.

What, then, is the authority of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of the Council?

1. The Congregation of the Council has not legislative authority: “Atque S. Congregatio ex sua institutione auctoritatem istam [legislativam] non habet.”¹

¹ Schmalzgrueber, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, dissert., proem., n. 374.

2. Its decrees bind in the place to which they are directed.
 3. If its decrees and decisions are dependent on facts or circumstances peculiar to some locality, they do not bind outside that locality.

4. The Congregation may give a *formal* interpretation of some general ecclesiastical law, or the decision of some particular case may contain an *implied* interpretation of the general law bearing on the point. How far are these interpretations obligatory? Of course they are obligatory on the persons to whom they are addressed; but are they obligatory in similar cases throughout the whole Church? There are three opinions of theologians and canonists: First, many hold that these interpretations have not the force of a general ecclesiastical law; that their phraseology is not the legal *præcipimus*, or *prohibemus*, but the interpreting term *censemus*; that they are not promulgated to the whole Church, but addressed to some particular place, &c., &c. Many, on the other hand, teach that these decrees bind universally, because the interpretations and declarations of doubtful law emanating from the Congregation of the Council are issued after consultation with the Sovereign Pontiff, and in his name, and by his authority; therefore, according to these canonists, they have the same authority as if they were given by the Supreme Pontiff himself. The third opinion seems to reconcile the first and second, and is thus clearly stated by Schmalzgrueber:—

“Tertia et verior sententia distinguit inter declarationes; nam hæc duplicis generis sunt, *comprehensivæ* et *extensivæ*. *Comprehensivæ* sunt, si sensus sic declaratus a verborum propria, et usu recepta significatione non recedat [*e. g.* si dubium sit an sub verbo *fili* intelligatur solus legitimus aut etiam spurius, et legislator declarat intelligi etiam spurium]. *Extensivæ* sunt si illam egrediantur, et ultra id quod verba proprie, et secundum sensum communem accepta denotant, aliquid concedant, prohibeant, dispensent, etc.

“De *extensivis* libenter concedit sententia ista quod vim et auctoritatem legis non habeant, nisi fiant ex speciali mandato papæ, et legitime promulgentur. . . .

“De *comprehensivis* autem affirmant quod vim legis habeant, si papa consulto factæ, a cardinali præfecto, et secretario subscriptæ, et consueto ipsius congregationis sigillo munitæ sunt.” (*Jus Ecclesiasticum.*)

If, therefore, the interpretations of the Congregation of the Council are *comprehensive* interpretations, they have the force of law without a new and distinct promulgation. But if, on the other hand, they are *extensive* interpretations, they must be duly promulgated before they can have the force of a general law of the Church.

Now to proceed to the point at issue. There is no general law, according to Haine, which forbids a priest to receive a second *honorarium* for his Masses on Sundays and holidays if he be allowed to duplicate. Furthermore, the decisions of the Congregation bind only in the places to which they were addressed. Therefore in all other places it is lawful for a priest who duplicates to take a stipend for his second Mass on Sundays and holidays.

We contend, on the contrary, that it is never lawful without a dispensation to accept a stipend for one's second Mass on Sundays or holidays. We will now adduce in favour of this view two arguments, one from external evidence, or from the authority of theologians and canonists; the other and principal argument from an examination of the internal evidence supplied by the declarations of the Congregation themselves.

I.

The authority of Theologians and Canonists.

1. Lehmkuhl writes: "Constans autem est prohibitio pro secunda Missa, quae sic ex necessitatis causa celebratur, ullam stipendium accipiendi, aut obligationem ullam justitiae vel quasi-justitiae . . . extinguendi." (P. ii., l. i., Tr. iv., n. 216.)

2. Gury (*Ratisbon Editor*): "Quando vero plures Missae licite celebrantur, fas non est, pro ceteris Missis praeter primam stipendium accipere; imo, ne quidem parochus qui legitime duas missas celebrat, sed unam tantum pro populo applicare obligatur, pro altera stipendium recipere potest, a qua regula extra missiones nunquam dispensatum est." (Pars ii., n. 383, Quaer. 4, n. i.)

3. Gury-Ballerini: "An qui binas Missas celebrat possit duplicatum stipendium accipere? Neg.; idque stricte prohibuit Pius IX." (Pars ii., n. 383, Quaer. 7).

4. Varceno: "Qui binas Missas celebrat non potest duplicatum stipendium accipere; neque si alterum in pios usus expendatur. Nam stricte prohibuit Pius IX." (Tom. ii., cap. iv., art. i.)

5. *Mechlin Theology*: "Nec potest sacerdos eadem facultate [binandi] utens eleemosynam, seu stipendium a quovis, et sub quocunque praetextu accipere pro altera Missa, etiamsi alterutra ex munere fuisset propulo applicata. Id enim ex mente S. Sedis stricte prohibitum est." (*Tract. de Eucharistia*, n. 52.)

6. *Icard, Praelectiones Juris Canonici*: "Qui facultatem habet bis celebrandi eodem die non debet stipendium accipere pro secunda Missa." (Tom. i., p. 450.)

7. Lucidi: "Quando parochus, aut alius sacerdos binandi facultate utitur, prohibetur omnino pro secundae Missae applicatione eleemosynam percipere." (*De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum*, tom i., n. 383.)

8. *De Angelis*: "Parochus vero si habet duas Paroecias utramque Missam pro populo celebrabit; si autem unam Paroeciam, tunc etsi non teneatur utramque pro populo applicare, tamen pro altera eleemosynam accipere nequit, sicut alius sacerdos iterans Missam pro secunda eleemosynam nequit recipere." (Tom. ii., p. 297.)

II.

The internal evidence of the declarations and decrees themselves.

Haine says: "Nulla extat lex generalis quae hoc stipendium prohibeat. . . . Atque declarationes Romanae an. 1845, 1858 et 1862 non obligant nisi in dioecesibus pro quibus fuerunt latae Ergo," &c.

We might answer, "Nego majorem; nego minorem; nego conclusionem."

A.—*Nego Majorem.*

An examination of the decisions themselves will, we think, convince us that there is at present a general law forbidding priests who duplicate to take two *honoraria* on the same day. We are not now concerned in discussing how this law came into existence; whether it was formally and

explicitly enacted ; or only virtually contained in Papal constitutions, or whether it is one of those laws that are said to be introduced by general usage. Let us examine some of the declarations and decisions of this Congregation.

The decision generally quoted, and to which the Congregation itself often refers is entitled "*Cameracen Missae pro populo.*" The Archbishop of Cambray represented to the Congregation of the Council that his parish priests had been *bona fide* accepting stipends for their second Masses ; and that his curates had been receiving, of course *bona fide* also, two stipends when obliged to duplicate ; and he submitted the following questions for the Congregation's decision :—

" I. An parochus qui *duas parochias* regit, et ideo bis in die celebrat, utrique parochiae suam missam applicare teneatur, non obstante redituum exiuitate, &c.

" II. An parochus qui in una eademque parochia bis eadem die celebrat, utramque missam pro populo sibi commissio gratis applicare omnino teneatur in casu, &c.

" III. An vicarii aut alii sacerdotes curam animarum non habentes, si quando bis in die celebrent secundam et ipsi missam populo gratis applicare teneantur in casu.

" IV. An et quomodo concedendum sit parochis qui diebus dominicis, aliisque festis bis celebrant, ut unius missae liberam habeant applicationem, et stipendium pro ea recipere valeant in casu.

" V. " An et quomodo idem concedendum sit sacerdotibus curam animarum non habentibus quoad utramque missam in casu.

" VI. An et quomodo concedenda sit absolutio quoad preteritum.

" Die 25 Sept. 1858 Eñi Patres rescripserunt.

" Ad 1. affirmative.

" Ad 2. negative ; firma prohibitionem recipiendi eleemosynam pro secunda missa.

" Ad 3. negative, quatenus curam animarum non habeant firma prohibitionem recipiendi eleemosynam pro secund missa.

" Ad 4. negative . . .

" Ad 5. provisum in tertio.

" Ad 6. celebrata unica missa ab unoquoque affirmative facto verbo cum SSmo."

Now it is manifest that in giving this answer, the Congregation pre-supposed a general prohibition to take two stipends ; and that the prohibition was antecedent to, and independent of, its own decision. For while it declared that

parish priests who have only one parish are not bound to apply their second Mass for their people, it emphatically reminds them, too, that it does not interfere at all with the pre-existing prohibition to take a stipend for the second Mass: "*Firma prohibitionē recipiendi eleemosynam pro secunda Missa.*" The Congregation insists on the same prohibition in reference to curates. The existence of this prohibition is made still clearer in the answer to the sixth question. The parish priests and curates of Cambray had been *bonâ fide* receiving *honoraria* for their second Masses; and while the Congregation refuses them permission to receive a stipend for the second Mass in future, it absolves them in reference to the past "*celebrata unica missa.*" But why should the bishop request absolution for the past; or why should the Congregation require the celebration of a Mass, if the priests had been violating no law? We conclude, therefore, that antecedent to, and independent of, these decisions there was a prohibition to receive a *honorarium* for a second Mass on Sundays or holidays.

The same may be proved by a Decision given in the *Acta S. Sedis*, March, 1890.

"*Ne Moniales . . . missæ sacrificio privarentur diebus festis, ab Episcopo facta est facultas, ut . . . parochus iterare possit. Contigit autem ut parochus . . . peracta sibi conscientia applicavit 15 ex secundis missis in satisfactionem oneris cui canonicus Archipresbyter, a quo tamen eleemosynam non habet. Admonitus ab Episcopo . . . supplici libello a SSmo petiit ut in posterum facultas sibi daretur has 15 missas in sacri iteratione applicandi, et ut insuper a præterita male acta applicatione absolveretur. Resolutio Sacra C. Concilii censuit respondere; Pro absolutione quoad præteritum, celebratis quinque missis; quoad futurum pro gratia reductionis quinquaginta Missarum ad quinque Missas, durante servitio quod orator monasterio præstat, facto verbo cum SSmo.*"

We conclude, therefore, that the Congregation of the Council in the decrees quoted is only interpreting the Constitutions of Benedict XIV. and the mind of the Holy See. "*Canonum enim præscripta in hac re perspecta certaque sunt, eaque omnino prohibent dari ac percipi eleemosynam directe pro secunda Missæ celebratione. Id patet ex consti-*

tutione Bened. XIV. Declarasti, et ex constanti S. C. C. praxi." (*Acta S. Sedis. Fasc. viii., vol. xxii., p. 500.*)

B.—*Nego Minorem.*

No doubt our doctrine is not very clearly contained in the Constitutions of Benedict XIV.; and a person might say that these decrees are *extensive* interpretations of law. Yet even in this hypothesis we contend they have the force of ecclesiastical law. These declarations have certainly the approval of the Pope; they are made in his name and by his authority; and they have the same force, therefore, in particular cases as if they emanated from the Pope himself. But are they promulgated for the whole Church? If they are merely *comprehensive* interpretations they require no promulgation; but even if they are *extensive* interpretations they have been sufficiently promulgated. Because these decrees have been often repeated to different persons, and places (Lucidi, *ibid.*); they have been notified to the Missionary countries by *Propaganda* (*Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vi., p. 546.) Now we contend that at a certain stage, difficult perhaps to be determined, these decrees become law. No one, *e. g.*, would say that if the same answer had been given to all the dioceses in the world, except one—if the answer regarded general law, and was not dependent on local circumstances—that the one diocese was not bound by the decision given to all the others.

This is taught by St. Liguori: "Addendum tamen est quod hujusmodi declarationes, quae jam in ecclesia universaliter divulgatae, et facto sic promulgatae fuerint usu plurium, vel relatione auctorum communiter ipsas referentium, hae satis omnes fideles obstringunt." (*Quaestiones Reformatae.*)

The reason also given by Schmalzgrueber for the *comprehensive* interpretations of the other Congregations is of equal force in the present instance. "Ratio perspicua est, quia uniformitas responsorum, ac sententiarum, super eodem articulo saepius et uniformiter redditarum inducit stylum et praxim curiae. Stylus autem et praxis curae jus facit." (*Jus Ecclesiasticum*, n. 384.)

And Huguenin: "Igitur quamvis Congregationes institutae fuerint potissimum ad leges applicandas, tamen saepius accidit, ut earum decreta vim legis obtineant. Id contingit in sequentibus casibus . . . 3^o Decisionum uniformitas in casibus similibus inducit praxim Curiae Romanae." (*Expositio Juris Canonici*, tom. i., p. 98.)

We therefore conclude that these decisions, and the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff on this question, are sufficiently manifested to have the force of law.

Finally, we wish to make two remarks. 1^o. Our decision about *honoraria* does not extend to the Masses of Christmas Day. And 2^o as our answer in January was given in reply to a question from an Irish priest, we refer him for confirmation of our solution to the Maynooth Statutes, p. 81.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

SOLEMN VESPERS.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL DIRECTIONS.

The officiant at Solemn Vespers is vested in surplice and cope. Both alb and stole are forbidden.¹ His place during the function is either at the bench on the epistle side of the altar, where the celebrant of Solemn Mass sits, or in the first stall in the choir.² In either case a *prie-dieu* is placed in front of him, on which is laid a Breviary or *Vesperale* of a large size, encased in a silk covering of the colour required for the vespers.³ If he occupies the first stall in choir, a cushion is placed on the seat and a piece of carpet spread in front of it.

The ministers or assistants at Solemn Vespers are the

¹ S. R. C., July 13, 1658, n. 1763, 3. Sept. 7, 1816, n. 4374. Dec. 16, 1828, n. 4496, 3.

² *Cær.*, *Epis.*, l. 2, c. 3, n. 4

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, and authors.

cope-men, as the assistants vested in copes are called, the master of ceremonies, the acolytes, the thurifer, and the chanters. The number of the cope-men varies with the degree of solemnity which attaches to the feast whose vespers are to be recited. According to the *Ceremonial* there should be six cope-men on the most solemn feasts of the year,¹ four on those next in order,² and two on ordinary Sundays and feasts of double major rite.³ On all days of lower than double major rite, which are not Sundays, the cope-men, according to the same authority, are to be dispensed with altogether, and the officiant is to be vested only in the ordinary choir dress.⁴

Neither custom nor positive legislation has definitely settled the place of the cope-men during vespers. The following arrangement may, however, be accepted as at once the most convenient and best supported. In front of the altar, but on the floor of the choir, and not in the sanctuary, are placed two benches covered with green cloth.⁵ These benches stretch across the floor of the choir, and are therefore at right angles to the rows of stalls. On these the cope-men sit so that their faces are turned towards the altar. When the officiant occupies the first stall in choir, all the cope-men, whatever be their number, take their places at these two cross benches, an equal number being at each bench. But when the officiant remains at the bench on the epistle side of the sanctuary, two cope-men remain with him, one on each side. Hence when the officiant's place is at the bench, and there are only two cope-men, the cross benches need not be prepared. When there are more than two cope-men, the first two, or the most worthy, remain with the celebrant, the

¹ Namely, the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, Titular or Patron of Church, Dedication and Patron of place or diocese. (*Caer.* l. 3, c. 2, n. 16.)

² The four feasts immediately after the Nativity, the Monday and Tuesday after Easter and Pentecost, Circumcision, Purification, Annunciation and Nativity of the B. V. Mary, Trinity Sunday, St. John the Baptist, (*Ibid.*, n. 17.)

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ “. . . ad sedilia in plano chori disposita hinc inde contra altare, et ornata panno viridi.” *Caer.*, *ibid.* n. 6.

others go to the benches, one or two to each, according to the number engaged.

On the altar in front of which solemn vespers are chanted six candles should be lighted on the more solemn feasts. On the less solemn feasts four will suffice. The colour of the ornaments of the altar, as well as of the copes of the officiant and assistants, is regulated by the vespers. If the vespers are taken entirely from the second vespers of the feast of the day, with or without a commemoration of the feast of the day following, the colour is that of the Office of that day. It is of the Office of the following day when the vespers are either entirely or *a capitulo* of the following feast.

CHAPTER II.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF VESPERS TO THE “CAPITULUM.”

The candles on the altar having been lighted, and the officiant and his ministers having assumed their proper vestments, the master of ceremonies at the time appointed gives the signal to proceed to the altar. The two acolytes, bearing lighted candles, are in front; immediately behind them walks the thurifer, without the censer, having his hands joined in front. Next come the clergy, two by two, if they proceed processionally, to choir, but if they do not enter processionally the master of ceremonies walks either behind or on the left of the thurifer. After the master of ceremonies follow the cope-men, two by two, with the officiant between the last two. The officiant and cope-men wear their birettas. If the clergy are already in choir the officiant and assistants salute them on their way to the altar. Having arrived in front of the altar, they all arrange themselves in a single line, the officiant in the centre, and the acolytes on either extremity, and all having with heads uncovered, saluted the altar, the officiant and assistants in cope kneel on the first step of the altar, and say in secret the prayer *Aperi Domine*. The master of ceremonies and the thurifer kneel *in plano*. Meantime the acolytes carry their candles, one to the epistle, the other to the gospel corner, and having placed them on the lowest of the lateral steps or on the floor of the sanctuary they extinguish the candles and proceed to their places in choir.

When a sufficient time for saying the *Aperi Domine* has elapsed the master of ceremonies rises and directs the officiant and assistants to do the same. All again salute the altar, and turning round salute the choir on the gospel and on the epistle side. Then the officiant, accompanied by the cope-men and the master of ceremonies, proceeds to his place.

The officiant having arrived at his place seats himself for a short space and puts on his biretta. At a signal from the master of ceremonies he rises, and recites in an undertone the *Pater* and *Ave*. He then sings *Deus in adjutorium*, &c., at the same time making on himself the sign of the cross, and while the choir is singing *Gloria Patri*, &c., he as well as all others inclines the head profoundly. One of the assistants in cope, or a chanter in surplice, meanwhile approaches, and at the conclusion of the *Sicut erat*, &c., intones to the celebrant the first antiphon. The celebrant sings the same words, and as soon as the chanters have intoned the first psalm he again takes his seat and resumes his biretta. He remains seated during the chanting of the psalms, but uncovers and bows at the *Gloria Patri* at the end of each, and at any words occurring in the psalms which demand a similar reverence.

The cope-men, as has been said, may be either two, four, or six in number. When there are only two, their place is on the right and left of the officiant when the latter remains at the bench, but on the seats in front of the altar when he takes his place in choir. When there are four or six cope-men, the first two always remain with the officiant, provided he is not in one of the choir stalls; the others distribute themselves symmetrically on the above-mentioned seats.

Having now saluted the altar, and the choir after reciting the *Aperi Domine*, the cope-men accompany the officiant to his place, the two seniors being on his right and left, and holding back the borders of his cope. On arriving at the bench the cope-men arrange themselves in two lines, taking care not to turn their backs towards either the altar or the celebrant. The first two stand on either side of the officiant, the others face one another in front of him. When the celebrant comes to the bench the assistants all salute him, and when he sits down, they go to their places and sit down

also.¹ They stand up along with the officiant and recite the *Pater* and *Ave*, in an under tone, and the one on the right of the officiant will hold back the border of his cope while he makes the sign of the cross at the *Deus in adjutorium*.

While the choir is singing *Sicut erat*, one of the cope-men² comes in front of the officiant to intone the first antiphon. He may be either the first absolutely,³ that is, he whose place is on the right of the officiant during the function, or he may be the first of the two who fill the office of chanters.⁴ When, then, the *Alleluia* or *Laus tibi, Domine*, has been sung, the assistant in cope who is to discharge this office sings in an audible tone the first words of the first antiphon, and when these have been repeated by the officiant, the assistants in cope, together with the master of ceremonies, salute the officiant, and retire to their respective places.

While the choir is singing the remainder of the first antiphon, the two assistants whose duty it is to chant, meet in the middle of the choir with the customary salutations, and when the antiphon has been sung, they intone the first psalm. This done, they repeat the salutations, and resume their seats and birettas. At the *Gloria Patri* they uncover and incline, and during the *Sicut erat* they rise to intone the repetition of the first antiphon. When the choir takes up the singing of this antiphon, then one of the chanters who is on the gospel side, having saluted the altar, accompanies the master of ceremonies to intone the second antiphon to the senior or chief dignitary in the choir. When the singing of the first antiphon ceases, the chanter salutes him to whom he is to intone the antiphon, sings the first words, and when these have been repeated, the chanter again inclines and returns to the centre of the choir. Here, having saluted the altar, he intones the second psalm along with his companion. The third antiphon is intoned by the chanter on the epistle side to the senior on that side of the choir, and so alternately with the fourth and fifth antiphons.

When there are but two assistants in copes they remain with the officiant, and the office of chanters is discharged by

¹ De Conny, l. 2, ch. 8. ² *Caer.*, *Epis.*, *ibid.* n. 9. ³ Many authors.

⁴ Vavasseur, p. 8, sect. 1, ch. 1., Art. 4, n. 26, note.

two clerics in surplice.¹ Moreover, even when there are four or six cope-men, it is not necessary that any of them should act as chanters. In this case also, the chanting may be done by others.² The cope-men will then comport themselves during this part of the function like the other members of the choir, with this exception that they need not stand up for the intoning of the antiphons by the members of the choir.

*The Master of Ceremonies*¹ kneels to say the *Aperi Domine*, at the end of which he gives a sign to the officiant and assistants to rise; he salutes with them the altar, and accompanies them to the bench of the officiant. When the officiant has taken his place at the bench, the master of ceremonies salutes him, gives him a sign to be seated, and the assistants to go to their places. At the proper time he again signs to the officiant to rise, and if there are no assistants he himself will hold back the officiant's cope while he makes the sign of the cross at *Deus in adiutorium*. He conducts the first assistant, or chanter, to intone the first antiphon to the officiant, and salutes the officiant along with him, both before and after he intones the antiphon. He then accompanies the chanter or assistant to his place, taking care on each occasion that he invites him to do anything, or retires after conducting him to his place, to salute him.

At the *Gloria Patri*, at the words *Sanctum et terrible nomen ejus*, of Psalm cx., and *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, of Psalm cxii., he gives a signal to all to uncover. He conducts the chanters, whether they be in cope or only in surplice, to intone the antiphons to the members of the choir. The second antiphon is intoned to the highest dignitary in choir by the chanter who is on that side on which he sits. The third is intoned by the second chanter to the highest dignitary on the other side, and so alternately with the fourth and fifth. Both before and after intoning the antiphons, the chanter and master of ceremonies salute the person to whom it is intoned.

¹ *Caer. Epis.*, *ibid.*, n. 8. ² *Caer. Epis. ibid.*, and authors generally.

³ The place of the master of ceremonies during the chanting of the Psalms is near the officiant, either in a stall in choir or on a bench in the sanctuary.

The Chanters, when they are not assistants in cope, will follow the instructions laid down for the two assistants when they act as chanters.

The Acolytes during this part of the vespers remain in their places in choir. Towards the end of the last psalm they leave their places at a signal from the master of ceremonies, go to the centre of the choir, salute the altar and choir, and go to light their candles.

The Choir, if it is already assembled when the officiant enters, stands up to receive and return the salutation of him and his ministers. The clergy kneel to say the *Aperi Domine*, rise with the officiant, and again return the salutation. When the officiant takes his seat on the bench the clergy also sit and put on their birettas. They rise at the signal from the master of ceremonies, sign themselves at the *Deus in adjutorium*, and remain standing until the first psalm has been intoned. They then resume their seats and birettas. They uncover at the *Gloria Patri*, and at any other words demanding a similar reverence. They remain sitting during the singing of the psalms, except when the antiphons are being intoned before the psalms. At these times they stand up who are on the same side of the choir with him to whom the antiphon is intoned.

CHAPTER III.—FROM THE “CAPITULUM” TO THE END.

The Officiant, just as the choir is finishing the repetition of the last antiphon, uncovers, rises, and chants the *Capitulum*, and after the *Deo gratias* intones the hymn which one of the assistants or chanters has just pre-intoned to him. If the hymn be the *Ave Maris Stella*, or *Veni Creator*, he kneels during the singing of the first stanza. When the versicle and response have been sung, the officiant intones the antiphon of the *Magnificat* after the assistant or chanter, as before, and then resumes his seat and puts on his biretta. At the end of the antiphon he lays aside his biretta, rises, and goes to incense the altar, saluting the choir on the way, first on the epistle, then on the gospel side. Having arrived at the foot of the altar he makes the proper reverence, ascends, kisses the altar, and turns by his right to bless the

incense. He puts incense three times into the censer, and blesses it with the usual formulary, *Ab illo benedicaris*, &c. He then incenses the altar, as before the *Introit* in the Solemn Mass. When the incensing is completed he hands the censer to the assistant on his right, retires to the centre of the altar, salutes the cross, and descends. At the foot of the altar he again makes the proper reverence, turns round, salutes the choir, beginning now with the gospel side, and proceeds to his place. Having arrived at his place he is incensed by one of the assistants with three double swings. While the choir is repeating the antiphon after the *Magnificat*, he sits with head covered, rises at the end of it, sings *Dominus vobiscum*, *Oremus*, and the prayer. If there are commemorations, he sings the prayer of each, prefacing each prayer with *Oremus*. After the last prayer he sings *Dominus vobiscum*, and as soon as the choir has responded *Deo gratias* to the *Benedicamus Domine*, sung by the assistants or chanters, he says in a low tone¹ *Fidelium animae*, &c., followed in an undertone by *Pater Noster*, if *Complin* is not to be said. At the end of the *Pater Noster*, he says in the medium tone² *Dominus det nobis suam pacem*, to which the choir responds. The anthem of the Blessed Virgin proper for the season may be said after Vespers, even in churches where there is not a strict obligation to recite the Office in choir.³ According to the ceremonial the officiant himself should recite the entire anthem, including versicle, response, and prayer, and this too in a low or medium tone.⁴ But a custom, all but universal, and observed even in Rome, favours the singing of the anthem in a solemn tone and manner.⁵ In this latter case an assistant or chanter may intone the anthem to the officiant, and sing the verses, and the officiant himself should say the prayer, concluding with the words *Divinum auxilium*, &c., while making the sign of the cross.

The Cope-men, whose place is in front of the altar, uncover, and rise during the repetition of the fifth antiphon, and proceed in front of the celebrant, taking care to salute the

¹ *Caer. Epis.*, *ibid.*, n. 15. ² *Ibid.* ³ S. R. C., May 18, 1883. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Cérémonial Expliqué*, l. c. n. 15, 4°.

altar as they pass, and the officiant when they arrive. During the *Capitulum* and intoning of the hymn they stand along with the acolytes before the celebrant, and facing each other in two lines. The following arrangement supposes the number of assistants in cope to be six, but it will readily suggest the proper arrangement when the number is only four or two :—

5th Assist.	3rd Assist.	1st Acol.	1st Assist. Officiant. 2nd Assist.
6th Assist.	4th Assist.	2nd Acol.	

When the choir has responded *Deo gratias*, then one of the assistants who intoned the first antiphon to the officiant now intones to him the hymn. As soon as the officiant has repeated the intonation of the hymn, the assistants salute him, and retire to their places, where they remain standing during the singing of the hymn and versicles. The two who act as chanters proceed in front of the altar during the singing of the last stanza of the hymn, at the end of which they sing the versicle. Their companions now join them, and all again approach the officiant, with the usual reverences to the altar, &c. The same assistant who has already intoned the first antiphon and the hymn, intones now the antiphon of the *Magnificat* also, and the four go to the front of the altar to intone the *Magnificat*. If the antiphon of the *Magnificat* be long, they may sit as the others in choir do; but if it be short, they remain standing until it has been sung. Then the two who act as chanters intone the *Magnificat*, and all immediately approach the officiant to conduct him to the altar. Arrived in front of him, they salute him; the first two walk by his side, holding back the borders of the cope, the others precede them, two and two.

All salute the choir, beginning with the epistle side, as they meet it first on their way to the altar. At the foot of the altar they make the proper reverence; the first two accompany the officiant up the steps, and assist at the incensation, as the deacon and sub-deacon do in Solemn Mass. The other assistants meantime remain *in plano* facing the altar. After the incensation all repeat the reverence to the altar and the salutation of the choir, and accompany the officiant to his place. The first assistant receives the censer, and incenses the officiant with three double swings. All the assistants salute the officiant before and after he is incensed. The first assistant hands the censer to the thurifer, who transfers it to the junior assistant (the fourth or sixth). The latter incenses the other assistants in order,⁶ and then, in company with the thurifer, goes to incense the choir.

The assistant with the censer goes first to the senior or highest in rank in the choir, salutes him, and incenses him with two double swings. In the same manner he incenses the other clergy of the first order on that side of the choir, and then crosses to incense those of the same order on the other side, beginning with the most worthy. The other members of the choir are incensed collectively, and afterwards the assistant himself is incensed by the thurifer. Two things must be noted by him who incenses. First, while the choir is saying *Gloria Patri*, after the *Magnificat*, he ceases from incensing, and turning towards the altar remains inclined until they have finished. Second, as soon as the officiant rises to sing the prayer after the repetition of the antiphon of the *Magnificat*, the incensing must cease altogether, whether it has been completed or not. The assistant, therefore, on whom the duty of incensing devolves, should take care not to incense too many individually. If necessary, the collective incensation will do for all, with the exception of the assistants.

During the repetition of the antiphon after the *Magnificat* the assistants approach the officiant as at the *Capitulum*, and together with the acolytes stand as they have been directed

¹ De Carpo, *Pars Prima*, n. 50.

to do at that part of the function, until all is finished. They proceed to the sacristy in the same order as they came to the altar.

The Master of Ceremonies towards the conclusion of the fifth psalm gives a sign to the acolytes to get their candles, and while the choir is repeating the fifth antiphon he invites the assistants, who are in front of the altar, to approach. If there are no assistants, or only two, he invites the chanters to approach instead. At the conclusion of the *Capitulum* he conducts him who is to intone the hymn in front of the officiant, whom he salutes in conjunction with the chanter. The hymn intoned, he gives a sign to the assistants or chanters to return to their places. While the choir is singing the last stanza of the hymn, he invites the assistants or chanters to come to the centre of the choir in front of the altar to sing the versicle, and again conducts them to the officiant to intone the antiphon of the *Magnificat*. He accompanies the officiant and assistants to incense the altar, ministers as usual at the blessing of the incense, and, in defect of assistants, accompanies the officiant while he is incensing the altar. When the officiant returns to his place, if there are no assistants, he receives the censer from the thurifer and incenses the officiant with three double swings. The master of ceremonies is himself incensed by the thurifer after the assistant who incenses the choir, or, when there are no assistants, after the choir has been incensed.

During the repetition of the antiphon of the *Magnificat* he invites the acolytes and assistants to come in front of the officiant, and when all is finished he gives the signal to retire to the sacristy.

The Chanters in this part of the vespers also will be guided by the rules which the chanters in cope are directed to follow.

The Acolytes before the end of the last psalm lay aside their birettas, rise, salute the choir, each other, and the altar, and proceed to light their candles. Having lighted them they meet at the centre of the altar, genuflect, and approach the officiant. They stand in front of him, one towards his right, the other towards his left, but facing each other

Should the rest kneel at the first stanza of the hymn, the acolytes remain standing. At a signal from the master of ceremonies they salute the officiant, and carry their candles back to the altar. They genuflect in front of the altar, and place their candles, without extinguishing them, on a step of the altar, in such a position that they will not impede the assistants during the incensing of the altar. They then retire to their places, where they remain until the choir is repeating the antiphon of the *Magnificat*. At this time they go for their candles, having made the accustomed reverences, and place themselves, holding their lighted candles, in front of the officiant, precisely as before at the *Capitulum*. They withdraw to the sacristy in front of the others.

The *Thurifer* leaves his place, in company with the acolytes, towards the end of the fifth psalm; with them he salutes the choir, and altar, and goes direct to the sacristy to prepare the censer. While the antiphon of the *Magnificat* is being sung, he comes to the altar with the censer in his right hand and the incense-boat in his left. When the officiant ascends the altar by the steps in front, he ascends by the steps on the epistle side, and having received incense presents the censer to the master of ceremonies. If there are no assistants in cope, the *thurifer* assists during the incensation at the left of the officiant. When the altar has been incensed he receives the censer from the master of ceremonies to whom, or to the first assistant, he hands it again when the celebrant has taken his place. He remains at the left of the assistant (or master of ceremonies) while he is incensing the officiant, and having received the censer from him he immediately hands it to the junior assistant, and accompanies him while he incenses the choir, saluting with the assistant each one who is incensed, both before and after the incensation.

When the choir has been incensed, the *thurifer* receives the censer and incenses the assistant, and afterwards the master of ceremonies, and the acolytes. He gives two double swings to the assistant, but only one to the others. He then proceeds to the entrance of the choir, and incenses the

people *per modum unius*, and afterwards retires to the sacristy *suo officio functus*.¹

The Choir stands up when the officiant rises to sing the *Capitulum*. When the hymn is *Ave Maris Stella* or *Veni Creator*, the clergy in choir kneel during the first stanza. They sit while the antiphon of the *Magnificat* is being sung, rise for the canticle itself, at the first words of which they sign themselves.² They return the salutations of the ministers on their way to and from incensing the altar. They again sit when the antiphon is being repeated, provided the incensation of the choir has been completed, otherwise they remain standing. The clergy who are incensed observe the directions given for the incensation during Solemn Mass. If Compline does not follow Vespers immediately, they retire from choir after the anthem of the Blessed Virgin has been recited.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENT.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN AND THE
BISHOPS OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN, FERNS AND OSSORY,
TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THEIR DIOCESES.

VERY REVEREND AND REVEREND FATHERS AND DEARLY BELOVED
BRETHREN AND CHILDREN IN JESUS CHRIST.

We feel that the time has come when we cannot with safe consciences put off making the appeal that we make to you to-day. Not for many years, scarcely within the present century, has an appeal been addressed in a form so solemn as this, to the Clergy and Laity of the Dioceses of this Ecclesiastical Province. We speak to you to-day, the Archbishop and the Bishops of these Dioceses, with one united voice. As for the past, we trust that, through the mercy of God, we have not been neglectful of

¹ When there are no assistants in cope, or only two, the thurifer himself incenses the choir. In this case he will attend to the directions given for the assistant who performs this office.

² Authors generally.

our duty towards you. From time to time, as occasion seemed to us to suggest it, we have addressed to you words of instruction and exhortation, each of us within the limits of his own episcopal charge. But a work now lies before us which we have not ventured to take in hand without first seeking for the guidance of that special light which we might best hope to obtain by taking counsel together.

For, dearly beloved, the work in which we now invite your co-operation is a work of no ordinary difficulty. Without your willing co-operation we cannot hope to see it carried out, as we feel called upon to strive with all our strength to secure that it shall be, so as to bring within the range of its influence every one of those, without exception, for our care or neglect of whose souls we shall one day have to answer before the throne of God.

Your Catholic instincts have already led you to the knowledge of what work this is. It is the establishment, in every parish and district throughout these dioceses, of an organisation for the advancement of the cause of temperance, an organisation, durable as well as wide-spread, in which all the faithful of the portion of the fold of Christ that is committed to our care, young and old, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, may unite in a holy league of prayer, of self-sacrifice, and of persevering religious effort, in a great work of Christian virtue.

To-day, then, on this anniversary of the consecration of our country to the Sacred Heart of our Divine Saviour, we call upon you to enrol yourselves, as soldiers of Christ, in a holy warfare against the debasing sin of intemperance. Do not imagine, dearly beloved, that we think of asking of you anything that is unreasonable. We aim at nothing but to secure the fulfilment of the law of God. Our only purpose is to bring about a more general and exact observance of the precepts of the great Christian virtue of temperance, and, in so far as it may please God to bless our work with so large a measure of success, to root out from amongst our people every vestige of the degrading and soul-destroying vice of drunkenness.

Impressed with a conviction of the momentous importance of this work, we have come together in council. We have invoked upon our deliberations the blessing of Him who has promised that where even two or three are gathered together in His Name, He will be in the midst of them. Guided, as we may humbly trust, by the Spirit of Divine Wisdom, we have decided upon addressing you in this joint Pastoral Letter. We earnestly bespeak, then,

your dutiful attention to the words which, under a sense of the deepest responsibility, we put before you to-day.

We do not purpose, dearly beloved, to seek by any words of ours to impress you with a sense of the hideous enormity of the sin against which we invite you to enlist in a holy and unrelenting warfare. It cannot, indeed, be necessary that we should do so. For, what other sin is there whose grievous malice and abominations, as well as the manifold misery and wretchedness of which it is the fruitful source, have been set before us in language more impressive in its solemnity, or more appalling in its sternness, by the voice of everlasting Truth itself?

"Wine," says the Wise Man, "is a luxurious thing, and drunkenness riotous: whosoever taketh pleasure therein shall not be wise."¹ And again, speaking of the drunkard he says:—"Who hath woe? Whose father hath woe? Who hath contentions? Who falleth into pits? Who hath wounds without cause? Who hath redness of eyes? Surely they that pass their time in wine. . . Look not upon the wine . . . when the colour of it shineth in the glass; it goeth in pleasantly; but in the end it will bite like a snake, and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk; thine eyes shall behold strange women, and thy heart shall utter perverse things, and thou shalt be as one sleeping in the midst of the sea, and as the pilot fast asleep when the rudder is lost."²

And, in passage after passage of the New Testament, we are reminded that drunkenness is a sin most hateful in the sight of God; that for the unrepentant drunkard there should be no place or fellowship among the faithful of Christ; and that he should be driven out in disgrace from amongst them, to herd, even in this world, with those other degraded sinners and enemies of the Cross of Christ, in whose midst, if he should die in his sins, it will be his lot to suffer in the flames of hell for all eternity.

"I have written to you," says St. Paul, addressing the Christians of the Church of Corinth, "not to keep company, if any man who is called a brother"—that is to say, a member of the Church of Christ—"be a fornicator, . . . or a server of idols, . . . or a drunkard, . . . with such a one do not so much as eat. . . Put away the evil one from amongst you."³ Elsewhere, in the same Epistle, the Apostle denounces the drunkard as

¹ Proverbs, xx. 1.

² Proverbs, xxiii. 29-34,

³ 1 Cor. v. 11-13.

amongst the most grievous of sinners. "Be not deceived," he says; "neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor drunkards, . . shall possess the Kingdom of God."¹ And again, in his Epistle to the Galatians, we read:—"The works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, . . murders, drunkenness . . and such like, of the which I tell you, as I have told you in times past, that they who do such things shall not possess the Kingdom of God."²

Yet, dearly beloved, how lightly is not indulgence in this abominable vice of drunkenness spoken of at times by some of the more thoughtless amongst our people! How often does it not seem to be looked upon as an almost innocent failing, rather than as a sin of deadly malice, classed by the warning voice of God Himself amongst the crimes that are most hateful in His sight!

We have said that it is not our purpose to-day to dwell upon the malice of this degrading sin, or upon the miseries that indulgence in it brings upon its wretched victims even in this life. But we cannot refrain from at least briefly reminding you of the words of noble eloquence addressed to their flocks upon this subject by the Bishops of the Irish Church in their Pastoral Letter from the National Synod of Maynooth.

"With deepest pain, and, after the example of the Apostle, weeping, we say that the abominable vice of intemperance still continues to work dreadful havoc amongst our people, marring in their souls the work of religion, and, in spite of their rare natural and supernatural virtues, changing many among them into 'enemies of the Cross of Christ; whose end is destruction; whose god is their belly; and whose glory is their shame.'

"Is it not, dearly beloved, an intolerable scandal that in the midst of a Catholic nation like ours, there should be found so many slaves of intemperance who habitually sacrifice to brutal excess in drinking, not only their reason but their character, the honour of their children, their substance, their health, their life, their souls, and God Himself?

"To drunkenness we may refer, as to its baneful cause, almost all the crime by which the country is disgraced, and much of the poverty from which it suffers. Drunkenness has wrecked more homes, once happy, than ever fell beneath the crowbar in the worst days of eviction; it has filled more graves,

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

² Gal. v. 19-21.

and made more widows and orphans, than did the famine ; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more ruthlessly, than the enforced exile to which their misery has condemned emigrants.

“Against an evil so widespread and so pernicious we implore all who have at heart the honour of God and the salvation of souls to be filled with a holy zeal.”

It is gratifying to reflect that these touching words, addressed to the faithful people of Ireland, were far from being unfruitful for good. The exhortation of the assembled Bishops fell indeed upon docile ears and generous hearts. For a time, it bore fruit a hundred-fold. In many parts of Ireland, strong, and, whilst they were maintained, successful, efforts were made to check the further advance of the plague of intemperance. In not a few districts, a notable victory was gained, lost ground was recovered, and the enemy was driven back. But, as had occurred on more than one previous occasion, when high hopes of a lasting triumph of the cause of temperance had been raised only to end in disappointment, the success then attained was, in many parts of Ireland, to a great extent, but transient.

It is needless, as it would be unprofitable, here to enumerate in detail the various causes that combined to render a work apparently so full of promise an easy prey to the assaults of the enemies, visible and invisible, by which it was beset. One element of decay, however, was apparent on the surface. The work of temperance reform which resulted from the Pastoral Letter of the Synod of Maynooth lacked one essential element of lasting success—unity of purpose and of effort. The steps taken in one or another diocese or district by earnest advocates of the cause of temperance were not unfrequently made little of, and sometimes even openly derided, elsewhere, by others no less earnest. The house was divided against itself. It could not long withstand the efforts of its many and powerful assailants, combined for its overthrow. The existence, then, of not a few of the local and partial efforts at temperance reform that sprang into existence, or were inspired with new vitality, after the issuing of the Pastoral Letter of the Maynooth Synod, was but a brief one. For the most part, the fate that befel them was in all essential respects the same that had befallen the marvellous movement of a quarter of a century before—that great and all but universal uprising of the Irish people against intemperance, which is inseparably associated in the history of our Church and nation with the name of our Irish Apostle of Temperance, Father Mathew.

It is not, we trust, presumptuous to entertain the thought that a time has now come—the time perhaps marked out in the order of God's Providence for so great a work—when a renewed effort may be made in the cause of temperance reform with a more than common hopefulness of an enduring success.

The Centenary, or hundredth anniversary, of Father Mathew's birth will occur, as you know, within the present year. Even already, the day of that anniversary, the 10th of next October, is looked forward to throughout Ireland as a great national festival. The people of Ireland feel that they are called upon to make worthy use of the occasion to do honour to the memory of one of the most illustrious of their fellow-countrymen, one of the foremost amongst the benefactors of their race. They have accepted the responsibility. County will vie with county, diocese with diocese, parish with parish, and town with town, in the effort to celebrate this festival of Father Mathew in a manner in some degree befitting so great an occasion. Statues and other suitable memorials of the Irish Apostle of Temperance will be raised in his honour in the public places of our cities. Meetings and processions will be held, and the feelings of a grateful people will find suitable expression in many outward signs of rejoicing.

But the fellow-countrymen of Father Mathew are surely called upon to honour his memory by something more worthy of him than all this, something more worthy of being tendered in the name of Ireland as a national tribute to the memory of so great a benefactor. For it cannot be lost sight of that, even in many of those fields of labour which in Father Mathew's lifetime seemed especially full of promise, the work to which so large a portion of his missionary life was so generously devoted has, long since, all but come to naught. Our people, it cannot be doubted, are truly grateful for the labours of that life. Neither, then, can it be doubted that they are called upon to preface their expressions of thankfulness with an humble avowal of their want of steadfastness in the cause in which those labours were expended, and with a practical resolve for the future to devote themselves to the work of making reparation for the shortcomings and errors of the past.

It has come, then, to be felt by all that the first step to be taken in preparation for the coming Centenary of Father Mathew's birth must be the organisation of some earnest effort for the revival and perpetuation of his work. The noblest tribute by which our country could attest her gratitude for his labours would be the spectacle of a nation united, under the blessing of religion,

in a solemn league for the overthrow of that degrading bondage from which it was the object of those labours to set his country free.

This, then, dearly beloved, is the work that now claims our attention. In that portion of it which will lie within the Dioceses of this Ecclesiastical Province, we earnestly call upon you to-day to take your part. In doing so we would remind you that, unlike many noble efforts hitherto made in the cause of temperance, this work in which we now invite your co-operation, will not be abandoned to its own resources. It will not be left to depend for its prospects of success merely upon the strength to be derived from the efforts, however energetic, of desultory individual zeal. For, throughout Ireland, it is being taken in hand by the Bishops as a work to be carried on with the sanction and under the blessing of the Church.

As to the precise form of the organisation, the amount of co-operation to be sought for from those who are to take part in it, and all other such details, the arrangements that will be made in furtherance of it may, and indeed must, vary with the circumstances of different dioceses. Special circumstances have enabled us, the Archbishop and the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Dublin, to work together for the establishment of an organisation on practically identical lines throughout all the Dioceses of the Province. But everywhere in Ireland, however circumstances may vary, the spirit of the work will be the same. It would surely seem almost to indicate a lack of confidence in the protecting power of the hand of God if we were to falter for a moment in our hopefulness of the success of a work so specially blessed by the whole Irish Church.

In not a few districts, the work of organisation must be in some respects a work of time. But in all, it will be found possible at once to make at all events an effective beginning. As to the day to be selected for the commencement of the work, a suggestion was made some months ago which, as was indeed to have been anticipated, has been endorsed with pious enthusiasm by our Catholic people. Acting on this suggestion, we have selected Passion Sunday for the inauguration of this work of Christian virtue in every parish and district throughout these dioceses. And surely no day could be selected more appropriate for such a purpose than the day on which we commemorate and renew, each year, the solemn consecration of our dioceses and of our country to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, that unfailing source of strength to all who sincerely desire to overcome temptation and to free themselves from the bondage of sin.

For, dearly beloved, it must be our aim, before all else, to secure that this work of ours shall rest upon the solid foundation of religion. The chief reliance of those who take part in it must be placed upon those means of grace on which our faith teaches us to rely, as our main sources of strength in the performance of every work of virtue.

Intemperance, it is true, brings in its train so many evils that, even in the eyes of the world, it is looked upon as a vice to be shunned by all. And, on the other hand, temperance holds a foremost place among the means by which, whether in the case of nations or of individuals, worldly prosperity and happiness may most easily and most effectively be secured. But, over and above all this, temperance is a Christian virtue, making the soul that practices it pleasing in the sight of God; and intemperance is a deadly sin, hateful to God, destructive of His grace in the soul, and, according to the standard of His judgments of infinite justice, to be punished by Him in everlasting fire.

To avoid sin, and to practise virtue, we stand in need of the grace of God. By ourselves, without the aid of that grace, we can do nothing. Therefore it is that we should now seek to walk in the path so wisely traced for us in the Pastoral Letter of the National Synod of Maynooth, from which we have already quoted. Even the selection of the day that will stand on record as that on which this organised work of temperance reform was commenced in our dioceses will serve to remind you, in the words of that Letter, that "however valuable other helps may be, there exists but one unfailing source whence human weakness can draw strength to resist temptation and break the bonds of evil habits. That source is the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the overflowing fountain of mercy, from which, through prayer and the sacraments, we receive grace in seasonable aid. The habit of daily prayer faithfully persevered in, frequent and worthy approach to the Holy Sacraments, the devout hearing of the Word of God, and the avoiding of dangerous occasions, are the only sure means by which intemperance can be overcome.

But, dearly beloved, we must not be misunderstood. If we seek to enlist you in a holy warfare against intemperance, a warfare to be waged with the weapons of grace and of faith, it is because we enter upon this work of temperance reform, not in a spirit merely of natural philanthropy, nor for the sake merely of securing for you those worldly advantages that cannot fail to flow from it, but for the sake of your eternal salvation, as the Pastors

of your souls. God forbid, then, that in this we should seem in any way to slight the efforts of those who zealously labour in the cause of temperance in another sphere. We feel, on the contrary, that we but discharge a duty towards them when we pray that their labours may be amply rewarded. We wish especially to bear testimony to the devoted zeal displayed in this good cause by many who are not with us in the unity of the faith. We cannot always approve the method of their teaching, or some of the views that from time to time are advocated amongst them. But this need not, and should not, hinder us from recognising the general excellence of their aims, or from expressing our good-will towards them, and our satisfaction at every result of their zealous labours by which, in any degree, the evils of intemperance are checked.

We now proceed to place before you the leading outlines of the organisation that is henceforth to hold a prominent place among the permanent ecclesiastical works of these dioceses. But to remove all danger of a possible and most serious mistake as to our meaning throughout, we think it necessary in the first instance to explain a fundamental matter of the utmost importance.

The word *Temperance* has come to be used by many in an unduly restricted sense. It is sometimes, and indeed not unfrequently, used as if it meant precisely the same thing as the words *Total Abstinence*. This, the clergy, so far as may be necessary, will be careful to explain to the faithful, is a manifest error. *Temperance* is one thing, *Total Abstinence* is another, and it is essential to keep clearly in view the difference between the two.

Temperance consists in the avoiding of all excess. It is, therefore, of obligation upon all. It is a Christian virtue, one of the four cardinal virtues, as they are called—*Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance*. All men are bound to its observance; for it is imposed as of obligation by Him whose Will is a law to all. Again, Christians, as members of the Church of Christ, are specially bound to its observance: they are bound to it by the promises of their baptism. If all our people were faithful to these baptismal promises and to the holy Law of God, there would be no need to speak to them of *Total Abstinence*.

Total Abstinence, on the other hand, is not imposed upon mankind in general by any law of God. Nor is it imposed as of obligation upon all Christians by the promises of their baptism. Yet, notwithstanding this, it is of obligation for many. It is, for instance, of obligation for all those for whom its observance is, in

practice, a necessary means for the observance of the law of Temperance. There are some—we must unhappily say that there are multitudes—for whom Total Abstinence in this way becomes a matter of the strictest obligation. As a great prelate has written, “so long as a man who has been in the habit or danger of intoxication continues to drink, the temptation to drink will be full upon him; so long as he continues to drink, he will go to the places where drink is sold; so long as he goes to places where drink is sold, he will be habitually in the company of associates who will easily overpower his best resolutions. For such men, I believe total abstinence to be almost the only hope; and what is true of men, I believe to be tenfold more true of women.”

There was a time when Total Abstinence, adopted, even in such cases, as a means of securing the observance of the virtue of Temperance, was objected to and opposed by many. Their opposition to it, more or less openly avowed, placed a serious obstacle in the way of temperance reform. But, so far at least as Catholics are concerned, that opposition will now be heard of no more. Total Abstinence, and the Pledge of Total Abstinence, have received the blessing of the Holy See.

Both by the late Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX., and by his present Holiness, Leo XIII., Indulgences have been granted in favour of the League of the Cross, and of other organisations, in which Total Abstinence is adopted as a fundamental principle, and in which the Total Abstinence Pledge is an indispensable condition of membership. Moreover, in a letter written to an illustrious American Bishop, a zealous advocate of Total Abstinence, our present Holy Father, speaking of that remedy for the evils of intemperance as “appropriate” and “truly efficacious,” has blessed it and encouraged those who are active in recommending its adoption.

We feel confident, dearly beloved, that we do not unduly extend this commendation of the Holy Father in what we now take it upon ourselves to add. Not only is the Pledge of Total Abstinence an “appropriate” and “truly efficacious” remedy for so great an evil, but in many cases—and, perhaps we may even go so far as to say, in all—it is, with the aid of Divine Grace, the most efficacious remedy, if indeed it be not the only efficacious remedy, that can be employed for the reclamation of those who

¹ CARDINAL MANNING. Letter to Father Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. See *The Discipline of Drink*, by Fr. Bridgett, Introductory Letter, pp. xvi., xvii.

have become entangled in the snares of Satan through indulgence in drink.

In such cases, then, and, we may add, in others besides, the observance of Total Abstinence is of obligation. But Temperance—that is to say, the avoiding of excess—is of obligation in all.

Having spoken of the Indulgences attached to membership in the League of the Cross and some other Total Abstinence Associations, we are bound to add that the Holy See, in granting these Indulgences, has required the true nature of the Pledge of Total Abstinence to be clearly explained in the constitution or rules of these Associations. Hence we find it stated in the rules of the League of the Cross that “the Pledge is not an oath, nor a vow,” and that it “is not of itself binding under sin.”

Yet, dearly beloved, it would be a deplorable error if, on this account, the keeping or breaking of the Pledge should come to be looked upon as a matter of indifference. Every care should be taken by the clergy to guard the faithful against an error so directly destructive of the influence of the Pledge as an effectual remedy for the evils of intemperance. As we also read in the rules of the same admirable organisation, “it would be a sin for those to break the Pledge who know that they would thereby expose themselves to the danger of intemperance; and, even where there is no such danger, those who have taken the Pledge ought never to give it up, unless they feel convinced for some grave reason that it would be better for them to keep it no longer.” We would add that in no case ought such a step to be taken except under the advice of a confessor fully informed as to all the circumstances of the case.

Provided these points are clearly explained to those who take the Pledge, so as to be fully understood by them, the Pledge may be taken in the form either of a Promise or of a firm Resolution. In this latter case, it would be well, in explaining the nature of a resolution, to illustrate the matter by reference to such examples as that of the Resolution of Amendment made at Confession or in an Act of Contrition; this illustration seems especially calculated to impress the minds of the faithful who take the Pledge with a due sense of the solemnity of what they do.

The form of the Pledge may, of course, vary according to circumstances. Where no other form is already in use, we would suggest the following as in many respects most commendable:—

“FOR THE GREATER HONOUR AND GLORY OF GOD, AND FOR THE SALVATION OF SOULS, IN HONOUR OF THE SACRED THIRST OF

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST AND OF THE COMPASSIONATE HEART OF MARY, I PLEDGE MYSELF, BY THE HELP OF GOD'S GRACE, TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTOXICATING DRINKS."

In some Total Abstinence Associations, such as the League of the Cross, it is an essential condition of membership that the Pledge should be taken for life. In others it is usual to allow members, at least in the first instance, to take the Pledge, as probationers, for some limited time, as, for instance, for a year. Where a Total Abstinence Association is already in existence, no change should be made in the practice hitherto followed in this respect. In Total Abstinence Associations now to be established, the practice of administering the Pledge, in the first instance, for a limited time, may be followed for the present, if this be considered desirable.

The work to be inaugurated in these dioceses on this Passion Sunday will be composed of two branches; one in reference to children, and, generally speaking, to all who have not reached adult age; the other in reference to adults. We shall deal separately with each of these, beginning with the former.

I.—THE ORGANISATION AS REGARDS CHILDREN.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the possibility of forming for adults an organisation, at once widespread and durable, on the basis of Total Abstinence alone, there is, we gladly observe, practically no difference of opinion as to the course to be taken in the case of children. For children at all events, the advantages of Total Abstinence, and the possibility of securing its general observance, are unquestioned. In their case, save in some exceptional instances, no need is even supposed to exist which should hinder their being brought up without knowing the taste of intoxicating drink. If they are brought up without knowing the taste of it, they will know no longing for it, and there will be no grave temptation to them to abandon the principles of Total Abstinence in after life.

From year to year many thousands of them will reach the age of maturity, and will pass, as a matter of course, into the ranks of the Total Abstainers, adding largely, year after year, to the number of grown-up men and women by whom the virtue of Temperance is practised in its most exemplary form. Especially in one respect, all this will tend to the better observance of Temperance, and so to the salvation of souls. For, with every

such increase in the number of those who practise Total Abstinence, many of the sources of temptation that now prove fatal to the good resolutions of so many of our people will, one by one, disappear. Temptations arising from the evil influence of others will become both less frequent and far easier to overcome. The influence of good example will be strengthened. A sound public opinion on the subject of intemperance will speedily be formed, and this, with God's blessing, will prove to be, in His hand, one of the chief instruments in the working out of a lasting temperance reform.

For these and for many other reasons, we aim at securing, as far as possible, that all the Catholic children of our dioceses shall be enrolled under the banner of Total Abstinence.

We have decided, then, in the first place, upon the formation of a Total Abstinence Association for the youth of our flocks, in every parish throughout this Ecclesiastical Province. The following observations sufficiently indicate the simple means by which, through the agency of the Church, this great object may be attained.

1. The practice hitherto followed in some dioceses, of administering the Total Abstinence Pledge to the children of each parish, on the occasion of the Episcopal Visitation of the parish, will henceforth be followed by us in all cases. The Pledge will be given by the Bishop after administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. Due notice that this is to be done will on each occasion be given by the clergy of the parish, so that the children, when preparing for Confirmation, may have an opportunity of fully considering the matter, and of obtaining the consent of their parents or guardians. The Pledge given to children in this way is to be understood as holding good until they have reached the age of twenty-one.

2. A register of the children who have taken the Total Abstinence Pledge will be kept in each parish.

3. To secure fidelity in the observance of the Pledge, a Juvenile Total Abstinence Association will at once be formed in each Parish Church, and as far as possible in every Church throughout our dioceses, for the children and younger members of the congregation of each Church. Every effort will be made by the clergy to secure that all who have taken the Pledge at Confirmation shall be enrolled in this Association.

4. We appeal with confidence to all parents and guardians, and especially to all mothers of families, to aid us in this matter

by using their influence to secure the enrolment of the children in the Association, and by constantly keeping before the children's minds the many advantages, both spiritual and temporal, to be gained by fidelity to its rules and principles.

5. As regards the meetings of the Association, and all other matters of detail in its organisation, it is manifest that much must be left to be regulated by the clergy and people of each district, subject to the approval of the Bishop. We may, however, suggest the following as a general outline of the arrangements, that it will be well to adhere to as closely as possible :—

(a) Periodical meetings of the Association should be held in the church, with appropriate devotions and instructions ;

(b) Suitable badges may be worn by the members at these meetings, and on other special occasions, as, for instance, at Mass on Sundays and holidays ;

(c) A special place should be reserved for the members or representatives of the Association in all the religious processions of the Church, and at all ceremonies of special solemnity ;

(d) In addition to the instructions in the Church, instructions should be given also in the schools, on the physical evils resulting from indulgence in the use of alcohol, and on the physical advantages of the practice of Temperance, and especially of Total Abstinence.

6. As we are anxious without delay to apply to the Holy See for a grant of Indulgences to be attached to membership in this Children's Total Abstinence Association, and to the observance of its rules and practices of piety, we request the clergy of each church to take immediate steps for the enrolment of the children. All should now be enrolled who have already taken the Total Abstinence Pledge, or who may wish to take it within the next few weeks. We suggest the third Sunday after Easter, the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, as a suitable day for the formal enrolment of the children in each parish. The teachers of schools and the members of religious confraternities will, we feel assured gladly aid the clergy in this portion of the work. The Parish Priest, or other priest in charge of the church, will then forward to the Bishop of the diocese a statement of the number of children enrolled. It will be important for us, when petitioning the Holy Father for Indulgences for the Association, to be able to state with accuracy the number of children actually enrolled throughout the parishes of each diocese.

II.—THE ORGANISATION AS REGARDS ADULTS.

We deem it useful here once more to direct attention to what we have already said upon the subject of Total Abstinence, and especially of the Total Abstinence Pledge, as the most effective of all remedies in cases of intemperance. But in doing so, we must not omit to bring before you another consideration of the most practical importance upon this subject.

It would be a fatal mistake if the Total Abstinence Pledge were to be regarded only in its application to such cases; that is to say, if it were to be regarded only as a means to be adopted for the reclamation of drunkards, or for the safety of persons who may be in some special danger of becoming drunkards. There is reason indeed to fear that, from the known efficacy of the Pledge in these classes of cases, and from the frequency with which it consequently is known to be administered in them, many who otherwise would gladly undertake the observance of the virtue of Temperance in this most excellent form, are foolishly deterred from doing so, lest by taking the Total Abstinence Pledge they should in some way expose themselves to discredit.

The feeling by which such persons are held back from becoming total abstainers is one that was not, perhaps, altogether unreasonable in the earlier years of the Total Abstinence movement. But whatever foundation or justification for such a feeling may then have existed has long since disappeared. It is now almost universally understood that there are other most excellent reasons by which many are influenced in undertaking the practice of Total Abstinence, and in taking the Total Abstinence Pledge.

Not unfrequently, for instance, this Pledge is taken as a specially meritorious act of Christian virtue. The observance of Temperance is, in itself, meritorious, even though it be observed only in so far as it is a matter of obligation for all: much more meritorious, then, is its observance in the far higher form of Total Abstinence, in which it assumes, in a high degree, the special merit of an act of Christian mortification. Again, quite apart from this consideration, the Pledge is taken by many as an act of the virtue of Charity. This is the case when it is taken for the sake of others who may be encouraged by the example of so generous a sacrifice to imitate that example, and so to adopt the remedy in which, for them, lies the only effective means of deliverance from the bondage of their sinful habits of intemperance.

As regards, then, the promotion of the observance of Temperance among the adult members of our flocks, we have adopted

the following as the fundamental lines of the organisation to be established throughout our dioceses.

1. In the case of adults, as in that of children, we regard it as essential for the stability and extension of any effective Temperance movement, that a Total Abstinence Association should exist in every parish, and that, as far as possible, such an Association should be attached to every church. In many of our parishes, such Associations are already in existence; in some cases they exist as branches of St. Patrick's League of the Cross; in others, as branches of a Diocesan Total Abstinence Association. Where these Associations already are in existence, we earnestly commend them to the zealous support of the clergy. Where no Total Abstinence Association has as yet been established, the requisite steps will at once be taken to supply the want, so that within the next few weeks every parish in each of our dioceses shall have within its borders a well-organised Association of pledged Total Abstainers. All arrangements necessary for the establishment of these Associations will be made by the local clergy after consultation with the Bishop of the diocese.

2. As in the case of the Juvenile Total Abstinence Associations, many matters of detail must, of course, be differently arranged in different parishes according to local circumstances. These also will be arranged in each district, with the approval of the Bishop of the diocese. But, as in the case of the Children's Total Abstinence Associations, we think it advisable also here to suggest some general principles of working which may usefully be followed wherever they may be found fully to meet the requirements of the place:—

(a) The members of each Total Abstinence Association should, as a matter of course, be formally enrolled. In view of the application to be made to the Holy See for Indulgences, we request the clergy to have the names of the adults, as we have already requested in the case of the children, enrolled with the least possible delay. We should wish the numbers of members enrolled in each local Total Abstinence Association for Adults to be forwarded so as to reach the Bishop of the diocese at latest on Saturday, the 3rd of May, the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross.

(b) In each case, the President of the Total Abstinence Association should be the Parish Priest, or other priest in charge of the church to which the Association is attached; the Vice-President should be one of the other priests of the church or parish to be named by the President with the approval of the Bishop;

(c) If it be not made a fundamental rule of the local Associa-

tion that the members should go at least once a month to Confession and to Holy Communion, they should be in all cases earnestly exhorted to do so.

(d) The members of the Total Abstinence Association should also be strongly encouraged to become members of one of the other religious organisations attached to the church of the district—such, for instance, as the Confraternity of the Holy Family, the Association of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, &c. Compliance with the religious duties of any such organisation should, of course, be regarded as a sufficient compliance with the religious duties of the Total Abstinence Association.

(e) Members of the Total Abstinence Association taking part in any public religious exercise of any other organisation to which they may belong, should be encouraged to wear the badge of the Total Abstinence Association, in addition to the badge of the other organisation. They should not, however, be placed apart in any other organisation, so as to form a separate guild or guilds, but they should take their places in the ordinary guilds: these guilds, it is to be hoped, will vie with one another in pious emulation, as to which shall have amongst its members the largest number of total abstainers.

(f) On some one or more suitable occasions during the year, the members of the local Total Abstinence Association should meet in the church for some special religious purpose.

3. In addition to the organisation of special Total Abstinence Associations in each parish or district, the co-operation of all existing religious Associations and Confraternities, such as those of the Sacred Heart, &c., should be secured for the general advancement of the work of temperance reform. Subject, as in all former cases, to any arrangements that may be made, with the approval of the Bishop, in view of special local circumstances, the following suggestions may be taken as indicating some of the various ways in which the co-operation of those organisations may most usefully be secured:—

(a) At each monthly or weekly meeting of the Association, some special prayers should be offered up for the suppression of intemperance, the conversion of drunkards, the perseverance of all who have taken the Total Abstinence Pledge, and the general and lasting success of the work of Temperance, as henceforth to be carried on in these dioceses. As a useful form of prayer, we would suggest the recital of one Our Father and three Hail

Marys, in honour of the Sacred Thirst of our Lord on the Cross, and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, pierced with a Sword of Sorrows.

(b) Special instructions upon Temperance and the sins by which it is violated should be given to the Association from time to time, and the subject of Temperance should also frequently be referred to in the ordinary instructions and exhortations.

(c) So far as may be feasible, some information should occasionally be conveyed to the members of the Association in popular form, as to the physical evils resulting from indulgence in the use of alcohol, and the physical advantages of Temperance and especially of Total Abstinence.

(d) At all Retreats, at least one special sermon should be preached on Temperance; and the subject of Temperance should be strongly referred to, both in the opening and in the closing sermons of every Retreat.

(e) The Pledge of Total Abstinence not being in any way a condition of membership in these organisations, the members of them should, as far as possible, be induced by special exhortations to abstain from intoxicating drinks at all times, in all places, on all occasions, and in all circumstances, as to which the experience of the locality has shown that the use of such drinks is attended with any general danger of excess. In this, as in other matters on which we have touched, we do not now mean to go beyond indicating some typical points in illustration of our meaning. Such sources of danger, then, would be the following:—

Wakes and funerals;

Fairs and markets;

Public amusements, such as athletic games, &c.;

Treating, and accepting treats, in public houses, especially when this leads to treats being given and accepted in return;

The entering of public houses, by artisans and others, on pay-day.

(f) We should hope that the Reverend Presidents and the officers and leading members of all religious Associations will encourage, in every way in their power, the enrolment of members in the local Total Abstinence Association.

4. The Bishops will gladly receive any further practical suggestions that may be made by experienced members or by Directors of religious Associations, as to any other ways in which assistance may be given by these Associations in the work of Temperance and of Total Abstinence.

5. It is our intention to petition the Holy See for special Indulgences to encourage existing religious Associations to take part in this great work. The Bishop of each diocese will be glad, then, to receive from the Rev. Presidents of those Associations that are desirous of taking part in it, a statement to that effect, mentioning, in each case, the number of members in the Association. All such communications should be forwarded so as to reach the Bishop not later than the day already mentioned in the case of the corresponding returns for the Total Abstinence Association; that is to say, Saturday, the 3rd of May, the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross.

6. In all parishes throughout our dioceses where no religious Association such as those of the Sacred Heart, &c., at present exists, steps will at once be taken to supply the want, so that in each parish there shall be established with the least possible delay one or more of these useful organisations, as a powerful aid to the advancement of the work of Temperance and of Total Abstinence. As in the case of the Total Abstinence Associations, all necessary arrangements will be made in each locality, after consultation with the Bishop. A statement of the numbers likely to join each Association when it is established should be sent to the Bishop before the date mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

7. We deem it necessary to make some further provision so as to meet the special case of those who, from any sufficient reason, may not be in a position to enrol themselves as members either of a Total Abstinence Association, or of an Association such as that of the Sacred Heart. An opportunity of co-operating, at least to some extent, in the work now inaugurated, will be afforded even to such persons by the following arrangements. It will be observed that the practices of piety which we now proceed to recommend are available for all, whether members of an Association or not. Our petition for a grant of Indulgences in favour of our new Temperance work will refer to these pious practices as well as to the other matters we have already dealt with. We therefore commend them to the attention of all. They are the following :—

(a) The faithful, when hearing Mass, should offer it, in addition to their usual intentions, for the intentions of the Bishops in this work of Temperance, that is to say, for the suppression of drunkenness, the conversion of drunkards, the perseverance of all who have taken the Total Abstinence Pledge, and the general and lasting success of this Temperance movement. During Mass on

Sundays and Holidays, the prayers of the congregation will henceforth be requested from the pulpit or from the altar for these intentions, at the time when it is usual to read the altar notices with requests for prayers. From time to time it should be suggested to the faithful, as a commendable practice, to recite, in compliance with this special request from their Bishops, the prayers already mentioned—one Our Father and three Hail Marys, in honour of the Sacred Thirst of our Lord, and of the Immaculate Heart of His Blessed Mother, pierced with sorrow for the sufferings of her Divine Son.

(b) The same prayers, for the same intentions, should be recited aloud on all occasions of public devotions in the Churches.

(c) The recital of these prayers, for the same intentions, should also be recommended to the faithful in families where the pious practice is observed of saying the Rosary or night prayers in common.

(d) It should be recommended also as a matter of each one's personal devotion at morning or night prayers.

(e) The habitual or even occasional practice of some act of self-denial in the use of intoxicating drink, offered up to God for the intentions of the Bishops in this work of temperance reform, may also be recommended as a salutary and appropriate form of co-operation in our work, especially in the case of those who, from ill-health or any other such cause, are unable to take part in this work in any more formal way.

(f) We most especially commend those special practices of Temperance which have in many places been shown by experience to be strong safeguards against temptations to excess. Of the practices to which we thus refer, the first is that usually known as the "Truce of God," by which persons pledge themselves, either to abstain from all intoxicating drink, or not to drink in public houses, or not to drink except at meal-time, on Christmas Day or St. Patrick's Day, or on the day before or after either of these great festivals. Another form of the same practice, which in all cases may be strengthened by a Pledge, has reference to such days as Easter-Monday or Whit-Monday, when temptations to excess are more than usually frequent. In another form of this excellent practice, a similar pledge is taken, as a matter of permanent observance, for the interval from dinner-time on Saturday to dinner-time on Sunday or on Monday.

(g) We also especially commend to all the faithful the exercises of the pious Association of the Apostleship of Prayer. In

this holy league of prayer, every Catholic in our dioceses, no matter in what position or circumstances, will find an easy means of giving most effectual help to the work of Temperance.

8. We request the clergy, when sending to us the information already asked for, to inform us also as to the extent to which these other pious practices of more general application are being taken up by the faithful in their respective parishes.

These, dearly beloved, are the suggestions, numerous, indeed, but simple, that we have to make to you to-day, on this Passion Sunday, which, whether the movement that we now inaugurate be destined to result in success or in failure, cannot but be a memorable day in the annals of religion in these dioceses. We know that you will receive our words in all docility, and with an earnest desire to turn them to profit for the salvation of your souls. But "neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth, but God, who giveth the increase." In Him, then, we put our trust, appealing with confidence to the compassionate tenderness of that Sacred Heart, to which we may well feel justified in appealing with special confidence to-day.

Placing our work under the protecting intercession of the Blessed Mother of God, of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, of the Patron Saints of our Dioceses, Saint Laurence and Saint Kevin of Dublin, Saint Bridget and Saint Conleth of Kildare, Saint Lasarian of Leighlin, Saint Aidan of Ferns, Saint Kyran of Ossory, and Saint Canice of Kilkenny, we pray that God may make it fruitful for your sanctification, and that, through it, you may "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory both now and to the day of eternity. Amen."

✠ WILLIAM, *Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.*

✠ JAMES, *Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.*

✠ JAMES, *Bishop of Ferns.*

✠ ABRAHAM, *Bishop of Ossory.*

✠ MICHAEL, *Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*

DUBLIN,

Passion Sunday, 1890.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1890.

THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND.—THEIR TRADITIONS.

I.

“CRADLE-LANDS” is the apt term which has ever been given to that group of countries lying at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean; their northern frontier, the Gulf of Scanderoon and the fertile plains of Lower Armenia; their western, the waters of the Levant; their southern, the plains of Egypt; and their eastern, the mountains of Moab and the sands of the deserts of Mesopotamia. The history of modern civilization may be traced back to them as to the place where are first noticed its origin and its progress. Arts, Letters, and Sciences—all look to them as the cradle-lands where was begun their infancy. When all Europe was buried in ignorance and barbarism, the civilization of Phœnicia was already old. The fleets of Tyre and Sidon swept the seas that washed around the coasts of lands which then were the abodes of savages, and which have since then, in the thousands of years that have rolled by between those days and the present, risen to greatness, and again fallen to decay. Neither Greece nor Rome had then risen; both Greece and Rome are now things of the past. Carthage had not then reached that pitch of greatness which made her rival Rome for the supremacy of the world; to-day the traveller searches in vain for a sure vestige of the city that was truly styled, “The Queen of Africa!”

History itself, in striving to reach back to a period when Phœnicia was in its infancy, grows confused, and becomes buried in myths. As far back as history can go, a civilization, a progress, is found equal relatively to the highest and most advanced of the present century. To Phœnicia is due the greatest discovery science has ever made—*i. e.*, that of committing on paper, on stone, on wood, or any other material, the “spoken word,” and so enabling man to speak to ages yet unborn. Without the alphabet, civilization could not have advanced one step. Without it, no progress could have ever been possible. Each generation would begin, having gained nothing from that which preceded it. The sciences which have reached perfection, through centuries of toil—each age building upon the acquired knowledge of the one preceding it, each adding a little to that which it received from the one preceding it—could never have reached perfection had it been impossible that the past should have been unable to speak to the present.

And not for the alphabet alone is modern civilization indebted to Phœnicia. The most ordinary articles of daily life owe their invention to Phœnician genius. Their ship-building was not of that crude form which is found among an uncivilized people. They were able to brave the tempests and storms that swept the Mediterranean, and carry the produce of their land into distant countries. Milesian legends represent the earliest settlers in Ireland as colonists from Phœnicia. Thus it is that, at a time when the history of other lands is buried in myths, the history of Phœnicia is a reality. Her fleets are no more; but if it be given to judge the perfection which she had reached in the art of ship-building from the ruined monuments still existing everywhere along her coast, and as far into the interior as her power extended, the boasted perfection of naval architecture in modern times might seem not so very far advanced as is generally imagined. There is no machinery at present which would suffice to rebuild the temples of Baalbec and Palmyra. There are blocks of marble sixty-nine feet long and fourteen feet square in the walls of the great temple of Baalbec! The civilization of Phœnicia, and all that land

which now goes by the name of Palestine, is such that, even in contrast with that of the nineteenth century, it is still glorious and worthy of praise. It would seem that civilization is undulating like the waves of the ocean, rather than ever progressive—now reaching the summit of perfection, then on the decline. Barbarism has for centuries desolated all that land once so great. Go where the traveller may, even to-day, he will find ruins of mighty cities, among which the Bedouins have pitched their tents; where naught else seems vile but man, who now is ignorant and savage midst monuments that bespeak the highest culture.

Phœnicia has fallen. Tyre is covered by the sands of the sea-shore. Sidon is now unknown. Its site is lost; and what are shown as its vestiges, are false, or, at least, doubtful. The great empire of Solomon is a wilderness. What has swept them all away? In the answer to this question Christianity finds the reason of its existence. A God has swept them all away. Such is the land to whose past greatness modern civilization traces back its origin.

Nor has all been yet told. Considered from a religious point of view, that same land is the cradle-land of the creeds of almost half the human race. Its every hill and valley are covered with monuments sacred in the eyes of more than 600,600,000, scattered over the entire surface of the globe. Three worlds look to it as to the land whence their faith has, as it were, sprung. Both Christian and Jew cling to the memories that Jerusalem, even in its ruin, can awaken in their minds. For the Moslem world, Palestine has far more sanctuaries than even the native land of the "Prophet." The Mosque of Omar holds rank with the shrines of Mecca and Medina. Even spots where Christian and Jew would love to pray, are more jealously guarded by the followers of Islam, as shrines hallowed and revered, than those which are sacred to their prophet. Even to-day the Christian, as well as the Jew, are alike excluded from the shrine at Hebron. Mount Olivet is equally sacred in the eyes of Christian and Moslem. Christians, Jews, and Moslems come to lay their bones under the shadows of the walls of Jerusalem, along the Vale of Jehosophat—all three believing

in the same traditions and prophecies clinging to that far-famed valley.

For the Christian, however, Palestine has an interest far more important than for either Jew or Moslem. In what the Jew loves—the ruined walls of Sion; the site of the temple of the God of his forefathers; the hills and valleys of Juda—the Christian sees the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the destruction of the glory of Sion on its rejection of the Messiah. And in those sanctuaries which Moslem faith has of itself created, the Christian sees proofs that show the absurdity of the religion of the Prophet, where it has not borrowed from the older faith. For these reasons, shrines which are sacred both for Jew and Moslem, are full of interest for the Christians. But there are other sanctuaries which can be truly termed the shrines of Christianity. They are the spots which the presence of its Founder has hallowed. They are the places where the deeds of a Man-God proved the truth of that religion which He had come to preach. They are, indeed, the shrines where events have taken place which prove its Divine origin; and therefore have they become for it symbols of the faith of its professors. For this reason, the Christian Church has, wherever her faith has been preached, multiplied, as it were, those same sanctuaries. Bethlehem is more than a sanctuary; it is a symbol. Calvary is more than a mere shrine commemorative of an event; it is the symbol of a mystery. Nazareth is a symbol; Cana of Galilee is a symbol; Tabor is a symbol—and so of all the other shrines scattered throughout the length and breadth of Palestine.

During the past few centuries, and more markedly so during the present, it has been the practice with a certain class of sight-seers—they cannot be termed pilgrims without desecrating the term—to cast ridicule upon every tradition connected with the “Holy Places.” Strange to say, this class has found its chief recruits amongst those of the English-speaking world. Perhaps it might be said without exaggeration, that scarcely a guide-book has issued from the English Press, from the close of the sixteenth century, which is not more or less tainted with this supercilious spirit. The

changed feeling which overspread England, with regard to Christian traditions, after the Reformation had been enkindled therein, is fully evident to anyone who has gone through the pages of the Rev. Mr. Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, published at Oxford, 1701. Comparing it with the work of his fellow-countryman, Sir John de Mandeville, the child-like faith of the fourteenth century pilgrim is certainly far less repulsive than that of the sceptic of the seventeenth. Indeed, the inquirer into the history of religion need not go beyond these two works in order to have it fully evident to him that a wave of incredulity had, during the interval, overspread England, and had swept away the old faith. The site of Calvary has been denied, "*because it is within the city walls.*" Fergusson has even been so bold as to assert that the sepulchre of Christ is beneath the Mosque of Omar! Even in a work which has had wide circulation throughout the English-speaking world, *The Land and the Book*, Dr. Robinson's zeal against any and every tradition has led him into what must be called a falsehood. He states (page 634. Lond. 1862) that, with regard to the Garden of Gethsemani, the Greeks have "*invented*" another site! This is an utter falsehood. If he visited Gethsemani any day of the week, he would have found numbers of Greeks, Armenians, and other schismatics paying their devotions there. If they were so ingenious as this sight-seer, they would soon leave off the continual worry and harassing they cause themselves in trying to get up some pretext to deprive the Catholics of Gethsemani.

Indeed, most of the works written by English sight-seers in Palestine are pervaded with a like spirit. And this fact strikes the mind of the intelligent native with amazement. The works issuing upon the subject from the Press in other countries, are entirely free from that sneering, sceptical spirit. If the traditions depended on the "monks," there would be some excuse for its existence. But they have begun before "monkists" institutions were invented. They go back century after century, until they are lost—if it may be so put—lost in the realization of the events of which they are now, as it were, the seal and testament.

Bethlehem is to-day what it was practically in the days of St. Jerome in the fourth century; and the grotto there, where tradition tells the pilgrim that Christ was born, was venerated for what it is now, even in the days of Justin the Martyr, in the beginning of the second century. Even this is admitted by Dr. Robinson, who, however, *tries* to reject the tradition by his version of the words of St. Matthew. The traditions concerning the sanctuaries in Jerusalem itself go back century after century—back even to the days of St. Jerome, who minutely describes them as they existed in his day. Even then the traditions were old: and thus St. Jerome speaks of them as of facts which were beyond all dispute as to their certainty.

It is usual, however, with the better instructed class of those writers who regard most of the traditions connected with the sanctuaries as so many legends or myths, to fix as the period in which the traditions arose, that of the fourth century. According to these, the zeal of the newly-converted head of the Roman Empire, Constantine the Great, and also that of his mother, St. Helena, went to an extreme in their attempts to locate the spots where the chief events in Christ's life took place. An over-anxious wish to glorify every spot in Palestine with some work of art, so as to make the events of Christ's life, in the monuments erected upon the supposed sites of such events, outrival even the temples that commemorated the myths of the gods, made both Constantine and Helena regardless as to whether the spots they chose for their purpose, could be verified or not. These writers take it for granted that so many wars and sieges had desolated and ruined Jerusalem since the death of Christ down to the Constantine era, that it was impossible that the sites connected with the events of Christ's Passion should have retained anything of their original character, or that the traditions of them under such circumstances should have been preserved. It would be waste of time to notice the remarks of such superficial writers on the sanctuaries, who would have their readers doubt even the reality of Calvary. The traveller who, with guide-book in hand, rushes to Jerusalem, and on being shown Calvary, in the middle

almost of the present city, begins forthwith to sneer at the credulity that regards it as the site on which was purchased man's redemption, merits rather pity than contempt. Indeed, the remark of Dr. Robinson, in which he endeavours to cast doubt as to the identity of the present grotto in Bethlehem with the birthplace of Christ, because of *his* version of the word in the Gospel, may be ranked in the same class. If some "advanced" American translated the Hebrew word, "Flat," any of his fellow-countrymen would undoubtedly have a valid reason to reject the tradition which assigns a grotto. It is truly past comprehension how Dr. Robinson failed to see that Justin the Martyr, whom he by chance quotes, should have accepted the tradition, knowing as he did the full force of the Hebrew word assuredly far better than the Doctor. The inquirer must seek the reason of such conduct in religious prejudices and principles.

It is just in keeping with the rest of his conduct. At page 675—confidently relying on the ignorance of many of his readers—he tells them that one of the "monks" has published a work on the "Holy Places" *full of Metastasio and the Bible!* If he ever read Metastasio, it is clear he knew him only as a writer of love-sonnets. Evidently he relied on the ignorance of many who have never heard of Metastasio as a writer of religious drama, but only as a love-sonneteer.

It is, indeed, a pity that in a work otherwise valuable, such a spirit should pervade almost its every page.

Now, as to the theory that represents the period preceding the reign of Constantine, as the one in which all tradition was lost, and that, therefore the sites which were regarded as genuine during his reign are naught else than so many feats of credulity, a few facts suffice to upset this same theory.

The Emperor Adrian (117-138) gave orders for the re-building of Jerusalem (132). It was at this time that Calvary was for the first time enclosed within the walls of the new city. Having little respect either for Jewish traditions or Christian shrines, he determined to build a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Temple, thus to disprove

both Jewish hopes and Christian prophecies. He erected on Calvary two statues—that of Jupiter over the site, or near the Sepulchre of Christ; and that of Venus on Golgotha; so that the Christians who used to gather around these spots would be driven therefrom, or seem to worship by assembling there, rather the gods of Rome than the tomb of the Crucified. This fact lets a flood of light in upon the existence of the traditions regarding the chief sanctuaries even in the very era which is the era of myth, according to many writers. It shows the Christians still clinging to places hallowed by the presence of their God. It shows them still gathering round them, in thousands, so as to excite the jealousy of a Roman Emperor for the worship of the gods of Rome. The traditions were evidently not lost in the second century.

When Constantine the Great and the Empress Helena took up the cause of the sanctuaries, they found a tradition fresh and unchanged from the date of the events which it recalled. There was nothing requiring verification, as the unanimous voice of generations and peoples marked out every spot that recalled some event of Christ's life and passion. Had a doubt existed as to the identity of any shrine with the spot where the "event" that it commemorated took place, it is absolutely impossible that some notice of it should have escaped the attention of such severe critics as St. Jerome and St. Gregory of Nyssa. Christianity would have gained but little—may, lost a deal—in public esteem, in the erecting of magnificent basilicas over sites which would have been, at least, doubtful. The single fact that St. Jerome gives his unhesitating assent to the traditions regarding the "Holy Places," should suffice to set all doubts on the matter at rest. There is extant, even at the present day, an account of a pilgrimage made in Palestine even before Constantine had begun any of those works which he built over Calvary. The pilgrim was a native of Bordeaux. His account of the sanctuaries, as they then stood, is entitled, *Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque*, and was published from a manuscript, in 1588. The work has since been published several times. The year 333 is generally accepted

as the date of the author's visit to Palestine. In that year the shrines on Golgotha, and over the tomb of Christ, were absolutely in the same state as they were placed in by Adrian. The statue of Venus was still on the top of Calvary, and that of Jupiter near the "Holy Sepulchre." The Christians were too down-trodden and persecuted to risk the destroying of the statues of the gods of Rome. The presence, however, of these statues did not prevent the Christians from gathering around the shrines on Calvary; no more than at the present day, does a Christian feel himself prevented from casting himself on his knees in the "Cenacle," or the sanctuary of the "Supper Hall," because the place is now a mosque.

The account which the author gives is full of interest, by reason of the time when he visited Palestine. For the antiquarian it is of little value, since devotion, not scientific research, was the motive of the writer's pilgrimage. It is, however, for the Christian a treasured document, tracing back for him, even to that remote period, traditions which many would to-day regard as legends that sprung up during the so-called dark ages. From that day down to the present every age has seen numerous works published on the subject of the "Holy Places." St. Jerome, in his panegyric on St. Paula, enumerates all the sanctuaries she visited; and both there, and in numberless passages in his other works, gives several details respecting the sacred shrines. References to them may also be found in several places in the *History* of Eusebius. St. Antoninus of Piacenza, has written a most interesting account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He visited Palestine before the Saracens had attempted the invasion of Egypt and Syria. A collection of interesting accounts from the pens of pilgrims in the seventh, eighth, ninth, and following centuries may be found in Bohn's *Early Travels in Palestine*. The first of these is that of the pilgrimage of Arculf, who is styled in the work, a "Bishop of Gaul." His account was written at his dictation by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona. It is full of exaggeration, though in substance it is in full accordance with the more serious works of Jerome and Eusebius. The fact of the work being

written by another, and moreover from what Arculf remembered of his pilgrimage, would account for the exaggeration. Several other writers follow Arculf, and their accounts are substantially the same as to the stability of every tradition concerning the sanctuaries. This same remark may be applied to several other accounts given by pilgrims from the eight to the fourteenth century. They were generally not written until after the return of the pilgrim, and even then, very often, but at his dictation. Naturally, exaggerated notions would then have been formed of places only remembered. Hence, it follows that many things related must be rejected as untrue, owing to the hazy remembrance of the pilgrim, as well, perhaps, as to the willing credulity of the scribe who wrote from the dictation of the traveller. Thus many traditions are passed over in silence in these same works, owing doubtlessly to the forgetfulness of the writer.

It is hardly necessary here to draw attention to the works which have appeared either during the days of the Crusaders, or since then. William of Tyre (fl. 1,150) as well as Jacques de Vitry, Cardinal and Archbishop of Acre, have left valuable records of the events of which they were eye-witnesses during their respective centuries. The latter died towards the middle of the thirteenth century. The works of the writers of the present century are of a far greater interest than any of the numerous accounts that have appeared during the past six or seven centuries. With but few exceptions, these accounts were written rather for the purpose of devotion than in the interests of science. During the past century, however, many valuable works have appeared on the subject of the sanctuaries in Palestine. The writers of the present century have, however, surpassed those of the preceding in scientific research; with the result that the traditions regarding the shrines have been, one by one, placed beyond all doubt. Sufficient to mention the names of Volney (1820), *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypt pendant les années, 1783-84-85*; Chateaubriand, *Itineraire de Paris a Jerusalem*; the works of Jean Louis Burckhardt, of which the African Society in London published, in 1822, *Journey in Syria and the Holy Land*; those of Schultz, who was for years Prussian Consul

at Jerusalem, are likewise full of deep scientific research, and, in many instances, are eloquent testimonies to the truth of the Christian traditions; those also of Mon. Sauley, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1851, and also his *Derniers jours de Jerusalem*, deserve to be noticed. The works of many others are either worthless, from a scientific point of view—such as the *Voyage en Orient*, by Lamartine—or they are too well known and too numerous to be mentioned here. The French guide-book to the Holy Land, by Frère Liévin de Hamme, *Guide Indicateur de la Terre Sainte* (Louvain, 1876), is likewise full of valuable information, both as regards the sanctuaries as well as the traditions concerning them.

Though it is, indeed, true that wherever the footsteps of a Man-God have been traced the place is holy, is truly a shrine, still a few spots in all these lands, which His presence sanctified, have ever been chosen as the true shrines that should recall Him to those of His followers who would there assemble to praise His Name. Everywhere He trod is holy. He lived for three-and-thirty years there; and, during the closing three, there were but few villages, north or south, east or west, wherein He did not work some wondrous work, either out of love or in testimony to the truth of the doctrine He preached. His mortal eye gazed on the blue waters of the Mediterranean, as they washed along the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. The hills and vales of Juda and Samaria are to-day just what they were when the presence of our Saviour passed amidst them. Many a rock on many a hill-side may have formed a resting-place for His wearied frame. The whole land is a shrine; the pilgrim may cherish the very stones of it as relics of the presence of his Saviour. Yet a few places above all others have been chosen as shrines to recall that presence. They were, in the manner of His presence, these symbols of mysteries; and, for this reason, the traditions of ages have ever clung to them, pointing them out to the pilgrim as the shrines of his faith. They are not many, and the pilgrim may visit them all in a few days; but he who would penetrate into their mysteries, their hidden meaning, should pass his years, as did Jerome of old, in Bethlehem, within their hallowed precincts, and there learn how little man is in

comparison with his God; and yet how great, since he has been the object of such love.

The chief places in the "Holy Land" which have ever been regarded as the scenes of the great events of Christ's life are—Bethlehem, where he was born; Nazareth, where He spent nigh thirty years of His mortal life; Cana of Galilee, where His mission began; and Jerusalem, where it closed. In and around these places, with but few exceptions, are located all the sanctuaries of the Holy Land. There are several other sanctuaries which, though they are not *immediately* connected with any event in Christ's life, still have ever been held in veneration, either by reason of a *mediate* connection therewith, or on account of those whose lives they recall. But of these more anon.

The tradition which points out the grotto in Bethlehem as the one in which Christ was born, may be traced back to the close of the first century. Even then the tradition was old, as appears from the works of writers such as Justin the Martyr (about 166). As far back as the beginning of the second century there was an oratory or chapel erected either on or near the site. The Emperor Adrian demolished the oratory, and erected in its place a statue of Venus. St. Jerome in his letter to St. Paulinus—*Confer Opera Hiëron. Ep. XLIX. ad St. Paulin.*—gives the history of that profanation. It appears that this statue of Venus remained there—undoubtedly to the grief of the Christians, who saw that hallowed spot so shamefully profaned—even up to the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great. St. Helena had the statue removed, and the whole site purified. She there erected that glorious basilica, which, notwithstanding ages of wars and invasions, is even to-day the wonder of the pilgrim to Bethlehem. The church was so constructed that the grotto was underneath the choir or chancel. The extreme length of the church from the western door to the end of the chancel is about 300 feet, and the breadth across the transepts is about 100 feet. There are four aisles and a nave, divided by massive monoliths of red Egyptian granite. The vastness of the structure bears eloquent testimony to the loftiness of conception, as well as to the piety of the emperor and his mother.

St. Jerome, with St. Paula, and her daughter, St. Eustochinin, came to Bethlehem a few years after the Basilica had been begun. St. Jerome founded a monastery for monks, and he himself spent his remaining years in a cell which he built for himself near the shrine. A convent for nuns was erected close to the basilica by St. Paula. Doubts have been raised, but without any foundation, as to the authenticity of the tradition attributing the present basilica to St. Helena; but they have been absolutely rejected by Mons. de Vogüé in his celebrated work, *Églises de Terre Sainte*. The shrine was pillaged in the seventh century during the possession of Jerusalem by the troops of Charoes; but otherwise it suffered no damage. The Saracens under Caliph Omar spared it, nor did they venture to turn it into a mosque. The Crusaders, under Tancred, took possession of the city in 1099. Down to the year 1244 Bethlehem may be said to have been in the possession of the Christians.

In the town of Bethlehem there is shown a spot on which it is said the "Holy Family" resided for a short while after the birth of Christ, and prior to their flight into Egypt. The place or grotto, where the shepherds to whom the angelic choir announced the happy tidings of the birth of the promised Messiah, is away down in the valley.

Another tradition, reaching back as far as the fifth century, points out a grotto where the "Holy Family" took refuge on their way to Egypt. As for the antiquity of the tradition, the facts that the Turks have accepted it, is a guarantee that places it long before their invasion into Palestine. The grotto is called "*La Grotte del Latte*," or the "Grotto of the Milk," from the circumstance recorded in the tradition, that there the young mother milked her infant child. There are several legends connected with the tradition, but as to their truth or falsehood, they may be rejected without weakening the tradition. Arculf mentions the Shrines of the Grotto of the Nativity, and also that of the shepherds, in his account of his pilgrimage.

Nazareth lies about eighty miles to the north of Jerusalem. Tradition points out two sanctuaries in the city: the site of the Annunciation, and that where the Holy Family is said to

have resided during the thirty years of Christ's life previous to the commencement of His mission. St. Treneus speaks of the tradition pointing out these places; but he adds that then no Christian was allowed to "dwell" in Nazareth. This, however, in nowise weakens the authenticity of the tradition. The Christians in the neighbouring districts evidently regarded it as a hardship that they could not "dwell" near the sites they so deeply cherished. However, St. Jerome gives his unhesitating assent to the traditions concerning those two shrines. Here likewise Helena erected a magnificent church. This church is spoken of by Arculf, by Willibald, and other pilgrims who visited Palestine after the invasion thereof by the Turks. It was, however, destroyed, in 1263, by the troops of the Sultan of Egypt, Bibars Benduchar. The Knights of St. John revenged this profanation in 1271, when they took the city, and put to the sword every adult Moslem.

Tabor is a few miles outside Nazareth. Dr. Robinson, with his Bible in his hand, has fixed the site of the scene of the Transfiguration somewhere about fifty miles to the north of Nazareth. If the united testimonies of Cyril of Jerusalem,¹ of Eusebius,² and Nicephorus,³ pointing out the actual Tabor as the real site, are not sufficient to outweigh a hundred of the class of Dr. Robinson, and others like him, all history must be set aside. "On Mount Tabor," writes Nicephorus, "on the very site of the Transfiguration, she [Helena] erected a splendid temple." Arculf speaks of his visit there. All these shrines were destroyed, in 1219, by Malech Adel.

Cana of Galilee has never had its tradition denied. A church was erected there by the Emperor Constantine.

The other shrines in Palestine, of lesser note, are—Tiberius, Tyre, the "Well of Jacob," Bethania, and Bethfage. The traditions concerning all these go back to the fourth century. St. Jerome mentions and describes them all in his Epistle on

¹ Cyrill. *Catech.* xii. 16.

² Euseb., *Comment.* in Ps. lxxxviii.

³ *Hist.*, lib. viii.

the journey of St. Paula through the Holy Land. They, therefore, require no apology.

A sanctuary about which controversy has been raised during the present century, even amongst Catholics, is that of Emmaus. From a similarity of name, a few have identified the City of Amwas, which is about five or six miles from Lydda, and consequently about thirty miles from Jerusalem, with that of the Gospel Emmaus. This, according to the tradition generally received, lies about two miles from the village of Kolonich, or Colonia, which is about an hour's ride from the city. Bernard the Wise, in his account, speaks of his having visited Emmaus on his way to Jerusalem, but does not say how far it lay from the city. Sir John Mandeville is explicit on the point, and says it is but two miles from the village of St. John the Baptist, or as it is now termed, *Kiryath Jearim*. Apart from the fact, that the distance laid down in the Gospel is utterly irreconcilable with that which separates Amwas from Jerusalem, as well as the fact that no ancient writer who expressly speaks of Emmaus has identified it with Amwas, recent explorations have brought to light many relics of the old city, thus confirming the generally received tradition identifying the Emmaus near Kolnich as the Gospel Emmaus. The question is fully treated in an able work on the subject by Baselle—*L'Emmaus del Vangelo*.

As matter of fact, few, or none, of the traditions concerning the sanctuaries have been so bitterly attacked as those of the shrines in Jerusalem. The identity of Calvary has been called into question. Notwithstanding the fact that tradition goes as far back as the close of the first century, identifying modern Calvary with that on which Christ was crucified, still Protestants have for the most part rejected the tradition. The subject has been ably treated by Schultz; and his unhesitating assent to Catholic traditions by reason of his researches around Jerusalem, has placed the Catholic tradition beyond all doubt.

Any student of the topography of Jerusalem, who studies it according to the description given by Josephus, will instantly see that the first and second walls of the city excluded

Calvary. As a matter of fact, this has never been seriously questioned. The first wall erected by David ran from the tower, now called "David's Tower," almost in a straight line, to the western wall of the Temple. The second wall likewise excluded Calvary, and was added by Ezechias, in order to protect the northern and western parts of the city. The third wall, or Agrippa's wall, enclosed Calvary. This wall was "begun"—such is the word of Josephus—by Agrippa. Agrippa began to reign 39 A.D., just six years after the death of Christ. It was not completed, however, till the reign of Adrian; though it seems, so far as it had been constructed, to have been used as a defence during the besieging of the city by Titus. Those who have maintained that Calvary was enclosed within the city—or rather that the Calvary which for eighteen centuries has been revered as the real Calvary was, during the lifetime of Christ, enclosed within the city walls—have done so in defiance of every ancient authority. It is, however, a consolation, during the present time, to see the best writers on the antiquities of Palestine, even amongst Protestants, break away from the vulgar prejudice of their co-religionists during the past.

It does not appear that a church or oratory was erected on Calvary before the Constantine era. Eusebius (lib. iii., c. xxiv.) gives a minute description of the basilica. It took in Calvary, around which all the rock had been cut away, in order that the necessary surface should be gained. The summit of the hill was thus left intact, and so was enclosed within the walls of the church. This church was destroyed by Cosroes in 614. Upon the restoration of the "Holy Cross," which had been carried away by Cosroes, Modestus erected four churches on the ruins of Constantine's basilica. Succeeding invasions destroyed, one after another, these shrines; but they were as often rebuilt as they were destroyed. The present round church, which stands over the Holy Sepulchre, has been by many regarded as the actual church, or, at least, part of it, erected by Constantine. But, even granting that, upon the destruction of the Constantine building, succeeding works were reconstructed on the old foundations, there is no reason to believe that the first church

was round or ogival. With regard to the possession of the church or churches on Calvary, it is worth remarking that they were never profaned by the Moslems with any of their religious services; and also that, up to the day the last of the Crusaders left Jerusalem, about the year 1245, they were Catholic sanctuaries, not claimed by any Eastern sect as the property of that sect.

Ranking next after Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, is the "Cenacle" where tradition points out the spot where the mystery of the "Last Supper" was accomplished. A Moslem tradition places the tomb of David there. This tradition has been adopted by many Christians. It is impossible to say "where" or "amongst whom" it arose. There is nothing in the Gospels to give one reason to believe that a place so hallowed, as would be the tomb of David, should either have been so neglected by the Jews as to have a dwelling-place built over it, or that the "house" Christ chose should have been on such an historical site. The point is, however, undecided either way as yet. St. Epiphanius (*De Ponit. et Mens.*, c. xiv.) mentions the fact of a chapel being there previous to the reign of Adrian. St. Jerome describes the church Constantine erected in place of the primitive building; and he also speaks of the column at which Christ was scourged, as being preserved there. Arculf visited this shrine; also, Willibald. It appears from the account given by Sawulf of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, that this church was in ruins in the eleventh century. It was rebuilt during the Latin occupation of Jerusalem. Serious doubts about its authenticity have never been raised by grave writers. It was a collegiate church during the time of the Crusades. Upon the taking of Jerusalem by the Moslems, in 1187, the church was more or less wrecked, and the canons were dispersed.

Another sanctuary is that of the place on Mount Olivet where Christ ascended into heaven. Previous to the Constantine era, numbers of solitaries lived around the summit of the "Mount of Olives." St. Jerome speaks of the church erected there by Constantine, as well as of the stone in which were traced the footprints of Christ. St. Augustine, Venerable

Bede, and a host of other such writers, unhesitatingly have accepted the authenticity of the tradition of the shrine, and of the relic marked with the footprints of Christ. This church was likewise destroyed; but the Crusaders erected an octagonal edifice on the ruins of the Constantine church. That was likewise destroyed during the sacking of the city by the Moslem invaders, during the year 1245.

The so-called "Grotto of the Agony" is another sanctuary, the tradition of which goes back to a period long before the fourth century. It is difficult to say at what period a church was erected there. According to Quaresmius, (*Historica Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*) and other authors, there was a church there during the first and second centuries. St. Jerome (*Lib. de Situ et Nomen. locor.*) speaks of the edifice erected thereon during the reign of Constantine. Arculf refers to it merely as a place where Christ took refuge; but he omits the circumstance of the tradition representing it as the place where the "Bloody Sweat," described in the Gospel, took place. All other writers, however, have identified it with the scene of Christ's agony.

A short distance to the south of the "Grotta dell' agonia," is Gethsemani. As to the age of the olive-trees which are there preserved, no author has refused them at least a thousand years, even if he rejected the tradition that represents them as those described in the Gospel. The tradition concerning them reaches far beyond the era of the Turkish invasion, and the capture of Jerusalem by Omar. Josephus states that Titus destroyed "all" the trees around the city during the siege; but many answers have been given to those who, from that statement, have denied the authenticity of the tradition. As no other argument against the tradition has ever been alleged than the statement in the work of Josephus, and as nearly all celebrated botanists who have seen the trees have willingly allowed their age to be nigh two thousand years, it would be easy to reply, that Titus merely cut down, and not uprooted, the trees around the city; and therefore the present ones are offshoots from the original.

The tomb of the Blessed Virgin is another sanctuary, the

tradition of which reaches back to the earliest times. It is, indeed, true that some writers have held that the Blessed Virgin died at Ephesus; but this theory is, at the present day, rejected by nearly all writers on the subject. The fact admitted by all historians, that St. John—with whom it is stated that the Blessed Virgin went to Ephesus—did not go to Ephesus till towards the year 66 A.D., would suffice to upset the theory that assigns another place than Jerusalem as the scene of her death. A church was built over the shrine during the Constantine days, and it is mentioned by Arculf, Willibald, and all subsequent writers. The same tradition makes that shrine as the family vault of the parents of the Blessed Virgin, and that there, likewise, was her spouse, St. Joseph, buried. Church and convent were both destroyed in the year 1187.

There are other sanctuaries in and around the city, of which it would be impossible to write at any length in these pages. The authenticity of their traditions seems to be beyond all doubt. They reach back, all of them, to the third century; and even then they were old.

In the city there is the Prætorian Court where Christ was condemned by Pilate. The ruins still remain. It formed part of the “*Turris Antonia*,” and was a court of justice for the Roman governors of Judea. St. Antonius of Pencia describes a church which was erected in the midst of the ruins of the old palace, long before his time. The traditions concerning it, as well as the site of the “*Flagellation*” of our Saviour, and the path or way along which Christ was led from the palace of Pilate to Calvary, are equally old, and may, indeed, be judged authentic. The ruins of the second wall, built by Ezechias, still exist; and the gateway, or the “*Porta Judiciaria*,” beyond which the Crucifixion took place, is still standing. Other sanctuaries in the city, such as the site of the palaces of Caiphas, of Anna, of Herod, are still shown. Outside the city, tradition has preserved the remembrance of the site of the “*Sermon on the Mount*,” as well as of that where the miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus took place in Bethania.

The traditions concerning all these sanctuaries are

mentioned by all writers from the third century. Even then they were regarded as old: and the critic who dares reject them, rejects them in defiance of reason and history.

As it was the object of the writer in these pages to give an account rather of the "traditions" regarding the "Holy Places," than of their "possessors," it will suffice to close this paper with a list of the principal sanctuaries which existed at the closing days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In fact, it may be said that up to the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Turks, in 1245, the history of the sanctuaries is a history of tradition. Up to that period they were the sanctuaries of Christendom. Schism had not then so split the Church of Christ as to cause the members of that Church to dispute the possession of the common shrines of their faith. The only foes were those from without; and the sole task Christians had to perform was to cherish the memory of shrines they saw profaned and ruined age after age, century after century. To moderns, however, the history of the "Holy Places," from that period to the present, is more full of interest. It explains the present condition of the sanctuaries, and throws into a vivid light many of the problems that the student of history meets in his endeavours to explain the severance of the Churches of the East from those of the West.

Besides the sanctuaries already mentioned, there were the sanctuary of St. Anne, where an old tradition has it that the Blessed Virgin was born. This tradition is in opposition to the theory of some who hold Nazareth was her birth-place. It is easy to reconcile conflicting opinions on the subject, by stating that nothing prevents the family of Joachim and Anne from having two residences—a common thing in those days, as appears from many similar cases.

In Tyre is preserved the remembrance of the visit of Christ there, and tradition marks the site thereof. In Ramleh, which all authors of weight look upon as the Arimathea of the Gospel, is preserved the house of Joseph. It is hard to vouch for the authenticity of this tradition; but it reaches back to the earliest times. During the days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, many churches existed over

shrines of lesser note ; but many of these have been destroyed, and their traditions lost.

There are numberless other shrines in the "Holy Land," but they belong in a certain sense to Jew rather than Christian ; and for that reason they are passed over in these pages. Yet they are interesting to Christian as well as to Jew. Their existence marks the victory of his faith, the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the Messiah, and the ruin that would overspread the land on its rejecting the "Anointed One of the Lord." To all, the Holy Land is a place of deep interest. Be the feelings of the visitor there what they may, he finds tradition there aged beyond the ken of the historian ; and it is a consolation to the Catholic pilgrim to know that those who sneer at the traditions of the sanctuaries, who reject them as so many tales from monkish legends, have, in so doing, acted rashly, and shown their own gross ignorance of the history of the Christian traditions of Palestine. However, during late years a deal of light has been let in on subjects which heretofore had naught to support them but mere tradition. The result has been to place such traditions beyond all doubt. A century ago a writer in rejecting the Christian traditions about Calvary, would have been regarded by Catholics as rash ; now the world calls him a fool. He now but shows his ignorance, backed by his own incredulity. Thus, one by one, the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, and the other holy places in Palestine, are being placed beyond all doubt by the researches of science. For this reason, the history of tradition may be said to close with the days of the Crusaders. From that period to the present it is the possession of them, not the authenticity of their traditions, which has been the subject of dispute. For that reason the writer leaves the question of their actual condition for another paper in which the rise, progress, and development thereof will be treated.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

CATHOLIC CLUBS FOR WORKING LADS.—I.

THE importance of keeping our lads and young men together is so generally admitted, and, moreover, has been so clearly set forth in the last number of this review, that I do not propose to devote any of the space allotted to me to a demonstration of the fact. And, as any practical value which may attach to papers of this kind will be in proportion to the actual experience which they record, I shall mainly confine myself to noting the results of my own attempts. This will necessitate a more frequent use of the first personal pronoun than is elegant or customary; but I am of the opinion expressed by a recent writer, that “the man who says ‘This is so’ is a greater egoist than he who says ‘I believe this to be so.’ It is the very crudest criticism,” he continues, “that measures a man’s egoism by the number of ‘I’s’ in his work.” Moreover, the charge, if the critic is anxious to bring it, is in no way disarmed by the absence of the “I.” It is not so long since a paper on “The Work of the Laity” was published in a Catholic review, in which the personal undertakings of the writer were studiously kept in the background. Nevertheless the first criticism elicited was—that the “work” referred to “appeared to be chiefly the labours of” the author of the article.

Lastly, I would say that I neither presume nor desire to dogmatize. My only claim to express an opinion on the subject of Clubs is that, with but short intervals, I have been connected with one or more for nearly twenty years, and that in that time I have arrived at certain conclusions, the knowledge of which would have been useful to me at the beginning of my work, and which I, therefore, venture to think may be useful to those who may be taking it up for the first time.

My experience has been almost entirely with one class of lads, which I will endeavour to define (although such definition is difficult) because what answers with them may fail to succeed with those below or above them in social position. At Isleworth, they were market-gardeners, errand-

boys, workers in the flour-mill, or the like; in Southwark, they are printers of one kind or another, van-boys, errand-boys, shop lads, tailors, and occasionally office-boys, stampers, and boy-copyists. Many of them have decent homes and good parents; all, or nearly all, have been more or less regular at school, and have passed certain standards. The majority are extremely respectable in appearance, especially on Sundays—this in some cases is due to the Club—but they are devoid of that snobbishness which manifests itself in contempt for those not so well dressed as themselves—an unamiable trait which is too often observable in those who think they are of somewhat higher position. It is a regret to me that the lowest stratum of boy-life is, so far as our Club is concerned, untouched. I admire and envy the success which deservedly attends the self-denying and unwearying labours of Mr. Edward Caulfield, in Angel Meadow, Manchester; but work of this kind demands a special gift, and I am afraid I do not possess it. Anyway, it would not be possible to combine this “rough” element with our Club as at present constituted; and it seems wiser to retain such hold as has already been acquired than to risk its permanence for an uncertain result. When I add that my lads are, almost to a man, Irish—the very few English being *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*—and many of them teetotallers, and that their ages range between fourteen and twenty, I shall have given as good a notion as I can of my *clientèle*.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

There are certain governing principles which must be laid down at the outset, and in the light of which all that follows must be read. The first and most important is, that “circumstances alter cases”—a truism, of course, but one which must never be lost sight of in making use of the experience of other workers. Rules which work admirably in the mission of A fail entirely in the neighbouring one of B; and this is not only the case where the occupations and hours of labour largely differ, but where they seem to be identical. When I was managing a men’s Club at Brentford, the consumption of ginger-beer was (from some points

of view) alarming. This source of revenue nearly paid our rent, and I believe we should in time have realized a large profit. When a similar Club was established at Isleworth, a mile or so distant, it seemed natural to expect that a similar state of things would prevail, especially as the men in each instance were for the most part market-garden labourers, and often worked side by side in the same grounds. But so far was this from being the case, that the sale of our first dozen bottles was a slow process, and the men then said they didn't want any more. This small incident is typical of the differences which exist in the tastes of those whose circumstances are well-nigh identical—differences which must be carefully taken into account in forming a Club.

The next point on which I lay stress—and, indeed, I ought to have put it first—is *the absolute necessity of self-government*. I am like the man who knew that honesty was the best policy, because, as he said, he had “tried both.” I have tried to work a Club under what I hoped was a beneficent autocracy, and failed; and, from what I can gather of the experiences of others, I have not been singular in my failure. For the last eight or nine years I have worked with a Committee of the members, and the result in two places, one in and one out of London, has been encouraging, and, according to the measure of success which a Club can attain, successful. How this self-government should be exercised, I hope to show later.

Another essential is *a firm resolution not to be discouraged*. Disappointments will certainly come, and from the most unexpected quarter. We started a Club at Isleworth with a General Communion—only one member was absent, and he was the one of all others whose attendance I had taken for granted. When things are going smoothly, a disagreement of some sort arises among the members, or even among the Committee, it usually smoulders for some time before you know of it, and it may be that the first intimation you have is the threatened resignation of important members. Until one has actual experience, he can have no idea of the number and variety of the small discouragements which will come in his way. Patience, tact, earnestness,

brightness, and good temper, are indispensable qualifications for anyone who purposes to work a Club; firmness and determination are sometimes required, but the qualities I have mentioned must always be in working order. Above all things, remember that the lads whom you seek to benefit have the matter entirely in their own hands; they have only to stop away, and your plans are frustrated. No matter how excellent your principles, how admirable your ideas of discipline—it is obvious that, unless you have a body upon which to exercise them, you cannot carry them into effect. A remembrance of this will check many a hasty threat, and tend to “set the bonds of freedom further yet,” rather than to draw the reins of government more tightly. Folk say they are tired of hearing Saint Philip Neri’s remark about wood-chopping, and I will therefore not repeat it; but it is a complete summary of the spirit necessary for conducting a lad’s Club.

It is of great importance to notice small matters, on which the members often feel strongly. For example—when we started our present Club, it was called “St. George’s Boys’ Club.” This I soon found was by no means a satisfactory title, and it was forthwith changed to “St. George’s Catholic Club;” and the members are keen to resent any allusion to it by its older name.

Whenever possible, the Club should be open every night, so that members can turn in whenever they feel inclined. It should have a room or rooms of its own, and not be held in a school-room, except when no other place is available. The room should be well lighted, with opal globes for the gas, and the walls hung with good and bright pictures; in the winter a good fire must be kept. Experience shows that the lads value a pretty and cheerful room, and any pains spent in making it so will not be thrown away. There should also be a library.

Lastly, I would express my conviction that a Club will not succeed permanently unless it is in some sense *educational*. On this point I propose to enlarge later on; at present I will only note it as the last, but by no means the least important, of the general principles on which Clubs should be conducted.

MANAGEMENT.

If the Club be a small one, not exceeding twenty in number, a Committee will not be necessary, any points which may arise being settled at a general meeting of members. But a larger Club should be managed by a Committee of from seven to ten, elected by the members from their number, or at any rate approved by them. The President should, I think, be somewhat above the members in age and position; he may nominate some or all of the Committee, taking care to choose those whom he has reason to think steady sensible fellows, who are popular with the members; his nomination should be confirmed by the Club. Everything depends upon having a good Committee, and *more*—if I may emphasize my meaning by a bull—on a good Secretary. For while the President should make a point of attending all meetings, suggesting new schemes, interesting himself in every undertaking of the Club, and constantly showing his anxiety for its welfare, it is best to leave such matters as collecting subscriptions in the hands of the Secretary, who should render an account of his stewardship at stated intervals.

I would, however, strongly urge that working-men should not be entrusted with any part in the management of a *lads'* Club. They are quite capable of managing one for themselves, but experience has taught me that any attempt on their part to control lads is disastrous in its results. They do not seem to remember that they themselves were ever young; their standard of conduct is far too high for the ordinary "human boy;" and the better the men, the more severe is their control. A good Committee, on the other hand, is the key to the whole situation; it may take some time to attain, but once secured, it is invaluable. It is best to arrange for one or more members of the Committee to attend each evening, and to be responsible for maintaining order. The idea that big lads require to be constantly looked after is, I am convinced, a mistake; if the Club is to be a success, the members must feel at home in it; and this will not be the case if they are under the espionage of their elders. The recommendation of the "Patronage" Committee of the

Society of St. Vincent de Paul, that a "pious elderly man" should be engaged to look after the lads, will be found disastrous in its results, especially as regards the "piety" of the "elderly man." If the Committee is up to the mark, such common difficulties as are presented by the introduction of gambling or the use of bad language will disappear. We have been singularly fortunate in comparative freedom from both these annoyances; they have presented themselves at times, but have been put down by judicious action, and by the force of a healthy public opinion.

The Committee should meet once a week, on a night most convenient to the majority; and about once a month there should be a general meeting, at which the members should be urged to be present. On these occasions the President should deliver an informal address, material for which will be afforded by the past, present, or future of the Club; the successes or failures of the past month may be touched on, and plans for the future hinted at or unfolded. Suggestions should be invited on any subject of interest—the introduction of new games, matters connected with the library, proposals of new bye-laws, and the like. These monthly meetings enable each member to feel that he has some share in the general management; and the more this is realized, the more interest each member will take in the Club.

Cases of breaches of rules should be brought before the Committee, and other complaints investigated by them. They should have the power of suspending members for a short period, and of expulsion; but these powers should be rarely exercised.

The President, no matter what his social position, if he has said that the management of the Club is to be in the hands of the Committee, must implicitly adhere to his ruling in this respect. He may be convinced that he is right, and the Committee wrong; but the principle once laid down must be adhered to. I emphasize this point, because I have known those who have been perfectly willing to concede self-government as a theory who were by no means pleased when it was translated into a fact. I constantly impress upon my lads that they are to act independently, and by no means

to accept any recommendations I may make out of compliment to me. They sometimes carry out this advice to an extent which puts its genuineness to a severe test; but I never regret having placed the governing power in their hands. In this way each lad becomes *personally* interested in the Club. I say to them: "Let each one realize that the existence of the Club depends mainly, if not entirely, on his own exertions. It is not to be worked for you by anyone else; it is to be *your* Club, and its success will depend on your conduct towards it, just as you will be responsible for its failure, if it should fail."

THE CLERGY AND THE CLUB.

The position of the clergy with regard to the Club needs some definition. No Club can exist without their approval and sympathy; their visits should be welcomed, and their interest secured. But I am doubtful whether they should take any active part in the management; and this because of the respect due to their position. Presupposing that the Club is self-governed, it is obvious that the priest is liable to be out-voted if he is simply one of the governing body; or, if a natural feeling of respect prevents this, the independence of the members is in danger of being sacrificed. A doubtful point may be yielded in deference to the wishes of Father X., but the members are likely to grumble about it afterwards. Again, occasions may arise in which the advice and counsel of a priest will be of the greatest value; they are far more likely to carry weight if he is only occasionally resorted to. Few priests, moreover, have the time, even if they have the inclination, to devote themselves to the numerous little matters which must be attended to if the Club is to succeed. There are many things which can be quite well done by a layman, but which a priest can hardly undertake without some loss of dignity. Moreover, if a priest is president, the Club will be regarded by some as a gild or religious body, and the very folk we want to secure will be driven away.

Without the support and full approval of the priest, it will not be possible to start a Club; and, when started, its success will very greatly depend on the amount of active

support he will give it. There is no fear that this will be lacking; in many places, indeed, the priest is the originator of the scheme, and it is quite essential that he should be consulted on every matter of importance. Further, in the event of a change of clergy, the Club must in every way make it manifest to the new-comer that without his approval it will be impossible to continue its work. I lay some stress on this, because I have known a flourishing Club reduced to a state which necessitated its dissolution, owing to want of success in making its position understood by a priest who had newly come into the parish. Distrust on one side, and probably misunderstanding on both, were the factors which brought the crisis about: the lay president, feeling that his action and that of the Club was misconstrued and that no healthy work could be done under such circumstances, judging it best to suspend the Club. If I might make a suggestion to the clergy, it would be that they should at once point out to the President anything in the Club with which they are not quite satisfied. Frank outspokenness will remove many difficulties and prevent others from arising; while an absence of it is certain to produce disastrous results.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES.

This is one of the points upon which there is much difference of opinion. The Young Men's Society, which was established by Dean O'Brien, of Limerick, in 1849, and which has many flourishing branches in Scotland and the north of England, makes monthly Confession a fundamental rule. In the south of England, this Society is barely, if at all, represented; and, so far as I can ascertain, the opinion both of clergy and laity, is that, however desirable such a rule may be, it would not be well to attempt to introduce it into Clubs. The Young Men's Society, although it promotes social intercourse and amusement, is primarily a religious society, and, as such, can enforce religious observances. But the Clubs I am advocating are intended to catch and retain lads who would not join a religious society, and many of whom are not in the habit of hearing Mass regularly, even if they go occasionally. If they are caught when leaving school, and

formed into a boy's gild, regular Mass and frequent sacraments will be comparatively easy ; but lads of from sixteen to eighteen years of age are more difficult to secure. I do not think Catholics generally have any idea how small a proportion of our working lads, in large missions, attend Mass ; but they can ascertain this for themselves, by noticing the number between school age and twenty whom they see in church of a Sunday. Since I first mentioned this matter in print, five years or so back, I have had many additional opportunities of testing the accuracy of my conclusions, and I am sorry to say that things are worse than I thought. Two years ago, some ten or twelve lads—rougher than most of our members—averaging fifteen or sixteen years of age, came to the Club from one particular district ; I soon found out that *none* of them went to Mass, and watched my opportunity to speak to them. I waited until they were thoroughly at home with us, and at last broached the subject to two of the most promising. Their answer was that they “didn't see the good ;” they “hadn't never been used to it, and shouldn't like to begin ;” their “parents did not go,” and so on. The only result of my interference was that the whole of the group left us, nor have they ever been brought back either to Church or Club. Even among respectable lads, neglect of Mass is sadly frequent ; and the first step must be to induce an improvement in this respect.

With lads of this class, it is not wise to begin with too great stress upon religious observances. At the general meetings of the Club, reference should from time to time be made to the fact that it is a *Catholic Club* and that members are expected to show that they are Catholics ; that every Catholic is bound to hear Mass on Sundays ; and so on. If any are known to neglect Mass, they can be spoken to privately, either by the President or some member of the Committee : the lads themselves have more influence upon each other than any one else is likely to have. A judicious distribution of the Catholic Truth Society's prayer-cards, or penny prayer-books, will give the opportunity of a word or two about morning and night prayers. The closing of the Club during the service on Sunday evenings is also desirable.

The next thing will be to see that the members go to their Easter duties. This is more difficult; but it can be done. We have found it a good plan to have a kind of mission at the Club, conducted by a priest who knows how to talk to working boys. The way for this has been prepared by references at general meetings, notices posted in the Club-room and sent to absent members, and also by the members of the Committee. A corporate Communion on Palm Sunday has been carried out for two years with edifying success, two or three addresses by a priest having been given during the previous week.

It will be seen from the above that I am by no means inclined to overlook the necessity of directing a Club to the religious advancement of its members. I deprecate the attempt to bring religion too prominently forward; but I do so because my experience teaches me that, in striving for too much, we may easily lose all.

It must always be remembered that a Club and a Gild differ essentially; the ostensible aim of the first is amusement; that of the second, advancement in piety. There are many ways, however, in which religious work may be carried on. Thus, last November, we had a collection in the Club for Masses for the Holy Souls, our Bishop's Pastoral was read on the first Sunday of Lent, and a collection was made for the diocesan orphanages; and other opportunities have been taken for inducing the members to join in Catholic work.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

This is an important matter, and should be carried out by the Committee or at a general meeting. With us, the candidate is proposed at one Committee meeting, and voted for at the next; his eligibility is discussed on one or both occasions, his name being suspended in the Club for the week intervening between the two meetings. When elected, the new member is brought before the Committee, the rules are read and explained to him, and he is admitted by the President in accordance with a prescribed formula. We do not admit school-boys, or those under the age of fourteen or

over twenty, though we do not exclude members beyond that age who have joined the Club at an earlier period. It is advisable that some care should be exercised in the election of members: an occasional rejection makes the Club more thought of, and, I need hardly say that it is most important that membership should be regarded as something of a privilege.

RULES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The rules should be as few as possible: but they should be strictly carried out. The subscription should, I think, be a penny weekly; but the payment of this should be enforced. Members, except perhaps when temporarily out of work, should not be allowed to fall back in their payments. We have lately become strict in this particular—members owing more than two weeks are liable to be excluded: and the result has been satisfactory, not only in the improved finances, but also in the general tone of the Club. By another rule we guard against what is a frequent source of annoyance—members who, after a short time, get tired of the Club and cease to attend, leaving usually in debt, and without giving any notice; so that it is impossible to say whether they wish to continue members or not. We have enacted that a member acting in this way will not only be excluded from the Club, but will not be eligible for re-election; and this rule bids fair to work well. Other rules settle the times of opening and closing, the Committee of Management, the entrance fee (*3d.*) and subscription (*1d.*), and like matters.

TEMPERANCE.

It is a moot point as to how far the Club should be connected with the temperance movement. At Isleworth, total abstinence was required of all as a condition of membership; and in a small mission, where the League of the Cross is a powerful agency for good, such a proceeding is possible. But in Southwark we have not made this rule, nor did I urge its adoption. Many—I believe a considerable majority—of the members are total abstainers; but some,

whom I was anxious to reach, and am glad to have secured, are not. I am afraid the excellent men who work the League of the Cross have not forgiven me for what they regarded as an encouragement to drinking; but I am confirmed by results in the line adopted. At the same time, we encourage temperance in every way possible; and the refreshments supplied on "social evenings" never include any intoxicating drink—a practice which, I regret to say, is not always followed in Clubs on similar occasions.

The points connected with the educational aspect of Clubs, amusements, &c., must be discussed in a future paper.

JAMES BRITTEN.

FIRE A TYPE AND INSTRUMENT OF THE LOVE OF GOD.

"**M**ATERIAL phenomena," says Cardinal Newman, "are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen." And St. Paul: "For the visible things of Him, from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity."

In all material creation nothing seems more dominant than fire, if we take it in all its functions of lighting and heating. Nothing is so all-penetrating, so vivifying, and at the same time, so powerful for destruction and apparent annihilation, and therefore, no object in creation, except, perhaps, man himself, has so universally been crowned by idolaters as the god of this world. We should then, naturally, expect that fire would be eloquent to the Christian of the attributes of God.

The sun is the great fire by whose heat and light all vegetable and animal life is fostered and matured. It vivifies and beautifies all nature, and everyone feels, even in this unsunny climate, its magnetic influence. Bird and flower seem to worship the sun. They turn towards it, not

merely mechanically—as the weathercock in the wind—but, they turn to receive, and to be filled with, warmth and light, that they may live; and the bird, at least, returns an instinctive homage of grateful joy. “The sun, when he appeareth showing forth at his rising an admirable instrument, the work of the Most High. At noon he burneth the earth; who can abide his burning heat, as one keeping a furnace in works of heat? the sun three times as much burneth the mountains: breathing out fiery vapours and shining with his beams he blindeth the eyes.” “God hath set his tabernacle in the sun: and he as a bridegroom coming out of his bride-chamber, hath rejoiced as a giant to run his way. His going out is from the end of heaven, and his circuit even to the end thereof; and there is no one that can hide himself from his heat.” The foot-note to this passage is, “Here God seems to reside, and the magnificence of His works shines forth, insomuch that all nations have offered divine honours to the sun, and even the Manichees adored it, imagining that it was the very body of Jesus Christ.” The Book of Wisdom bears testimony to the fascination exercised over the human heart by the sun and other creations of God, where, in its condemnation of idolaters, it says of those who worshipped the works of God in contrast to those who worshipped the works of man: “But yet, as to these they are less to be blamed, for they perhaps err, seeking God, and desirous to find Him.” “But then, again, they are not to be pardoned, for by the greatness of the beauty of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby.”

But, besides the sun, there is that mysterious fire beneath our feet, supposed to occupy the entire centre of the earth, which so often reminds us of its presence and awful power in volcanoes and earthquakes. Then there is the electric fire in the atmosphere, so instantaneously destructive of life. Thus, we have in fire a two-fold power, beneficent and destructive, pervading all things, above, beneath, and around—a power for good and for evil, for reward and for punishment.

It is strikingly coincidental with this, that, when fire lends itself to the immediate service of man, under his

guidance it is still consistently two-fold in character, beneficent and destructive. Kindled on the household hearth it is a very sun, nourishing and fostering social life. And the whole world of mechanical science may be said to live by fire. Nevertheless, it retains its destructive attributes, and we are horror-struck at times with the news of palaces and towns laid in ashes. The collier takes his trusty lamp to guide him through the dark labyrinth of the coal-pit; when, on a sudden, the flame darts from his hand and joins the treacherous fire-damp, and the pit becomes in an instant a vast grave.

Cardinal Newman says, writing on the attributes of God: "Approach the flame, it warms you, and it enlightens you; yet approach not too near, presume not, or it will change its nature. That very element, which is so beautiful to look at, so brilliant in its light, so graceful in its figure, so soft and lambent in its motion, will be found in its essence to be of a keen resistless kind; it tortures, it consumes, it reduces to ashes that of which it was just before the illumination and the life. So is it with the attributes of God."

But it is in the pages of the Bible that fire stands out most remarkably in its double character. God chooses fire as the sign of His gracious acceptance of man's supreme act of worship—sacrifice. But, then, we see fire descending from heaven on the fair cities of the plain, not in love and mercy, but in anger and punishment, utterly to consume them. God calls Moses, and institutes the merciful covenant of deliverance from the midst of flames. But flames leap from the gaping earth to devour the self-ordained priests Corah, Dathan, and Abiron. Fire comes down from heaven, and consumes the fifty men and their captain sent by Ochozias against the prophet Elias; and the prophet himself is borne up to heaven in a chariot of fire. The prophet Daniel sees the throne of God like a flame of fire, the wheels of it like a burning fire. A swift stream of fire issued from before Him. Yet again; in the Christian dispensation, the same is continued. Our Lord speaks of His having come to cast fire upon the earth, and His desire that it should be kindled. But He also speaks of the wicked

being cast into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. So that it would seem that fire was the first material creation, and is to be the consumer and purifier of all other material elements.

The prayers of the Church's ritual constantly remind us that the world will be judged by fire, and that fire will then continue the work of Divine retribution for all eternity. Contrast, too, with this the fact that the Holy Ghost chose fire as His external symbol in the fullest and most momentous communication of Himself at Pentecost. Holy Church has set her seal upon the symbolic character of fire, in the solemn blessing of it, and kindling from it, of the *Lumen Christi* on Holy Saturday.

God has honoured many other material elements, such as water, made, on the one hand, the instrument of the greatest destruction this world has yet experienced, the universal deluge: and, on the other hand, made the sign of the most necessary of the Sacraments. Then, what higher dignity could be given to created element than that bestowed on bread—naturally the staff of human life, and supernaturally, in the Holy Eucharist, the chosen sign of the presence of Christ's human nature amongst us as our spiritual food and sacrifice? The comparison is not invidious. Fire does not claim pre-eminence amongst the inanimate servants of God, but it claims to have a very special testimony to give to the attributes of its Creator.

The extremely contrary operations of the fire of Pentecost and of Gehenna are purposely contrasted in order that the symbolic correspondence between them may be drawn out in the sequel. Stress is laid on the double operation of fire throughout, beneficial and destructive in the order of nature, beneficent and penal in the order of grace: culminating in the purely symbolical fire of Pentecost on the one hand, when it represents the Divine Spirit of love Himself; and on the other hand, in the instrumental fire of hell, which typifies, while it executes, the penal justice of the same Divine Spirit, breathing on the reprobate eternal wrath and hatred. "If I ascend into heaven thou art there; if I descend into hell thou art there."

But how can love and hate be two aspects of the same Divine activity? St. Thomas, answering the question, Does God love? lays down the principle *Primus motus voluntatis est amor*, that love is *per se* the complete action of the will. Every other *motus* of the will is *propter aliud*. All other motions of the will necessarily suppose love. Love is, as it were, the full note or perfect cord of the will. Now God, being essential action, and action being the motion of the will, and the perfect motion of the will being love, it follows that God is love, *Deus charitas est*. The one God who is Father, Son and Holy Ghost is love. The Father's eternal love of the Son and the Son's eternal love of the Father is the Holy Ghost.

Then, to the further question, Does God love all things? St. Thomas answers in the affirmative, on the ground that *omnia existentia in quantum sunt bona sunt*. God's will being the cause of the existence of all things, and love being the *primus motus* of God's will, all things are loved by God *in quantum sunt*.

The contrast with our created wills brings this out clearly. Our love is elicited from our wills by the good we see in things. With God, the good in things is the result of His love for them; is, in fact, His love for them, *ad extra*. His love creates their good, beginning with their existence. Our love is admiration—worship; God's love is *infundens, creans*. "*Nos itaque ista quae fecisti vidimus quia sunt; tu autem quia vides ea sunt.*" (Aug. Conf. xiii. 33.)

If, then, God loves all things, the difficulty follows, How can God be said to love the wicked, even the lost? *Odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem*. Nothing can be loved and hated at the same time; therefore, it would seem, God does not love all things. St. Thomas answers, there is nothing to prevent the same thing being *secundum aliquid* loved, and at the same time *secundum aliquid* hated. God loves sinners, inasmuch as they are *naturae quaedam*, for so they are, and are from Him. So far as they are sinners, *non sunt* and *adesse deficiunt*, so far they are hated. From all which I gather, that this Divine love and hate is, *ex parte Dei*, one and the same act. God has always unchangeably hated sin and

sinner in loving Himself: *apud Dominum non est transmutatio, neque vicissitudinis obumbratio.* The change is in the sinner, who by his free-will has assumed that attitude towards God which incurs His hatred, the converse of His love. "Yet understood I not, clearly and without difficulty, the cause of evil. And yet, whatever it were, I perceived it was in such wise to be sought out as should not constrain me to believe the immutable God to be mutable, lest I should become that evil I was seeking out." (Conf. vii. 3.)

When the sun's ray falls upon an object which absorbs all its light, the object appears black. If it reflects all the light, it appears white; if some, it is a colour, according to the number of the pencils of light reflected. Somewhat in the same way, when the love of God falls on the free-will, *i.e.* when He bestows gifts upon the rational creature, if that free-will reflects none of that love to the honour and glory of the Giver, but absorbs all to its own self-love, that object is black, so to speak, to God: that is, God hates that free-will by an absolute necessity of His Divine nature.

Therefore I have said, God's hatred is the converse of His love—one and the same act. As, in a semicircle, the concave implies, of necessity, the convex on the opposite side—and exactly in proportion as it is concave on the one side, it must be convex on the other, and *vice versa*—so does the love and hate of God balance; and the one exactly measures the other; nor can one exist without the other, as being one and the same act.

Had sin and hell never existed, God would not have hated *actualiter*, but *potentialiter* and *implicite*, as a necessary converse of His love. The sinner has become subject to God's hatred, because, though created and sanctified in the concave, as it were, of God's love, he has deliberately turned himself to the convex of God's love. And this mysterious unity, nay, identity of Divine love and hate, seems to be typified in nature and religion by fire, which God has so often chosen as the instrument and symbol of His love and of His hatred—as the symbol even of His own Divine Spirit, and as the instrument of His eternal hatred. As the seven-fold heated furnace of Nebucodonosor was the destruction

of the sinners who were kindling it, and at the same time a refreshing chamber for the three saints, so the Divine Spirit of love is at once the inaccessible light in which the saints participate as their everlasting reward, and the undying hatred that will for ever feed the flames of hell, "the breath of the Lord as a torrent of brimstone kindling it." (Is. xxx. 33.)

"Be not afraid, then, my soul [says Blessed Father Southwell, in his *Meditations on the Love of God*] for that this chariot of Elias is of fire, which is thy holy and burning love, which taketh the souls by force and carrieth them up into heaven, seeing the children of Babylon were not afraid of it, but entered boldly into this fire, and their bonds being burned and they let loose and at liberty went singing and praising God in all His creatures. This fire of holy love burneth not, but shineth and giveth light. It burneth and burneth not, for it burneth the bonds, wasteth the cords, consumeth tribulations, and taketh away the chains of sins; but it burneth not so much as the hairs of the head of the children, which are made innocent and clean in the burning flames of the pure love of our Saviour and merciful Jesus. Whereat (as another Nebucodonosor) our enemy, the devil, doth very much marvel. Such is the power and force of the divine fire of love, that, purging the sensuality, maketh it spiritual, and lifteth it up to take pleasure in Thee, O Lord." (*Med.*, xxv.)

This may help to explain how pain and sorrow in this world are the action of God's love shining on imperfect fallen nature and purifying it, and therefore by a holy instinct always joyfully welcomed by the saints. This, too, may help to explain how it is that the fire of hell is said to be the same as that of purgatory. Both represent God's love; acting in purgatory, on souls not wholly dead, and therefore purifying and finite in its action; and acting in hell, on souls utterly reprobate, and therefore penal only and eternal. The mission of fire is, then, to witness to the unity and even identity of the Divine action in loving and hating. Not, that loving and hating can be synonymous, but that in God they are the inseparable converse of each other. That loving and hating, and so rewarding and punishing, are the *actus purus aeternus et simplex*, which is God. "*Deus inquam qui es quidquid in te est: tu es enim ipsa sapientia tua; bonitas tua; potentia tuae; et summa felicitas tua*"

(Savonarola, in Ps. c.), to witness that there is in God no sudden, uncontrollable passion of revenge, but a dire necessity in the perfect oneness of His own nature, which is infinite love: that as He rewards eternally, He must also punish eternally. "*Ira Dei non perturbatio animi ejus est, sed judicium quo irrogatur poena peccato. Cogitatio vero ejus et cogitatio mutandarum rerum est immutabilis ratio.*" (*De Pn.*, xv. 25.)

Intellectual difficulties, arising from the impotence of the mind to imagine adequately what is due to the infinite perfection of God, must always remain. But to allow such difficulties to undermine faith, is to be guilty not only of the moral crime of infidelity, but also, unconsciously, to yield to the mental weakness of surrendering reason to the dominion of imagination. For in the mysteries of faith mere reason would support the mind further than imagination. We cannot imagine a creature so wicked as to deserve eternal punishment; but our reason—taking reason in its broad sense, not merely as the argumentative faculty, but as the illative sense or rational instinct as well—will show us that eternal punishment is due to the rejection of infinite love. Our imagination makes it appear that to perpetuate the punishment of the sinner is to perpetuate, in some degree, also his sin. But reason tells us that punishment which is purely penal no more perpetuates sin than that which is expiatory. The state of aversion to God is the sinner's infliction upon himself. There is no additional rebellion of the free-will against God, because He abandons it to a reprobate sense in testimony of His infinite justice, rather than condones it in honour of His infinite mercy. The origin of evil was what St. Augustine found to be such a difficulty. That the state of aversion to infinite goodness should ever begin, is a mystery. But, having begun, it is also a mystery that infinite justice should be so infinitely merciful as to change that state in any single case back again to a state of love.

Before the thought of eternity—whether of reward or punishment—the imagination fails where reason only bows. Reason feels the necessity and truth of that which it cannot comprehend. Imagination faints away before that which it

cannot portray. We live in an age that prides itself on its fidelity to reason ; but those who in defence of reason surrender the mysteries of faith, in reality degrade reason to the weak and capricious tyranny of the imagination, which like another Dalila induces it to betray the secret of its supernatural strength, divine faith. Such is the mental condition of those who protest against eternal punishment in the name of infinite love. They are daring to limit the requirements of divine love to the minute span of their own imagination, for it is precisely divine love that demands eternal punishment as the necessary converse of eternal reward. They “change the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man.” As those who refused the mysterious imprisonment in the ark had no natural power to save themselves from the deluge, so those who refuse the mysteries of faith do not escape from mysteries unless they give up thinking altogether. Their natural powers are quite inadequate to solve the myriad mysteries of nature. God, religion, conscience, the Church, the Bible, have become to them more insoluble mysteries than ever, now that their own account of themselves has been rejected.

The uncontroversial *argumentum congruentiv*, or, as we may say, fitness, is one which acts quietly but forcibly upon “the hidden springs of thought,” in spite of the scorn of formal logic. It is uncongenial to the materialistic temperament of the day, and therefore, perhaps, all the more wholesome. Such is the character of the argument suggested by fire—fire, so great and powerful—when we think of this world as one vast furnace, on the egg-shell crust of which we breathe a moment and then leave our dust ; or again, when we think of those countless still larger balls of fire which burn in the firmament above us, apparently the source of every form of life, and at the same time, so tender and beautiful as the light which rejoiceth the eye, and decks the world in such an inimitable variety of colour, that we doubt its identity with burning fire until we concentrate its rays, and behold flames are kindled. Such, too, is the contrast and unity between the love and hate of God—the all-pervading, all-penetrating tenderness and richness of His love, and the

terrifying, withering, hopelessly-irresistible strength of His hatred. Can such extremes meet? Can they be the same act? Yes, they are identical in God; they are God. “O Truth who art Eternity, and Love who art Truth, and Eternity who art Love, Thou art my God!” (*Conf. Aug.*, vii. 10.)

CHARLES ED. RYDER.

“INSULA SANCTORUM ET DOCTORUM : OR
IRELAND'S ANCIENT SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS.”¹

IT has long been the fashion to reproach Irishmen with ignorance of their national history. The charge has frequently been repeated that, though their country can boast of an illustrious past, yet they pay little attention to her literature, they treat her antiquarian treasures with indifference, they are rarely animated with those generous sentiments which the memory of her former greatness is calculated to inspire. In the last century, at least, there was some ground for the imputation; and many eminent scholars deplored the loss which, not only Ireland, but other countries also, on whose language and literature much light might be thrown by comparison with those of Ireland, suffered in consequence of this neglect. The celebrated Dr. Johnson felt so keenly on the subject that, in a letter to Charles O'Connor, who was then earnestly engaged in the study of Irish history, he expressed himself as follows :—

“I have long wished [he wrote] that the Irish literature were cultivated. Ireland is known by tradition to have once been the seat of piety and learning, and surely it would be very acceptable to all who are curious either in the origin of nations or the affinities of languages to be further informed of the revolutions of a people so ancient, and once so illustrious. I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind of learning, which has lain so long neglected, and which, if it be suffered to remain in oblivion for another century, may, perhaps, never be retrieved.”

¹ *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum : or Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.* By the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers & Walker. London : Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1890.

But, since the days of Dr. Johnson, things have considerably improved. Much has been done by such eminent men as O'Donovan, O'Curry, Petrie, and others, by whose industry many ancient annals have been translated, many valuable manuscripts deciphered and multiplied, many interesting specimens of archæological relics collected and preserved. But even after their praiseworthy efforts much still remained to be accomplished. Their labours are too erudite ever of themselves to become popular, and a knowledge of their writings has been hitherto confined to a few. There was still wanting a work which would invest these authors with a peculiar interest, by telling us the sources from which they derived their information—namely, a history of our ancient schools, scholars, and literature. Until such a work should be provided, much of their antiquarian research would never be duly appreciated, nor would the most valuable materials of our history ever become widely known.

This pressing want is now at length supplied, and what has long been the reproach of Irishmen, need no longer continue to exist. An admirable work, entitled *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum; or Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, from the learned pen of the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert, has just issued from the press, and must prove such as has been felt to be the desideratum by every student of Irish history. The book, which is appropriately dedicated to the Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, himself "a founder and patron of many schools," consists of over six hundred pages, and deals with the period which is admittedly the most important and interesting in the annals of our race. Commencing with the dawn of half-legendary, half-historic antiquity, it leads us up to the meridian of our national greatness, and thence on through the gradually darkening ages, until our literary glory became extinct in the blood and tears that followed the Norman Invasion. The distinguished reputation of the author is a sufficient guarantee that the period thus embraced is ably dealt with; that the personages and incidents involved therein, are viewed with a critical, yet sympathetic eye, even to their minutest details. Having acquired from books an intimate knowledge of the several actors in the brilliant

drama he describes, he has perfected that knowledge by visiting personally every place of historic importance in the island; and thus he enjoys advantages which most historians and hagiologists, who have hitherto touched upon these subjects, had not the good fortune to possess. And these exceptional advantages he has turned to the best account. Evidence of deep research and careful conscientious examination is furnished in every page of the book. In addition to these indispensable qualities of a trustworthy historian, the author is endowed, moreover, with a calm philosophic judgment, in which he weighs facts and authorities with well-balanced deliberation. His principles are always sound; his opinions are invariably supported by reason and argument; his conclusions are warranted in every instance by the premises at his command. The style in which the book is written is in perfect harmony with the subject. Most of our readers are already familiar with the merits of Dr. Healy's writings, from the occasional essays he has from time to time contributed to these pages, as well as to other periodicals in Ireland and in England. His contributions are everywhere hailed with welcome, and may always be studied as models of correctness, for their strong clear thought, their unaffected and forcible expression, their extreme purity and precision in the application of words. But nowhere does his Lordship seem to be more at home than when dealing with an historical subject; and hence, in the work before us, we find him at his best. We have rarely met with a book that can so arrest the mind, and maintain such a strong unwavering hold on the attention throughout, by its vividly picturesque descriptions, its judicious grouping of incidents, its dramatically-gradual development of character, its sublime tone of moral reflection and of deep religious thought. The author possesses, in a high degree, the power of transferring himself at will back through the shadowy distance of twelve hundred years, and of living in spirit among the saintly men whose virtues he here records; and this power, united to a just appreciation of the sublime both in the physical and the moral world, and a profound veneration for the manly virtues and self-sacrificing lives of the early Irish saints, is the

fruitful source of the inspiration which animates his mind throughout. Impelled by these combined influences, he now unravels his thought with the sensitive delicacy of a poet, and again expresses his meaning with the quaint brevity of a seer; at one time he moves rapidly along on the impetuous torrent of his own eloquence until he communicates to the reader much of the enthusiasm he feels himself, and at another he stops to moralize on the principles of human action and of moral obligation, until his language assumes the impressiveness of a homily, or the solemnity of an inspired text. These various features of the work we hope to illustrate by selected passages in the course of our review.

Although O'Curry appears to think that "it would be futile to give any close and detailed account of the state of education in this country before the Christian era," yet many writers have endeavoured to prove that Ireland in those distant ages, was by no means as deeply plunged in ignorance and barbarism as was at one time commonly believed. The author of the article on *Ireland*, in Ree's *Cyclopædia*, thinks it "not at all improbable that the Phœnicians, at a very early age, may have colonized Ireland, and introduced their laws, customs, and knowledge, with a comparatively high degree of civilization." Dr. O'Connor, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, is decidedly of the same opinion: while Bochart, a most learned linguist of the seventeenth century, goes so far as to assert not only that Ireland was well-known to the Phœnicians from an early date, but that its Latin name, *Hibernia*, was derived from the language of that people. This theory, in the main, is adopted by Dr. Healy, and forms the ground-work of the opinions laid down in the opening chapters of his book.

It is no longer possible to determine, however, with any degree of certainty, the extent of the culture and civilization of which the early Irish were possessed. But such as they were, they would appear to have been monopolized by the three great privileged classes, so familiar to every student of history—the Druids, the Bards, and the Brehons. We must, therefore, devote a few remarks to each.

Some writers are of opinion that Druidism was rather a

philosophy than a religion—a theory which Dr. Healy undertakes, at the outset, to refute. No doubt, our knowledge of Druidical practices is extremely limited; for, since one of the first acts of our national apostle, after the conversion of the country, was to destroy every vestige of ancient paganism, whatever documents may have existed in connection with this subject have long since disappeared. Yet the few vague references of Cæsar, in the fourth book of his *De Bello Gallico*, to the Druids of Gaul and Britain seem to us amply sufficient to establish Dr. Healy's view.

In the thirteenth chapter of the book referred to, the illustrious Roman asserts that “the Druids take part in public worship, offer sacrifices both in public and in private, and expound omens and oracles to all who seek knowledge at their hands.” Now, what is true of the Druids of Gaul and Britain must be applicable also to those of Ireland. For all were educated at the same great central establishment in the isle of Mona, or Anglesea, in Wales; and thence, after many years spent in acquiring their professional knowledge, they departed for their respective countries, to discharge their several duties, according to the principles of the mysterious ritual which all were bound to learn. And mysterious truly that pagan ritual was. Not only did it sanction human sacrifices, as appears manifest from the work of the writer just referred to, but it prescribed the adoration of heathen deities, of the sun and the moon, of the seasons and elements, and even of the sylphs and gnomes and elves, so commonly associated still in northern latitudes with popular superstitions. They conducted their services in “groves” and “high places,” in the midst of spreading oaks, which “threw a sombre and solemn shade over the rude altars of unhewn stone on which they offered their sacrifices.” In Ireland these strange hierophants were not only the official priests of the nation, but were also important functionaries in the royal palace and the legislature, and continued to maintain their power until the coming of St. Patrick. Then, for the first time, were they shamefully confounded in the presence of assembled multitudes, by the sublime prin-

ciples of Christianity and by the miracles wrought in its support.

“ When Patrick discoursed of the things to be,
When time gives way to eternity ;
Of kingdoms that fail, which are dreams, not things,
And the kingdom built by the King of kings ;
And again of Him who reigns from the Cross,
Of the death that is life, and the life that is loss ;
Then the Druids, because they could answer naught
Bowed down to the Faith the stranger brought.”

After the Druids, the Bards occupied the most prominent position in pre-Christian Erin. In the introduction to the *Senchus Mor*—a compilation of Brehon laws, reformed and ratified by St. Patrick and a council of learned assessors—the duties of the Bard are set down as twofold—“to eulogize and to satirize.” Often, however, the exigencies of the time required that with these he should combine also the duties of chronicler and judge. Poetry was the medium through which the records of each tribe were transmitted to posterity, and was also the common form for the expression of legal enactments. As its wording was for the most part very mysterious and enigmatical, the Bards were employed as its best interpreters in cases of difficulty and importance. Indeed to them exclusively appertained the functions of the judicature, as the commentator on the *Senchus Mor* informs us, from the time of Amergin, the first poet-judge, down to the reign of Cormac Mac Nessa, when they were transferred to the Brehons, by whom they were subsequently discharged.

The highest grade among the Bards was that of Ollamh, or Doctor of Poetry ; and, as his duties were both manifold and important, he was obliged to pass through a course of preparation extending over twelve years, and embracing an almost endless variety of subjects. “He was required,” writes O’Curry, “to be perfectly familiar with the pedigrees of the principal families, their topographical distribution, the synchronisms of remarkable events both at home and abroad, and the etymologies of names in Erin. He was also supposed to know law, languages, philosophy, and

music : to be familiar with poetry in all its departments, and with the practice of recitation in prose and verse."

Next in importance came the *Filé*, or Philosophical Poet. As it was his duty in particular to "eulogize and satirize," his office, of its own nature, was liable to be abused. Indeed after a time we find the *Filé* becoming so highly objectionable, because of his bitter biting satires and extortionate demands, that his order had to be coerced by restrictive legislation, and ultimately ran the risk of being utterly abolished. "Among the four dignitaries who might be degraded," writes Dr. Healy, "besides the false-judging king, the stumbling bishop, and the unworthy chief, was the fraudulent poet, who had demanded an exorbitant reward for his compositions."

Besides the two degrees already mentioned, there were at least four others; and, though we know but little about the merit of their compositions, it is certain they stood in high repute, and held places of special honour among the noblest chieftains of the land. The *Book of Ballymote* contains a record of distinguished historians and poets—the chief among them being Adhma and his son Neidhe, Ferceirtne and Oilioll Ollum, Finn MacCumhail and his son Ossian, the most illustrious of them all. The last two form the theme of the following eloquent paragraph in the book submitted to us for review :—

"He [Finn] was the father of Erin's greatest poet—from him and Graine of the Golden Hair the primal poet sprung. He flourished during the late heroic period, which corresponds with the third century of the Christian era. Ossian, or more properly Oisín, his son, is the Homer of Gaedhlic song, whose name and fame have floated down to us on the stream of time from the far-distant and misty ages. Many poems still extant are attributed, and perhaps justly, to the grand old warrior bard of Erin. The publications of the Ossianic Society have done much to make the history of the heroic period familiar to modern readers. More than one of our Irish poets, too, have, with the quick ear of genius, caught up the faint echo of Ossian's song, and once more attuned the harp of Erin to the thrilling melodies of her heroic youth. Once more the Fenian heroes begin to tread the hills of fame, and the spirit of Ossian's vanished muse, like the quickening breath of spring, is felt over all the land.

"Ossian! two thousand years of mist and change
Surround thy name;
Thy Fenian heroes now no longer range
The hills of fame;
The very names of Finn and Goll sound strange,
Yet thine the same.

"The Druids' altar and the Druids' creed
We scarce can trace;
There is not left one undisputed deed
Of all your race,
Save your majestic song, which hath their speed
And strength and grace;
In that sole song they live and love and bleed,
It bears them on through space.

"T. D. M'GEE."

The Brehons formed the third of the learned and specially privileged Orders to which we have referred. Up to the first century of the Christian era, the judicature, as we have seen, was exclusively in the hands of the Bards. But, at that time, the extreme selfishness with which they guarded their privileges rendering them universally unpopular, the office was thrown open to all who should prove themselves able to discharge its duties. Then arose the Brehons, who subsequently became so powerful that their authority commanded the homage of every chieftain in the land. The period of their greatest influence was the reign of Cormac Mac Art, the most illustrious sovereign and the most generous patron of letters that had hitherto reigned in Erin. As this celebrated monarch effected innumerable reforms, not only in the legislature, but in other important departments also, we deem it right to accord him more than a mere passing notice.

In the year A.D. 227, Cormac Mac Art, after having been disciplined for many years in the chastening school of adversity, ascended the throne of his ancestors and became Ardh-Righ of Erin. On coming into power he took measures, after reducing his sub-kings to submission, to establish permanent institutions for promoting the well-being of his kingdom. He was the first king who maintained a fleet upon the seas to protect the shores of his dominions against the incursions of alien pirates. Before his time, no

standing army had existed in Ireland; but he introduced the celebrated Fenian militia, and supported them for the purpose of preserving peace among his subjects. Hitherto the procedure of the judiciary power had often been precarious and unreliable; but he instituted regular tribunals, presided over by the chief Brehons, with a view to the dispensing of justice among his people in a firm and impartial manner. The greatest of all his works, however, was directed towards the advancement of education, especially in the sciences of war, history, and jurisprudence. O’Flaherty informs us, on the authority of a poem bearing evidence of a very remote antiquity, that he erected three colleges at Tara, for the training of youth in these various departments of knowledge; and authentic history records that he adopted decisive measures to secure the regular meetings of the Féis, or Triennial Parliament of Erin, and provided most ample accommodation by the erection of the *Teach Míodchuarta*, or great banqueting-hall on Tara Hill, for the entertainment of the 1,000 visitors who were present on such occasions. This celebrated assembly was attended not only by the Druids, Bards and Brehons, but also by the several sub-kings and chieftains of the nation. The Brehons, however, in virtue of their office, had the most important and conspicuous duties to perform, as will be apparent from the ends for which the Parliament was convened, which are thus set forth by Dr. Healy:—

“The object of the Féis at Tara was mainly threefold. First, to enact and promulgate what was afterwards called the *Cain-law*, which was obligatory on all the territories or tribes of the kingdom, as distinguished from the *urradhus*, or local law. Secondly, to test and sanction the Annals of Erin. For this purpose, each of the local Seanachies, or historians, brought a record of the notable events that took place in his own territory. These were publicly read for the assembly, and, when duly authenticated, were entered on the great records of the King of Tara, called afterwards the *Psalter of Tara*. Thirdly, to record, in the same great national record, the genealogies of the ruling families, to assess the taxes, to settle all cases of disputed succession among the tribes of the kingdom.”

Nor was it to this celebrated institution alone, calculated though it was to give prominence to legal ability, that the

Brehons were indebted for the pre-eminence they now attained. They owed much, also, to the able works on the proceedings of the legislative and judiciary tribunals, drawn up by the king himself for the direction of the nation, and entrusted to them, as the accredited judges of the realm, for their guidance in matters of civil or political importance. Besides the *Psalter of Tara*, to which reference has been already made, they had placed at their disposal also the *Teagus na Reogh*, or *Institutio Principum*, "which contains," says MacGeoghegan, "as goodly precepts and moral documents as Plato or Aristotle ever wrote," and the equally celebrated *Book of Aicill*, which was a collection of maxims or principles on the criminal law of Erin, intended primarily for the instruction of the king's son, who had been called unexpectedly to the throne. No wonder a monarch, to whom not only the Brehons, but even the nation at large, were under such deep obligations, should have vouchsafed to him, before his death, the grace of conversion to the Christian faith!—for so it came to pass. We learn from the *Four Masters* that, towards the close of his life, "he turned from the religion of the Druids to the worship of the true God."

" 'Crom Cruach and his sub-gods twelve,'
Said Cormac, 'are but carven treene ;
The axe that made them, haft and helve,
Had worthier of our worship been.

" 'But He that made the tree to grow,
And hid in earth the iron stone,
And made the man, with mind to know
The axe's use, is God alone.' "

And to signify to the entire nation that his conversion was sincere, he gave solemn injunctions, in his last moments, that his body should be interred, not at Brugh among his pagan ancestors, but at "noteless Rossnaree." The Druids, however, would not have it so ; and the scene that ensued, on the death of the king, is thus described by Dr. Healy:—

"So they [the Druids] prepared to cross the fords of the Boyne, and bury the king at Brugh. But royal Boyne was loyal to its dead king ; the 'deep, full-hearted river rose' to bar the

way; and when the bearers attempted to cross the ford, the swelling flood swept them from their feet, caught up the bier, and 'proudly bore away the king' on its own heaving bosom. Next morning the corpse was found on the bank of the river at Rossnaree, and was duly interred within the hearing of the murmuring waters. There great Cormac—to whom the three specially privileged Orders of Erin owed so much—was left to rest, with his face to the rising sun, awaiting the dawning of that glory which was soon to lighten over the hills and valleys of his native land."

Nor was that dawning long delayed. At the beginning of the fifth century the fulness of time had arrived when, in accordance with the decrees of God, the light of the Christian faith was to burst brilliantly upon the nation, and to open a new era for the Schools and Scholars of Erin. We turn, therefore, from the pagan literature of Ireland, to examine what the early saints of our national Church accomplished as well for letters as for religion.

There can be no reasonable doubt, as may be inferred from the closing scenes in Cormac Mac Art's distinguished career, that Christianity had reached Ireland long before the advent of St. Patrick to her shores. Familiar intercourse with Britain, where the Gospel had been preached towards the close of the second century, may have been largely instrumental in bringing about this happy result. But, however it be accounted for, Christian it certainly was, to a considerable extent, before the arrival of our national apostle in A.D. 432. Some writers have endeavoured to prove that the illustrious Sedulius, the Christian Virgil, to whom we owe the *Carmen Paschale* and the hymns *A Solis Ortus Cardine* and *Crudelis Herodes Deum*, still recited in the Divine Office for the feast of Christmas and the Epiphany, respectively, had already become a Christian before quitting Ireland for the continent. This, however, does not seem to be a fact. Dr. Healy—whose book contains a most interesting chapter on his life and writings—shows clearly, on the authority of a manuscript still preserved in the Vatican Library, that the poet was a Gentile even when attending a school of philosophy in Italy, and that he became a convert to Christianity only a short time before setting out for

Arcadia, the scene of his future labours. But an isolated instance proves nothing against our main contention, which can be established on independent grounds. Prosper distinctly asserts that Palladius was sent (A.D. 431) as their first apostle "to the Scots, who believed in Christ;" and Nennius makes the same statement in almost the same words. But his mission was not a success. He encountered so many difficulties, and met with such forcible opposition, especially from the Druidical priests, that he left the country in despair, and crossed over to Scotland, where he soon afterwards died. Thus was the glory of converting the island to the faith of Christ reserved for St. Patrick, who, because of the marvellous success that everywhere attended his efforts, pre-eminently deserves the title of the "Apostle of Ireland."

On the early career of St. Patrick—his birth, captivity, and preparatory studies—we deem it unnecessary to enter. After a period of over twenty years, spent under St. Honoratus, St. Germanus, and St. Martin of Tours—the three great masters of monasticism in the Western Church—he set out for Rome, in company with a holy priest named Segetius, and received episcopal consecration from the hands of the Pope himself.¹ Furnished with the necessary power for his mission, he came to Ireland, in company with a number of Roman clerics, in A.D. 432, and entered at once upon his apostolic labours. The spirit of God accompanied

¹ As the Roman mission of St. Patrick has frequently been called in question by anti-Catholic writers, especially of recent years, it may be well to indicate the arguments by which it can be proved. (a) The absence of all mention of Rome in the saint's *Confession* is relied on by the authors referred to as conclusively proving that he must never have been there. Now, this method of reasoning would oblige us also to conclude that he never studied under St. Germanus—which all admit he did. (b) *The Tripartite Life* distinctly asserts that "Celestine, Bishop of Rome, read orders over Patrick." (c) The Scholiast on St. Fiacc's hymn states that Germanus addressed Patrick in these words:—"Go to Celestine, that he may confer orders upon thee, for he is proper to confer them." (d) St. Eric of Auxerre, in his *Life of St. Germanus*, writes: "Ad sanctum Celestinum urbis Romae Papam cum direxit [Germanus], cujus iudicio approbatus, auctoritate fultus, benedictione denique roboratus Hiberniæ partes expetiit." (e) William of Malmesbury says: "Audita morte Paladii Episcopi, Patricius, Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus, a Celestino Papa Romano ad Scotos convertendos in Christum mittitur." Other authorities might be quoted, but these suffice.

him everywhere he went. Kings and chieftains bowed their necks to his authority; Bards and Druids accepted his doctrine with respect; the entire people, unlike those of most other nations, as Cambrensis avers, became converts to Christianity without the shedding of a martyr's blood. Yet the conversion of the island formed only a part of the great Apostle's work. In addition to this, as our author informs us, “he purified the laws, gave new inspiration to the Bards, and laid the foundation of that system of education which, for the next three centuries, made Ireland the light and glory of western Europe.”

The Brehon laws, in accordance with which, as we have seen, the kingdom had hitherto been governed, contained many things inconsistent with the pure spirit of Christianity; and the saint's most earnest efforts were directed, very early in his missionary career, to a radical reform of their provisions. To effect his purpose, he had a Parliament of the nation convened at Tara, and, in the presence of that august assembly, Dubhtach, the chief Bard, “exhibited the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, through the law of nature and the law of seers, and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets.” As it was impossible, however, for such an unwieldy multitude to attain the object in view, a Committee of nine was appointed, with the saint himself at their head, to draft the reformed code. The result was the *Senchus Mor*, which prevailed throughout the greater part of Ireland for over 1,200 years, and which still furnishes the most abundant and trustworthy materials for the study of our national history.

In a similar spirit of prudence the saint dealt with the Bards. They were the most learned men of the kingdom, and their ranks were likely to furnish the most suitable ministers for the infant Church. This the Apostle understood, and accordingly lost no time in gaining them over to his allegiance. He formed an alliance with Dubhtach, their chief, and through his influence succeeded in securing the co-operation of the others. But in introducing them to the ministry and to the choral service of the Church, he looked leniently on their prejudices, and accorded them every indul-

gence not clearly incompatible with the spirit of the Gospel. Dr. Healy writes:—

“They might keep their harps, and sing the songs of Erin’s heroic youth, as in days of old. But the great saint taught them now to tune their harps to loftier strains than those of the banquet-hall, and the battle-march. He sought to drive out from their songs the evil spirit of undying hate and rancorous vengeance, to inspire the poets’ minds with something of the divine spirit of Christian charity, and to soften the fierce melody of their war-songs with cadences of pity for a fallen foe. He taught the sons of the Bards how to chant the Psalms of David, and sing together the sweet music of the Church’s hymns. Thus, by slow degrees, their wild ways were tamed, their fiery hearts were softened, and the evil spirit of discord gave place to the heavenly spirit of brotherly love.”

But the most important of our saint’s works was the system of education which he established, and which gave birth to the Schools and Scholars that made Erin a shining light among the nations of western Europe, during the next three hundred years. The saint himself, as we may well infer from the careful training he had received, possessed a mind highly cultured in every department of knowledge. All his writings, but especially his *Confession*, *Lorica*, and *Epistle to Coroticus*, prove this to have been the case; and the writings of others regarding him, such as Sechnall’s Hymn, St. Fiacc’s metrical biography, the *Tripartite*, &c., may be adduced in support of the same view. A man possessed of such varied knowledge and accomplishments himself could hardly have been indifferent to the intellectual training of others. And the system of education he established is the best proof that he was not.

During the early years of the saint’s missionary life he was accompanied, in his journeys, by a number of youthful aspirants to the priesthood, who formed a sort of peripatetic school, and learned, partly from his preaching, but mostly from his example, the knowledge and virtues necessary for the discharge of the pastoral office. After some years, however, it was found practicable to establish a school of instruction on a more permanent and solid basis; and Armagh, which had been already chosen as the Primatial

See, was selected also as the site of the saint's first college. “Here,” says our author, “crowning the summit of the holy hill, and surrounded by a large mound, as well as by a *fith-nemedh*, or sacred grove, learning and religion sat side by side for many centuries, in spite of much turbulence and bloodshed.” Benen, whom Patrick had baptized in the first year of his apostolate, and to whom, on account of his fair presence and gentle manners, he had given the name of Benignus, was appointed its first president and the principal of its professorial staff. Nor did Benen prove unworthy of this responsible and important trust. In addition to his duties as president and professor, he discharged also those of choir-master in the primatial church, and of inspector over the various schools that the saint established throughout the island. He is also known to us as the author of the *Leabhar Na g-ceart*, or *Book of Rights*, which treats of the subsidies and revenues of Ireland due to the king, and of the services and duties to which the king was entitled from his subjects. And many of Benen's successors also reflected glory on the great college for whose success they laboured. Gildas the Wise, who had already achieved renown in the schools of Kilmuine and Llancarvan, in South Wales; Ferdomnach, the learned scribe, who wrote the *Book of Armagh* from the dictation of Torbach; Imar O'Hagan, the founder of the Armagh Abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine; O'Drugan, referred to in the *Annals* as “the paragon of the wisdom of the Irish, and head of the Council in the west of Europe in piety and devotion”—all were at different times connected with that famous college, and left the impress of their genius upon its records and its literature. The curriculum of studies at Armagh embraced a wide range of subjects. Besides theology and Sacred Scripture, which necessarily demanded the first place, the other sciences cultivated were grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, music, and astronomy. Such an extensive array of subjects, taught by the most learned masters of the age, soon rendered the school of Armagh so famous throughout Europe that students from all parts came crowding to it for instruction. At one time as many as 7,000 matriculated

students were found together within its walls ; and so many of these were Anglo-Saxons, that one of the quarters of the city was called *Trián Saxon*, or the Saxon ward. All were received in the spirit of genuine Irish hospitality, and were supplied gratuitously, as the Venerable Bede informs us, with food, books, and education. "Alas!" concludes our author, "that England, in the centuries that followed, could make no better return to the Irish people . . . than to make it penal for an Irish Catholic to teach a school in his native land."

While this celebrated college was rising into fame under the patronage and fostering care of our national apostle, other schools of scarcely less importance began to flourish side by side with it in various parts of the island. Such, for instance, were the schools founded at Kildare by St. Brigid ; at Noendrum, in Strangford Lough, by St. Mochae ; at Emly, by St. Ailbe ; at Kilbannon, near Tuam, by St. Jarlath, and others equally distinguished. To these, however, the space at our disposal will not permit us to refer.

The sixth century opened with many indications that a new era of vast and far-reaching importance was about to dawn upon the Irish Church. The nation was already converted ; schools and colleges, active with the vigorous energy and fresh vitality of youth, everywhere flourished ; innumerable priests and bishops, labouring with the zeal of neophytes, preached the Gospel and administered sacraments, and moulded the Celtic character into the likeness of Jesus Christ. But there was one form of religious life still practically unknown. Monasticism, which had arisen in Egypt early in the fourth century, and had been introduced into the West by St. Athanasius, St. Honoratus, and St. Martin of Tours, though manifestly it must have been known to St. Patrick himself, yet does not appear to have been practised in Ireland, according to a regular form and definite rule, until the Apostle had passed away. The first who introduced this mode of life, and established it in those vast proportions which it assumed at the beginning of the sixth century and maintained for at least six centuries subsequently, was the illustrious St. Enda of Aran, the founder

of many monasteries, and the father of many saints. On that bleak and barren island, which rises off the western seaboard like some grim and hoary sentinel to guard the "Citie of the Tribes," were trained up, under his austere guidance, those illustrious men who, in their turn, renovated the face of the island, and became new centres of light and sanctity to the whole Western Church. St. Columba of Iona, St. Finnian of Clonard, St. Ciaran of Clonnaenoe, St. Brendan of Clonfert, and a host of others, the associates of the Second Order of ancient Irish saints, were the inaugurators of this glorious era, and their spirit continued to enliven it through those memorable years which gained for Erin the proud title of the "Island of Saints and Scholars."

Born heir to the royal house of Oriel—which then included Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, and Fermanagh—Euda had followed, during the years of his hot youth, a career of military glory. But he was not destined thus to spend his life. The pious prayers of his sisters, three of whom were cloistered nuns, gained for him, after years of anxious watching, the grace of conversion to a holy life; and, renouncing his possessions, he determined to consecrate himself to God in the monastic state. Having built a monastery in his native Oriel, he proceeded to Rosnat, one of the great centres of religious life in Britain, and there spent many months under the spiritual direction of St. Manchan. Thence he went to Rome; and, after "attentively studying the example of the saints, and preparing himself in everything" for the great work before him, he received priesthood, and obtained authority to found religious houses wherever he pleased. He accordingly returned to Ireland, and landed at Drogheda, where he erected several churches on both sides of the Boyne. But this historic river was not destined to be the scene of his most important labours. He was inspired to go farther west; and, taking with him a few companions, he proceeded to the coast of Galway, whence he crossed over to Aran, of which he had previously obtained possession for the erection of his monastery. "He divided the island into ten parts, and built thereon ten monasteries, each under the rule of its proper superior." The austere life

led by St. Enda and his companions is thus described by Dr. Healy:—

“ The life of St. Enda and his monks was simple and austere. The day was divided into periods for prayer, labour, and sacred study. Each community had its own church, and its village of stone cells, in which they slept, either on the bare ground, or on a bundle of straw covered with a rug; but always in the clothes worn by day. They assembled for their devotions in the church or oratory of the saint under whose immediate care they were placed. They took their meals in a common refectory, and cooked their food in a common kitchen; for they had no fires in their stone cells, however cold—if cold could be felt by those hearts, so glowing with the love of God. They invariably carried out the monastic rule of procuring their own food by labour. Some fished around the island; others cultivated patches of oats or barley, in sheltered spots among the rocks. Others ground it with a quern, like Ciaran, or kneaded the meal into bread for the use of their brethren. Enda himself never tasted flesh meat, . . . and we have reason to believe that many of the monks followed the saint's example. Yet their lives were full of sunny hope and true happiness. That desert island was a paradise for those children of God; its arid rocks were to them a garden of delights; the sunlight on its summer seas was a picture for them of heavenly joys; and the roar of the wintry billows reminded them of the power and of the wrath of God. So they passed their blameless lives; living only for God, and waiting, not in fear, but in hope, for the happy hour when their Heavenly Father would call them home. Their bodies are laid to rest beside the walls of their little churches; their graves may be seen stretched side by side; and who can doubt that their sinless souls went up to God in heaven?”

The fame of Enda and his monks soon spread through the land of Erin; the sweet odour of their sanctity, ascending from their sea-girt sanctuary, penetrated the most remote and obscure corners of the island; and the heart of many a noble youth was touched with a desire to join the saint in his retreat, and become a sharer in the spiritual blessings bestowed on him by God. Among the first who came was Brendan, the celebrated navigator who, a thousand years before Columbus was born, had crossed the treacherous seas in his frail curriele and discovered the western continent. Thither also came St. Finnian, the “ Tutor of the Saints of Erin,” to learn the principles of monastic sanctity at the feet of the elder saint; and, having spent his novitiate and

acquired much of the austere spirit of his master, he returned to his chosen Clonard, to erect that famous school which became a new centre of faith and civilization to the nations of western Europe. There, too, was the other Finnian, the venerable teacher of St. Columba and the founder of Moville, where he lighted that lamp of science which continued to burn with a brilliant radiance during the next six hundred years. Thither came Columba himself, the turbulent blood of his impetuous youth now gradually subsiding, to learn the principles of asceticism before sailing for his distant exile among the Scotie seas. There was to be found St. Ciaran, the gentle and gifted youth, the best beloved of all the disciples of St. Enda, and the founder of the famous monastery in the rich meadows by the Shannon's side. There, in fine, sojourned for a time almost all the saints of the Second Order, who afterwards became the founders of famous schools and the patrons of celebrated churches in various parts of the island. Jarlath of Tuam, the elder St. Carthage of Lismore, the two Kevins of Glendalough, St. Mac Creiche of Coreamroe, St. Lonan Kerr, St. Neehen, St. Geignous, St. Papeus, St. Libeus, and a host of others—all were there to be trained in the ways of sanctity under the holy guidance of St. Enda, the great master of monastic discipline in the early Irish Church.

As Aran was the school of asceticism for the early Irish saints, so was Clonard the centre of enlightenment and civilization: and not alone to Ireland, but to all the nations of Western Europe. As had previously occurred at Armagh, thither, for many centuries, flocked scholars, thirsting for knowledge, from England and Scotland, from France and beyond the Rhine. Founded, about A.D. 520, by St. Finnian, who had been educated in the sacred sciences in the monastic schools of Wales, Clonard became almost immediately a great seat of learning, and continued to be a great centre of piety and civilization until its final destruction by Strongbow, in the year 1170. Of those who studied there under St. Finnian, Dr. Healy writes as follows:—

“To Clonard came all the men who were afterwards famous as the ‘Twelve Apostles of Erin.’ Thither came the venerable

Ciaran of Saigher, a companion of St. Patrick, to bow his hoary head in reverence to the wisdom of the younger-sage; and that other Ciaran, the son of the carpenter, the founder of the famous monastic school of Clonmacnoise. Thither, too, came Brendan of Birr, 'the prophet,' as he was called, and his still more famous namesake, Brendan of Clonfert, St. Ita's foster son, the daring navigator, who first tried to cross the Atlantic to preach the Gospel, and revealed to Europe the mysteries of the far-off Western Isles. There, too, was young Columba, who learned at the feet of Finnian those lessons of wisdom and discipline that he carried to Iona, which in its turn became for many centuries a torch to irradiate the spiritual gloom of Picts, Scots and Saxons. And there was that other Columba of Tir-da-Glass, and Mobhi-Clairainach of Glasnevin, and Rodan the founder of Lorra, near Lough Derg, and Lasserian, the son of Nadfreach, and Canice of Aghaboe, and Senanus from Inniscathy, and Ninnedh the Pious from the far-off shores of Lough Erne."

But the two most celebrated students at Clonard were St. Columba of the Churches and St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise.

The story of St. Columba's eventful life and labours is so familiar to every student of history that there is no need to repeat it here. The several details of his parentage and education and subsequent stormy career, are told by Dr. Healy with a kindly sympathy and enthusiasm that we have met with nowhere else—sympathy for the honest impetuosity of his passionate Celtic nature, and enthusiasm for those robust and heroic virtues which were the grand secret of his political influence and missionary success. Few, we think, can read these brilliant pages, pathetic and sublime in their every line, without experiencing something of the feeling that once animated Dr. Johnson, who felt his piety grow warmer amidst the ruins of Iona, as he contemplated that for centuries this desert island had been "the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion."

Of the schools that were founded from Clonard, the most celebrated was Clonmacnoise, built by St. Ciaran on the Shannon. For a time it rivalled, and ultimately surpassed in the competition for literary distinction, the great college of St. Finnian itself. Born at Rath Crimtan, near Fuerty, in

Rosecommon, St. Ciaran received the rudiments of his education from a holy deacon named Justus, and was subsequently sent to Clonard to prepare himself for the priesthood. Here he gained the esteem of all by his gentle unobtrusive manners, and won the confidence of his master by his assiduity and literary success. Long enamoured of the peace and retirement of the monastic state, he left Clonard, where St. Finnian would fain have kept him, and proceeded to Aran, with the intention of becoming a disciple of St. Enda for life. But God had decreed it otherwise. It was revealed to him that he should found a school in the centre of Ireland, whence, like a mighty tree spreading its branches in every direction, his influence should be felt to the remotest corner of the island; and journeying to the Shannon's side, he built the monastery of Clonmacnoise, which was destined to perpetuate his virtues, his talents, and his name. He did not live to behold it in the height of its meridian splendour; but his spirit remained with his successors, and his intellectual activity is reflected in the learned works which for several successive ages were produced within its walls. The names of Colgu and Tighernagh—the one pronounced by Aleuin “the first literateur of Europe,” the other the most learned and reliable chronicler we possess—would be sufficient of themselves to win for this famous school the guerdon of undying fame. But not even the labours of its zealous monks could protect it against the depredations of those contentious and lawless times. Frequently burned by the Danes, sacked again and again by native princes, it ultimately fell a prey to the English soldiers of Athlone, and to-day that once noble pile lies desolate and in ruins. Its present appearance is thus referred to by Dr. Healy:—

“How solitary she sits by the great river, that once thronged city! Her gates are broken, and her streets are silent. Yet in olden time she was a queen, and the children of many lands came to do her homage. She was the nursing mother of the saints, and the teacher of our highest learning for a long six hundred years. The most ancient and most accurate of the Annals of Erin were written in her halls; the most learned ‘Doctors of the Scots’ lectured in her class-rooms; the sweetest of our old

Gaethlic poems were composed by her professors; the noblest youth of France and England crowded her halls, and bore the renown of her holiness and learning to foreign lands. Even still her churches, her crosses, and her tomb-stones furnish the best and most characteristic specimens of our ancient Celtic art in sculpture and in architecture. View it as you may, Clonmacnoise was the greatest of our schools in the past, as it is the most interesting of our ruins in the present."

The story of Clonmacnoise has its counterpart in the other famous schools and monasteries that were once the glory of our country. Founded by illustrious saints, they arose almost simultaneously—Bangor, Derry, Moville, Glendalough, Clonfert, Lismore, Cong, and a long line of others—all dealt with at due length by Dr. Healy in his book; they flourished side by side for many centuries, shedding lustre on the surrounding nations by their brilliant achievements in every department of sacred science; and ultimately sank to ruins in circumstances that were mostly common to them all. At the close of the twelfth century more than forty of these venerable structures still remained standing, and in less than a century afterwards they had all practically disappeared. But their fame has not perished with them. In the brilliant pages of the book we have endeavoured to review, the names and deeds of their illustrious founders still live to edify the saint, to inform the scholar, to educate the statesman, in their generous efforts to render the Ireland of the future worthy of the noble traditions that have come down to us from the past.

J. J. CLANCY.

THE GENESIS OF PATRICK.

THERE prevails a common but ill-founded opinion that the name which our national saint bears was a Christian one, given him at baptism. For this opinion can be quoted, out of numberless Lives, only one, the latest, which was written about the year 1185:¹ all the other Lives assure

¹ Tr. Thaum, *Vita Sexta*, chap. i.

us that his baptismal name, with some slight differences, was Succat. Subsequently our saint was called in all these Lives, and in his *Confession* he calls himself, "Patricius." While some Irish MSS. give the form "Patric," the *Book of Armagh*, among other MSS., scarcely once to the twentieth time gives the form other than "Patrice." Our "Patrick" appears to have come from the Irish *Patrice*; just as this was a loan-word from *Patric-ius*, shorn of its Latin ending. But what was the meaning of *Patricius*? Why was it adopted by our national saint? In answering these questions, we naturally first turn to the old Lives of our national saint.

The Scholiast on Fiace, or first Life,¹ states that St. Patrick received this name and dignity at his consecration by St. Celestine; but the *Book of Armagh* assures us that he was not consecrated by Pope Celestine, but by the Abbot-Bishop Amatus, at Ebmoria, or rather Eburo-ria (= Eburo-briga).² And even though we were to believe the story of the Scholiast, it really tells us nothing as to the meaning of "Patricius."

The *Tripartite Life*³ states that Pope Celestine gave our saint the distinguished name of "Patricius;" that the name at that time was a synonym for honour and excellence, and that it represented the rescuer of the imprisoned and the ransom of captives. The writer continues to state that the name "Patrick" was appositely given to one who was to rescue the Irish race from the prison of sin and the slavery of the devil. But we may observe that all bishops and priests are "Patrick's" in that sense, and that the writer of the *Tripartite* had stated in a previous chapter⁴ that our saint had met on an island in the Tuscan Sea with three other Patricks, who must be taken in a different sense. For they were monks of Lerins, who had received no distinction from the Pope: moreover, Colgan, with others, understood the Patricks to mean the Christian names of distinguished men.⁵

¹ *Franciscan MSS.*, Dublin

² See I. E. RECORD, page 900, October, 1887.

³ Tr. Thaum., page 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 171, col. 2, n. 16.

A glossarist on the hymn of Secundinus in praise of St. Patrick remarks, in reference to his name, that it represented an ecclesiastical order in the Church. Was, it then, different from the episcopal consecration and the primatial jurisdiction which his successors enjoyed in Armagh? But the conjecture of the Scholiast as to the ecclesiastical character of *Patricius* is expressly contradicted by authentic documents. German records, in describing the contest of the Emperor Henry IV. with the Holy See, gives a sketch of the ceremony of installation of the Patricius. Leo of Casino, writing on the entry of the Emperor into Rome, states that "he usurped the powers of the *patriciate*, as if there had been any dignity in it—*lay* order as it was—which conferred more privileges than the Imperial Majesty. There could have been no motive for such criminal conduct unless a belief that he who enjoyed the *patriciate* could elect the Roman Pontiff."¹ The writer then proceeds to describe the installation—that "with the approbation of the Holy Synod, the consenting applause of the senators and other Roman citizens, in presence of congregated bodies of the people and their chiefs, it was decreed that the prince and his successors in the empire should be made *Patricii*, as was Charlemagne. The King was then clothed in the greenest of green cloaks, was espoused with the patricial ring, and crowned with the crown peculiar to the patrician dignity."

Furthermore, the devoted and murdered bishop of Sutri,² writing in the eleventh century, states that the *patriciate*, so far from being an ecclesiastical order, was not an order of any kind, and that there was no record of it in pagan or Christian registries; for otherwise it would have been used to mark the dates of years, the promulgation of laws, and the registration of passing events. From all that has been stated we can see that the explanations of the *patriciate* given by the old Lives are neither consistent with each other, nor reconcilable with established facts of history.

In turning to the many modern lives of our national

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae*, vol. xiii. 670, lib. vii. c. 2.

² *Ad Amicum*, lib. vii., *Chron. St. Hub. Andag.*, c. i.

saint we scarcely discover an effort to account for his *patriciate*. Though Dr. Todd, in his *Memoir of St. Patrick*, acknowledges his inability to account for his adoption of the name, yet he suggests it may have been a family name, or, as being very common, a baptismal name. In support of his conjecture he appeals to the historian Gibbon, who states that "the meanest subjects of the Roman Empire assumed the *illustrious* name of 'Patricius,' which by the conversion of Ireland has been communicated to a whole nation." Now I much question if Gibbon intended to convey here that the name "Patricius" was commonly adopted as a Christian name. He remarked on the curious coincidence, that the last and most unworthy of the Roman Emperors, Romulus Augustulus, embodied in his name the grand associations blended in the names of the founders of the city and empire of Rome, and added another illustration of the prostitution of the proudest names to the meanest subjects in the adoption of Patricius by our national saint. Now this could mean that the prostitution of the patrician dignity only began with St. Patrick. However, the statement of the infidel historian contains several falsehoods. For our saint did not assume, but accepted when imposed, the name "Patricius;" nor did he accept it as connected with *illustrious* patricians; nor (a) is it likely that "Patricius" was commonly adopted at baptism; nor (b) is it likely that the conversion of Ireland led at once to the national adoption of "Patrick" as a Christian name.

It may, indeed, be admitted that one or two from some association with the patrician dignity received a patrician *soubriquet* in circumstances which left no doubt as to its origin; but there is no evidence that the meanest received it as a baptismal name. The statement of Dr. Todd, as to the general use of "Patrick" as a Christian name, is very questionable. My reading does not suggest to me a single instance in Europe of any person having been called "Patricius" unless as a name of office, in the early part of the fifth century. Nor in this sweeping statement do I except Italy, which, because of its being supposed (groundlessly, indeed) to have been the scene of St. Patrick's consecration, some illustrious

writers would fain identify with the common use of Patrick. For if Patricius were then a common name, how could it be truly said by the writer of the *Tripartite* to have been associated with honour and excellence? In the early part of the fifth century the Patricius marked out a special order or class, and this is inconsistent with its adoption by the meanest. And in turning over the annals of the ancient Latin and Roman Kings, of the Decemvirs and military Tribunes, "Patricius" as a *praenomen* does not once appear. Two consuls were yearly elected, from the year 409 B.C. down to the consecration of St. Patrick, and each of them generally assumed three or four names. Now, assuredly, if it were usual or fashionable in any class to adopt the *Patricius* as a name, before its use would have descended to the plebeians, that class was the Consular body; yet, from the institutions of Consuls down to St. Patrick's time, during nearly a thousand years, *Patricius* does not even once appear as a *praenomen* or *cognomen* in the long list of consular names.

In reviewing the use of Patricius, let us change our standpoint from the eleventh century to the very year, perhaps, in which St. Patrick came to convert Ireland. During the reign of Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Pope Celestine, Bassus, ex-Consul, and Marinian, a *Patricius*, preferred a charge before the Emperor Valentinian against the Pope, because he would not allow them to usurp some Church property.¹ This fact alone would show that the Pope did not appoint a *Patricius*, and that the title did not belong to the ecclesiastical order.

So far from Ireland becoming a nation of Patricks by its conversion, we scarcely meet with a Patrick till the eleventh century. One does not appear in the list of Irish primates. With the same result I pass in review the kings, princes, and chiefs, with their kerns and gallowglasses. I look in vain for a Patrick among the 240 immediate followers or disciples of our Saint, or among the countless names in the Martyrologies and Calendar of Saints—"numerous," in the words of the Calendarist, "as the stars of heaven." Irish annals

give, indeed, a few followers of Patrick (*Muol-Patricks*), but not *Patrick's*." This, to my mind, is explainable only by the belief that Patrick was not a Christian name, but one of office.

The *Life of St. Declan* points to the same conclusion. It represents the Saint and St. Ailbe as having been in Rome, having there received the Apostolic dignity, and as objecting to the jurisdiction of our national saint. The dispute, however, was ended by the arrangement that Ailbe should be Patrick of Munster, and Declan Patrick of the Desii. (Waterford). This *Life*, though untrue in many particulars and not written before the eleventh century, associates the name of Patrick, like the *Tripartite* and the Scholiast on Secundinus, with jurisdiction and its source from Rome.

Very pertinent to our views are a few remarks found in a history of St. Patrick's *Purgatory*. The writer, in the twelfth century, begins by stating that the *Purgatory* originated with the great St. Patrick, *second* after the *first*. Colgan very truly observes that this probably meant our national saint, who immediately succeeded Palladius, who was also called Patrick. And the last paragraph in the history of the *Purgatory* closes with the statement that its writer received his information from a nephew of Patrick the *third*. Now this statement in the twelfth century would, to my mind, be unmeaning if there had been many Patricks previous to the twelfth century.¹

An oversight committed by the few who have attempted an explanation of "Patrick" arose from viewing it under one aspect. Those who would have a clue to the cause of its adoption by our Saint should consider it under several phases—(a) from its origin to the reign of Constantine; (b) during and subsequent to his reign; (c) from the fifth to the eleventh century.

(a) *Patricius*, or Patrick, in the days of the Roman Republic and early part of the Empire signified nobility of the first rank. He was marked off from the lower grades of the community by titles, circumstances, and privileges. The

¹ *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 274-80. n. 3.

line separating the proudest noblesse in mediæval Europe from their villeins was not more sharply defined than that which divided the patrician from the common people; and even to the present day the word, true to its original meaning, is employed as the antithesis of plebeian. The patricians were an hereditary order.

(b) Constantine the Great instituted a new order of patricians. They were inferior only to consuls, and were the chiefs of the civil magistrates. The rank was conferred both on those who enjoyed the familiarity of the Emperor and on those who had grown old in the service of the Empire. They were the reputed fathers of the Emperor or Empire, but their rank was not hereditary.

(c) At the beginning of the middle ages the Patricius enters on a new phase. When the seat of power had been removed to Constantinople, and when the barbarians threatened the frontiers of the Empire, a Patricius was appointed in Africa, Rome, or Ravenna, as the Imperial representative. Particular provinces had their respective Patriciuses; they turn up in Britain and in Gaul. They constituted no order. They were to protect the frontier from the insult of barbarians, and to preserve internal tranquillity. Hence, some have derived their name from the protection (*patrocinium*) which they afforded to the citizens.

The mediæval Patricius, though inferior in most respects to those of the patrician orders, in course of time acquired kingly power. He comes up before us as the embodiment of valour and protection, but was never an ecclesiastic. The appointment, then, by the Emperor Zeno, in the year 476, of Odoacer, King of the Ostrogoths, as Patricius, and substitute for the abdicated Western Emperor, Romulus Augustulus; the appointment of Clovis, in 507, by the Emperor Anastasius, as Patricius; as well as the appointment by the Court of Constantinople, as Patricius, of Adalgisus, King of the barbarian Lombards, for the protection of the frontier against fiercer barbarians, clearly prove that the Patricius was not a name for an

ecclesiastical order.¹ When, then, we consider that the orders of patricians, as such, were swept away at the time of St. Patrick's consecration; that he willingly forfeited, as he tells in his *Confession*, his hereditary nobility for the Irish, and that no ecclesiastic was entrusted with the office of Patricius, we may rest assured that our national saint did not accept or covet the shadow of a title after he renounced the reality.

If, then, every stage in the life of our national saint be incompatible with the office of Patricius, its explanation must rest on nominal rather than real grounds. A change in name at ordination was common in St. Patrick's days. We learn from the *Book of Armagh* that when he baptised and ordained Feredach and Senach, he gave them respectively the names of "Sachellus" and "Agnus Dei."² This practice neither began nor ended with St. Patrick. This practice, grounded on human as well as mystical reasons, came down from the apostles: thus Chelil was changed into Stephen; Levi into Matthew; Saul into Paul; Jose into Barnabas; and Simon, on the authority of our Lord, was changed into Cephas. This practice, which did not begin with St. Patrick, did not end with him. Morgan (Son of the Sea) was changed into Pelagius, whose heresy our saint, before coming to Ireland, stamped out in his native Wales; Neman (Heavenly), disciple of Pelagius, was changed into Caelestius; our own Coillech (Cock) was changed into Gallus; Willibrord was changed by his Pope into Clement; and Winifred, Martyr, was changed into Boniface. Some of these changes took place on phonetic grounds. The sound of names in a barbarous dialect grated on the ear, and their horrid appearance offended the eye trained to the sweetness and combination of Greek and Roman letters. The adoption, then, of classical names was found very convenient for personal interview or epistolary correspondence. A change of name at ordination or conversion took place also on mystical grounds. A change corresponding to the transformation of the inner man

¹ Daniel, *Histor. de France*, vol. i., ad an. 507; *Histor. du bas empire*, vol. x., B. xlv.

² *Documenta de S. Patritio*, page 56, by Rev. E. Hogan, S. J.

is so natural that it always accompanied, as it does still, a religious profession. This practice so strongly recommended itself to the supernatural instincts, that Popes have given it the sanction of their example. Changes of name were also called for on moral grounds; for a name received in baptism was often associated with some pagan or unpleasant meaning, and thus jarred on the moral sense: for this reason was Succat changed into Patricius; Succat meant "God of war" or "brave in war."² Now if we were to follow in detail the fortunes of the Patricius from the days of St. Patrick till his disappearance under St. Gregory VII., we should see that valour in a defensive war was his chief characteristic.³ Just as Winifred (the Fair Countenance) was changed into Boniface, so was Succat into Patricius. This is no mere conjecture. For the venerable *Book of Armagh* assures us our national saint had four names—Cathirtiac, Magonius, Succat, and Patricius. Cathairtiac was a fourfold slave, as the *Book of Armagh* defines it. (*Quia servivit iiii domibus*.)⁴ Magonius was one who made distinguished progress (*qui clarus est*) under the tuition of St. Germanus. Succat was one (*qui est Patricius*) who is a Patricius. The two first names are glossed, but the two last are convertible terms. The Irish Scholiast makes Succat a known quantity, and the *Book of Armagh* equates it with Patricius.

Our national saint styled himself Patricius, which he owed not, as falsely stated by the Lives, to his supposed consecration at Rome, but to his change of name at his consecration by Bishop Amatus. The name of Palladius was not changed for this, if for no other reason, that it was a name canonized in the Church annals of Europe, Alexandria, and Asia. He, too, was called Patrick, in the seventh century, by the Irish, on the false supposition that he was

¹ Sergius II., in 864, is supposed by some to be the first Pope who, at coronation, changed his name.

² *Scholium on Fiacc.*, ch. iii.

³ *Bonizo ad Arnicum*.

⁴ Labbe, *Concil.*, tom. viii., p. 1128; *Bibliot. Anastasii, Vita Adriani*; De Marca, *Concordia Sacerdot. et imperii*, B. iii., ch. 11.

entitled to it by his mission and consecration immediately received from Pope Celestine. Originally the *real* grounds on which our national saint was called Patrick excluded its adoption by others; and the same exclusion was subsequently continued on the *supposed* grounds of the name in the seventh century applicable also to Palladius—namely, his consecration under special circumstances in Rome. Hence the absence of Patricks in our country till, in the twelfth century, they came to be generally believed to be Christian names. *Patrick* was a definition of a name, as logicians would say, and not of a thing: from not distinguishing between both, error followed: and as by confusion of ideas on the name *Scots*, aided by national prejudice, our North-Britain neighbours have claimed for Palladius a very long and successful mission exclusively in Scotland, which he probably never visited, so confusion about the idea of *Patricius* has led to wrong theories. Hence Mr. Skene, in his *Celtic Scotland*, Bishop Forbes, in his *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, and Father Shearman in his *Loca Patriciana*, with others, have advocated the existence of three or more Patricks as Irish Evangelizers, and questioned the claims and even the identity of our national saint. Our paper cuts the ground, at once, from these wild theories, by establishing that during the fifth century there was only one, our national apostle, really called Patrick, in connection with the history and conversion of Ireland, and that from the origin of the name, as applied to our saint, there could not have been easily a second Patrick.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

CAUSES THAT EXCUSE FROM HEARING MASS ON SUNDAYS.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—Knowing your kindness in solving the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to the clergy, I venture to ask your opinion on a case that often comes before us here in England. A poor but respectable widow woman came to me a few nights ago, and told me she felt it very much that, in order to get in to hear Mass on the Sunday she had to give her last penny at the door. She asked was *she bound to hear Mass* under the circumstances? I replied there was a free Mass at 7 a.m.; but she said it was too early; the mornings were cold; and, suffering as she did from insufficient food, going out so early might make her ill; besides, she wasn't *bound to hear the 7 o'clock Mass*; she ought to be free to hear *any Mass*.

“‘Very well, then,’ I answered, ‘there are free places at all the Masses.’ This she admitted, but objected they were ‘pens’ at the bottom of the church; that only the very poor went into them; she had always tried to keep herself decent and respectable; besides, she was only in temporary straits, and didn't want her neighbours to know it, which they assuredly would if she went into the free places. Unfortunately, the position and accommodation of the free places in our churches do cause them to be associated with a feeling of degradation, and remembering that theologians excuse persons from hearing Mass on much lighter grounds, *e. g.*, on the occasion of the publication of their banns, &c., I was silent, and promised to consider the matter.

“Put in general terms, the matter resolves itself into this:—Are many of our poor Irish people living in England bound to attend Mass, taking into consideration the circumstances in which they are placed? They have either to come to a very early Mass, or pay at the door a tax which is frequently beyond their means, or else practically degrade themselves by going into the free places. Those who know the spirit of our Irish people can easily realize that this is a thing they are very slow to do. Hence the thought comes into the minds of many, even as we have seen to those who are ready to part with their last penny if it be their duty to do so, that they cannot be bound to hear Mass under such circumstances. Whether this be the case or not, yet the fact remains, that in some parts not one in ten comes to Mass.

"It may be objected that Catholics are also bound to contribute to the support of the Church and their pastors; but *only according to their means*, and the tax on hearing Mass is often *beyond* their means.—I remain, Very Rev. Sir, your obedient servant,
 "MISS. COADJ."

Our correspondent's letter discloses a painful fact in connection with some of our poorer exiled countrymen in England—viz., their inability to attend at Sunday Mass on account of their abject poverty. "The fact remains, that in some parts not one in ten comes to Mass." This is a standing source of considerable perplexity to missionary priests, because there are so many different grades in poverty, and the theological principles governing excusing causes, though clearly stated by theologians, are in their application necessarily elastic and unprecise, so that it is often difficult to determine when a person may be expressly told that he is excused from the law; when he may be told that he is not excused from the law; and when the priest may merely *exhort* the person to go to Mass.

To come to our correspondent's question. "Are many," he asks, "of our poor Irish people living in England bound to attend Mass, taking into consideration the circumstances in which they are placed? They have either to come to a very early Mass, or pay at the door a tax which is frequently beyond their means, or else practically degrade themselves by going into the free places."

We must distinguish between the early Mass and the late Mass.

I.

Assuming that these poor people have not gone to an early Mass, are they excused from going to the late Mass, when they should pay an entrance tax, or go amongst the poor into the free places?

The general principle would be that persons who cannot afford to enter the part of the church suitable to their station in life, who cannot hear Mass without a feeling of grave, social degradation, are excused from hearing Mass. This would appear to be the case with the woman mentioned in

our correspondent's letter. "She had always tried to keep herself decent and respectable; besides, she was only in temporary straits, and did not want her neighbours to know it, which they assuredly would if she went into the free places.' Unfortunately the position and accommodation of the free places in our churches do cause them to be associated with a feeling of degradation." We think, therefore, that this woman is excused from attending the late Mass.

Is this true of the poor generally? We are of opinion that it is not. Because if, as our correspondent says, "in some parts, not one in ten comes to Mass," the poverty of the people must be well known, and hence their presence in the church in the free places could not be associated with any great feeling of personal degradation.

II.

Are poor persons who would be excused from hearing the late Mass, bound to hear the 7 o'clock?

We can apply to this question the answer of St. Liguori about women who are excused from hearing Mass through want of suitable clothing: "*Sed merito advertunt Salm., Sed., Suar., Fill., Dic., Pal., &c., non esse excusandas ab audienda missa valde mane si possunt; aut in ecclesia remota, ubi populus non concurrit*" (Lib. iii., Tract. iii., cap. i., Dub. v., n. 330.) We think, therefore, that these poor people, who know they cannot attend the late Mass, are bound to attend the early Mass, unless there is a special excusing cause from hearing even the early Mass. When Sunday morning arrives the obligation of hearing Mass is imminent, *proxime urgens*. Therefore it is not lawful without grave cause to place an obstacle to the hearing of Mass; and, moreover, there is a grave obligation of removing all impediments which would prevent the fulfilment of the Sunday obligation. Now, in the hypothesis we make, the omission of hearing the *early* Mass would be an obstacle to the fulfilment of the Sunday obligation, because we are now dealing with persons who could not go to the *late* Mass, and who would not go; consequently we think they would be bound to attend the first Mass.

Of course there may be causes to excuse from hearing even the early Mass. There would seem to be an excusing cause in the case of the person referred to by our correspondent. "She said the 7 o'clock Mass was too early; that the mornings were cold; and that, suffering as she was from insufficient food, coming out so early might make her ill."

We consider, therefore, that any grave cause would excuse persons from the obligation of hearing the late Mass; but if the inconvenience could be avoided by going to an early Mass, or to another church, the persons concerned would be bound to assist at the early Mass in their own church, or to go and hear Mass in the other Church.

Finally, we think that in a Protestant country like England it would be generally advisable to urge and exhort the poor to assist at Mass, even though they may be excused from the obligation of hearing Mass; otherwise they and their children would be deprived of religious instruction; and, absenting themselves from the public worship of the Church, and the public meetings of the faithful, they may gradually neglect their other religious duties and lapse into indifference, or fall away from the Catholic Church.

A QUESTION ABOUT DUPLICATION.

“VERY REV. FATHER—Some priests in this diocese are anxious to know have bishops jurisdiction to allow a priest to duplicate on Sundays and Holidays of Obligation while there is another priest living in the locality, not under censure, but retired from the mission, and with permission to say Mass on any day at his option, and prepared to say a community Mass on obligation days.

“SACERDOS.”

We think that bishops have not power to permit a priest to duplicate, if another priest can be had, fully qualified and willing to celebrate one of the public Masses. It is the province of the bishop to declare when more than one Mass is necessary for a parish; and also when there is at hand a suitable priest to offer the second Mass. Now, we can

conceive cases where a bishop would allow a retired priest to celebrate Mass privately, and still regard him as unfit to celebrate Mass before the people. In these cases there could be no doubt about the lawfulness of duplication. Priests, therefore, should refer cases of doubt to their bishop, and abide by his decision.

DANIEL COGHILAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE ASSISTANTS AT A BISHOP'S PRIVATE MASS.

CHAPTER I.—THE PREPARATIONS.

On the plane of the sanctuary, in front of the altar, is placed a *prie-dieu*, or genuflectory, on or beside which are laid the book called the *Canon* and the bugia. On the credence is placed the chalice, prepared in the usual way; the cruets, with wine and water; a basin, ewer, and towel, the latter on a silver salver or plate. The charts are not put on the altar; but the missal, with its stand, occupies the usual position at the epistle corner. Four candles are generally lighted; but, on the less solemn feasts, two suffice.¹ On the middle of the altar are laid the vestments for Mass, of the colour required by the Mass which the bishop intends to celebrate. The maniple may be with the other vestments, or it may be on the credence, or on one of the steps of the altar on the gospel side. If the bishop wishes to say a Requiem Mass, the maniple should be in its proper order among the other vestments. The only episcopal ornaments worn by a bishop celebrating a private Mass are the ring and pectoral cross.²

¹ *Ceremonial*, c. 29, n. 4.

² *Ibid.*, n. 3.

CHAPTER II.—THE VESTING, AND MASS WITH TWO CHAPLAINS.

SECTION I.—THE VESTING.

A bishop may celebrate Mass like a simple priest, with the assistance of a single mass-server; but it is becoming that, in addition to the ordinary servers, he should be assisted by one or two chaplains.¹ These should be priests,² if possible, or at least they should be in Holy Orders, and they should be vested in soutane and surplice. The use of the stole is forbidden to the assistants of a bishop's private Mass, unless in case one of them has to take the ciborium from the tabernacle, or replace it in the tabernacle. While doing this, and only then, is he permitted to wear the stole; for then only does the nature of his functions require that he should wear it.

It is the duty of the chaplains to see that the preparations are all made, and everything in readiness before the arrival of the bishop. When he is approaching the church, they go to the entrance to meet him, unless he is accompanied or met by the pastor of the church. As he enters they salute him, and one of them hands him the aspersory, with the usual *oscula*; then, placing themselves at his right and left, they accompany him to the *prie-dieu*. The one on the right opens the canon at the preparation for Mass, and places or holds it before the bishop; the other holds the bugia. The servers, meantime, remain kneeling beside the credence.

When the bishop has finished his preparation, the chaplains carry the canon and bugia to the credence, and return immediately to their places beside the bishop. One of them takes the mozetta, or mantelletta, which he lays on the *prie-dieu*, or in some other convenient place; the other removes the pectoral cross, and, having presented it to the bishop to be kissed, he lays it reverently on the altar beside the vestments. The first, or more worthy of the chaplains, takes the towel from the credence, and approaches the bishop

¹ "Ideo valde conveniens est ut duos saltem capellanos cottis mundis indutos apud se ministrantes haberet (Episcopus)." (*Ibid.*, n. 2.)

² Wapelhorst, n. 76, and authors generally.

in company with the two servers, carrying the basin and ewer. The second chaplain removes the ring from the bishop's finger, or receives it from him if he prefers to draw it off himself. The two servers kneel in front of the bishop; and, while one of them pours the water on his hands, the other holds the basin to receive it. The first chaplain presents the towel, and receives it again after the bishop has dried his hands. If he is not a priest, he presents and receives the towel on bended knee.¹

The chaplains next proceed to vest the bishop. The second carries the vestments from the altar and hands them to the first, who puts them on, or assists the bishop in putting them on. Before presenting the amice, maniple, pectoral cross, and stole, to be kissed by the bishop, the chaplain kisses them himself; not on, but beside the place where the bishop should kiss them.² The maniple is not put on until the *Indulgentiam*, unless for a Requiem Mass, when it is put on at the usual time. The pectoral cross is put on before the stole.

While the first chaplain is arranging the chasuble on the bishop, the second takes the canon from the credence, and places it against the gradus, in the centre of the altar, open at the prayer *Oramus te Domine*.

SECTION II.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF MASS TO THE CONSECRATION.

The First Chaplain kneels at the bishop's right during the prayers which are said at the foot of the altar. When the bishop says *Oremus*, before ascending the altar, he rises, and, slightly raising with his left hand the front of the bishop's vestments, accompanies him up to the altar, keeping a pace, or a half-pace, in his rear. He goes at once to the missal, receives the bugia from one of the servers, and, when the bishop approaches, he points out to him the *Introit*, and turns the leaves if necessary. Still holding the bugia in his right hand, he follows the bishop to the centre of the altar, and remains at his right during the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. He responds

¹ Wapelhorst, n. 77, 3.

² *Idem*, *ibid.* 4. De Carpo, pars. ii., n. 121.

to the *Kyrie*; but does not recite the *Gloria* along with the bishop. At the end of the *Gloria*, he returns to the missal and points out the prayers, the Epistle, &c. These having been recited, he carries the bugia to the gospel side, where he stands at the left of the bishop. When the Gospel has been read, he lays the bugia on the altar, raises the missal, and points out to the bishop the beginning of the Gospel. He then moves the missal towards the centre of the altar, takes up the bugia, and stands at the bishop's left during the Creed, and afterwards points out the Offertory. At the washing of the fingers, he lays down the bugia, and goes to the epistle corner to present the towel.¹ After the washing of the fingers, he returns to the missal, takes up the bugia, and points out the Secrets. He says the responses before the Preface, inclines moderately at the *Sanctus*, and at the *Memento*, laying down the bugia, he steps back a little on the predella.² The *Memento* over, he returns to his place, takes up the bugia again, and turns the leaves for the bishop.

The *Second Chaplain*, holding the maniple in his hands, kneels at the bishop's left from the beginning of Mass to the *Indulgentiam*. He then rises, kisses the maniple near the cross, puts it on the bishop's left arm, and kisses his hand. He kneels during the versicles which follow the *Indulgentiam*, rises at the *Oremus*, and, being somewhat behind the bishop, and raising the front of his vestments with the right hand, he accompanies him up the altar steps. During the Introit he stands at the left of the bishop, with his hands joined. In the same way he stands during the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, the prayers, Epistle, &c. He removes the book for the Gospel, and, having given the responses at the beginning of the Gospel and saluted the bishop, he goes to his place, which is now at the bishop's right.

If the Creed is not said, he goes during the Gospel to bring the chalice to the altar; but if the Creed is said, he need not leave the altar until after the *Et Homo factus*

¹ Wapelhorst, n. 78, 12. De Carpo, *ibid.*

² *Idem.*, *ibid.* 17.

³ De Conny, l. 3, chap. 5, would have both chaplains to rise at the *Indulgentiam*, and remain standing.

est. Having brought the chalice to the altar he places it at the epistle side, spreads the corporal, removes the veil, which he either lays folded on the altar, or gives to one of the servers to carry to the credence, and having placed the pall against the gradus, he presents the paten with the host to the bishop, first kissing the edge of the paten, and then the bishop's hand. He then wipes the chalice with the purificator, takes the wine-cruet, which a server will have brought to the altar, and pours some wine into the chalice. Then taking the water-cruet, he holds it towards the bishop, saying: *Benedicite Pater Reverendissime*, and puts a little into the chalice. Having wiped away any drops that may be adhering to the interior of the chalice, he presents it to the bishop with the usual kisses. He neither recites the words with the bishop during the offering of the chalice, nor supports the chalice, or the arm of the bishop. When the chalice is placed on the corporal he covers it with the pall, and places the purificator over the paten.

At the *Veni Sanctificator* he removes the canon towards the epistle corner for the *Lurabo*, receives the ewer and basin from a server, pours water on the bishop's fingers, and kneels to receive his blessing. He moves the canon back again to the centre, and may hold it while the bishop is reading the prayer, *Suscipe Sancte Trinitas*. When the bishop has said the Secrets, the chaplain removes the missal from the stand, and puts the canon in its place, and having returned to the right of the bishop he recites the responses before the preface. He inclines moderately at the *Sanctus*; at the *Memento*, he steps back a pace on the predella,¹ but returns to his place as soon as the *Memento* is finished.

The Servers kneel at the right and left of the chaplains, at the beginning of Mass, and say the responses with them in a subdued tone. If the chaplains permit them, they may transfer the missal and bugia before the Gospel. During the Gospel they stand in their places at the foot of the altar. At the offertory one of them brings the cruets to and from the altar; the other assists him to bring the ewer, basin, and

¹ Wapelhorst, n. 78, 17.

towel for the washing of the fingers. The bell is not rung at the *Sanctus*, but immediately after the *Sanctus* has been said the servers go to the sacristy or credence for two torches, which they bring, lighting, to the altar.¹ They kneel with their torches on the first step on the gospel and epistle sides, and remain so until after the consecration.

SECTION III.—FROM THE CONSECRATION TO THE END.

The First Chaplain at the *Qui pridie* lays the bugia on the altar, genuflects, and, retiring a little, kneels on the edge of the predella. At both elevations he inclines profoundly, at the same time raising the border of the chasuble. After the elevation of the chalice he rises, genuflects on the predella with the bishop, resumes his place at the missal, and takes up the bugia. During the *Memento defunctorum* the bugia is laid on the altar, and the chaplain retires slightly, but still remains on the predella. He genuflects along with the bishop, and, being moderately inclined, he strikes his breast at the *Domine non sum dignus*, and remains profoundly inclined during the Communion under both kinds.²

While the bishop is taking the ablutions, the first chaplain places the canon against the gradus in the middle of the altar, and puts the missal back on its stand. If there are no servers, or if they are otherwise engaged, he transfers the missal and bugia to the epistle side, genuflecting as he passes the centre of the altar. At the washing of the hands he assists, as at the *Lavabo*, drawing off, and putting on the bishop's ring, if the bishop permits him, and presenting him

¹ If there are no clerks to carry the torches during the consecration, their place may be supplied by two large candlesticks, placed conveniently on the altar steps, to the right and left. The second chaplain should take charge of lighting and extinguishing them.

² If communion is to be given by the bishop, the first chaplain, after the consumption of the Precious Blood, kneels on the edge of the predella, at the gospel side, and says the *Confiteor*. The second, meantime, takes the ciborium from the tabernacle and uncovers it with the necessary genuflections, and then kneels on the edge of the predella while the bishop says *Miseratur* and *Indulgentiam, Ecce Agnus Dei*, &c. Both chaplains then rise, and genuflect with the bishop. The first takes the paten, which he holds under the chin of each communicant; the second stands at the bishop's left.

with the towel. At the Communion and Post-communion he stands by the missal at the bishop's right, holding the bugia, and pointing out the prayers. At the blessing before the last Gospel he genuflects on the edge of the predella, and during the Gospel holds the bugia at the bishop's right. He descends the altar with the bishop, and responds to the prayers. These finished, he genuflects *in plano* at the bishop's right, unvests him, puts on the mozetta, or mantelletta, and the pectoral cross, and kneels at his left, holding the bugia while he makes his thanksgiving. He afterwards accompanies him to the door of the church or to the sacristy.

The Second Chaplain kneels on the edge of the predella at the beginning of the consecration, having first uncovered the ciborium, if there is one to be consecrated. At the elevation of the Host he inclines profoundly, holds up the chasuble, and rings the bell, if there is no one else to do it. The bell is rung three times for each consecration—at each of the genuflections, before and after the consecration, and at the elevation. When the bishop genuflects after the elevation of the Host, the second chaplain rises, uncovers the chalice, and again resumes the kneeling posture. After the elevation of the chalice he rises to cover it, and genuflects along with the bishop.

He continues now to stand at the bishop's right, uncovering and covering the chalice when necessary, and genuflecting each time the bishop genuflects. At the *Memento defunctorum*, as at the *Memento vivorum*, he retires a little on the predella, but resumes his place again as soon as the *Memento* has been made. At the end of the *Pater Noster* he wipes the paten with the purificator, and hands it to the bishop with the usual *oscula*. At the *Domine non sum dignus* he inclines moderately, and strikes his breast at each repetition, and during the consumption of the Host and chalice he remains profoundly inclined. At the proper time he ministers the ablutions, and immediately afterwards the water for washing the hands. Having returned the ewer and basin to the credence, or to one of the servers, he goes to the gospel side of the altar, genuflecting when passing the centre, and, taking the chalice, wipes it with the

purificator, covers it, folds the corporal, which he puts in the burse, places the burse on the chalice, and carries all to the credence, and returns directly to the bishop's left.

If the last Gospel is the beginning of St. John, the second chaplain removes the canon from the centre as soon as the bishop has said the prayer *Placeat*. If another Gospel is read, he transfers the missal. In both cases he kneels on the edge of the predella, or on one of the steps for the blessing. During the reading of the Gospel he remains at the bishop's left, he holds the canon when it is used, so that the bishop may conveniently read from it, and does not genuflect at *Verbum caro factum est*. After the Gospel he accompanies the bishop to the foot of the altar, says the responses to the prayers, helps to unvest the bishop, and assists with the canon during the thanksgiving, as during the preparation. The thanksgiving finished, he escorts the bishop to the door of the church or to the sacristy.

The Servers after the consecration carry their torches to the sacristy, extinguish them, and return to their places at the foot of the altar. They repeat the responses in a low tone, carry the cruet, &c., to the altar for the ablutions and washing of the hands, and having received them back again from the chaplains, replace them on the credence. If permitted, they may transfer the missal or canon for the last Gospel.

CHAPTER III.—THE VESTING AND MASS WITH ONLY ONE CHAPLAIN.

The duties just marked out for the two chaplains at a bishop's private Mass, may in case of necessity be discharged by one. When there is only one chaplain, then he will meet the bishop at the entrance to the church, salute him, present him with the aspersory with the usual *oscula*, and conduct him to the genuflectory. While the bishop makes his preparation, he holds the bugia, and turns the leaves of the canon. He assists him to remove the mozetta, or mantelletta, and the pectoral cross; the former he lays on the genuflectory, the latter on the altar. He presents the towel, receives the bishop's cap, kissing first his hand, and then the

cap, and finally assists him to vest. One of the servers may carry the vestments from the altar and hand them to the chaplain, who puts them on the bishop, kissing those which the bishop kisses before presenting them to him. He then places the canon standing against the gradus in the middle of the altar, open at the prayer *Oramus*.

At the beginning of Mass he kneels on the epistle side, and at the *Indulgentiam* puts on the maniple. When the bishop goes up to the altar he raises the front of the alb, and accompanies him. He goes at once to the missal, takes up the bugia, and points out the *Introit*.

Up to the Gospel his place is at the bishop's right, where, holding the bugia, he says the responses, turns the leaves of the missal, and points out the prayers, &c. Before the Gospel he transfers the missal and bugia, or has them transferred by the servers.

Towards the end of the Gospel, or of the Creed, when it is said, he brings the chalice with its appurtenances to the altar, spreads the corporal and presents the paten with the host, taking care to kiss the paten, and the bishop's hand. He wipes the chalice, pours wine into it, presents the water to the bishop, saying, *Benedicite Pater Reverendissime*, and having put a little water into the chalice, and wiped away any drops that may be adhering to the interior, he presents the chalice to the bishop, kissing the chalice and the bishop's hand. He covers the chalice with the pall at the proper time.

At the washing of the fingers he presents the towel, and then crosses over to the gospel side. Here he assists at the missal, and holds the bugia whenever the nature of his other duties permits. After the Secrets have been said, he removes the missal from the stand, and puts the canon in its place.

At the *Qui pridie*, before the consecration, he kneels on the edge of the predella, a little towards the epistle side. At the elevation of the Host he inclines, profoundly raises the chasuble with his left hand, and rings the bell with his right, unless this latter duty has been entrusted to one of the servers. He rises to uncover the chalice, kneels and inclines during the elevation of the chalice, and again rises to cover it, after

which he genuflects with the bishop, and goes back to his place at the missal, genuflecting on his arrival.

Towards the end of the prayer *Nobis quoque*, he lays down the bugia, and goes to the epistle side, to cover and uncover the chalice when necessary.

He inclines moderately, and strikes his breast at the *Domine non sum dignus*, and inclines profoundly during the Communion. He ministers the ablutions, and afterwards the towel at the washing of the hands, and having put the missal back on the stand, and the canon against the gradus, he wipes and covers the chalice, folds the corporal, puts it into the burse, and carries all to the credence. On resuming his place at the missal he takes up the bugia, and points out the Post-communions. He kneels for the blessing, holds the canon during the reading of the last Gospel; but if the last Gospel is read from the missal, he may hold the bugia at the bishop's left.

After the Gospel he descends with the bishop to the foot of the altar, kneels, and says the responses, assists the bishop to unvest and to put on the pectoral cross and mozetta, and remains with him at the genuflectory while he makes his thanksgiving.

THE "AD LIBITUM" PRAYER IN THE MASS.

"On Semidoubles, when the third prayer in the Mass is *ad libitum*, may the prayer for the Bishop be said in the third place? If so, can the prayer *Pro papa* be selected?

"SUBSCRIBER."

Both questions must be answered affirmatively. After the prayer *Pro seipso sacerdote*, which is generally recommended to priests for the *ad libitum* place, no more appropriate prayer could be said than that for the Bishop. Indeed, when celebrating in presence of his Bishop a priest should give the preference to the latter over the former of these two prayers.¹ The prayer *Pro papa*, with the name of the Bishop inserted at the letter *N*, is the proper prayer to say for a Bishop on any occasion.²

D. O'LOAN.

¹ De Herdt. T. 1, n. 83, 5.

Ibid, n. 74.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE LEAKAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

“REV. SIR —Very edifying, indeed, are all the remarks I have ever seen made upon the leakage of the Church in Great Britain ; and especially edifying do they become when made, not by the theorist in his study, screened off from the wear and tear of missionary life, but by a priest like ‘S.V.,’ whose title, ‘Missionary Rector,’ points him out as sharing in the burden of the day, and of the heats. For this reason, it is not without a sense of delicacy I venture to make a few comments on ‘S.V.’s article in the last Number of the I. E. RECORD. All pious suggestions are edifying after a fashion ; and this is the tribute of my praise to all well-meaning speculators who, in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, or at the meetings of the Catholic Truth Society, would put additional burdens on other people’s shoulders. But a missionary rector is qualified, not merely to be pious, but also to be useful ; and ‘S.V.’ may rest assured that a ‘Missionary Coadjutor’—the official, albeit grandiose, title of his humble servant—is mindful of that, and most mindful of it when his differences with ‘S.V.’ are most accentuated.

“I.

“1. Now, is ‘S.V.,’ or anybody else, prepared to say that the leakage in Great Britain is abnormal, *i.e.* is it greater, relatively, than the leakage in France, Belgium, Germany, and other manufacturing or quasi-manufacturing countries ? I ask this for information’s sake, because I can bring no personal experience to bear upon the answer. I read the papers, however, and the impressions left upon me are not unfavourable to Great Britain. This proves nothing positive, it may be said, and possibly it is not entirely to the point ; but to this extent it is to the point that, until we are assured that the leakage of the Church here is abnormally disproportionate, it is out of place to be constantly whining forth into pity or despair. In this connection, I beg leave to put two questions : (a) Is there no inflow to compensate for the leakage ? (b) Is there any other country in the world where the Church is all but exclusively supported by that very class among whom ‘S.V.’ dreads the most numerous losses to the faith ?

“2. But granting that the leakage is greater than it need be, where does the fault lie? ‘S.V.,’ in reply, points to the pastors of the flock. Such a reply is rather hard upon the pastors, coming, as it does, from one of themselves. For me to blindly champion the British clergy would discord somewhat with my purpose; for, while I very sincerely admire them all round—pardon me for having put it so patronizingly—I have a little bone to pick with them, as will be seen later on. But really ‘S.V.’s reply, in the sense he intended it, finds but ludicrous support in his reasons. Accounting for the loss of our lads, he says, in effect: ‘boys fall away much more than girls, because, during school hours, the girls’ white pinafores attract the priest oftener among them. There is nothing attractive for him in the ragged clothes, rough hair, &c., &c., &c., of the untidy boys.’ Now, that a girls’ school is necessarily neater than a boys’ school is not convincingly clear—nay, it cannot be, for facts are stubborn things; and this is a fact, that some boys’ schools are neater than some girls’ schools. Admitting, however, ‘S.V.’s assumption, surely all priests of his acquaintance are not so wanting in virility as he states in his article? It only shows how hard-up he was for a reason when he had to embody one in a suggestion which he will pardon me for characterizing as silly. Then, again—I am not quoting him word for word—‘pious girls are numerically greater than pious boys.’ Granted; but it is hardly logical to deduce therefrom that priests pay more attention to the former than to the latter. Great Britain is not unique in this respect. There is no country in the world in which there is not more piety among the ‘devout sex,’ with all its weaknesses, than among ours. Possibly in Ireland, where there are few or none of the influences to which ‘S.V.’ attributes the loss of our boys, this difference is even more marked than in England. Two years ago, on a great festival of our Lady, I remember I gave Communion, after Mass, in a city church in Ireland, to about 200 persons, 170 of whom were women. I dare say, if ‘S.V.’ were in my shoes, he would have prepared a club right-off for the men; but he would hardly have carried his proposal among the priests of the district, who were very sensibly of opinion that the phenomenon was to be explained on psychological rather than strategical grounds.

“Well, I have anticipated my friend’s great panacea for the evil of leakage. ‘Let every parish build a club.’ Heaven forbid that

I should minimize, irresponsibly, the good a club may be made to do: but, apart altogether from the difficulties that usually stand in the way of club erection, I say this much deliberately, that, unless a priest can manage to be always on the premises, and devote himself exclusively to it, you might just as usefully set about building a ruin as a club. I am ashamed to have to speak so often in the first person; but I cannot help saying that I know a workingmen's mission where there has been a club erected at considerable personal expense to the rector, and, for the reason I have suggested, it has turned out a blank failure. 'Just so,' I can fancy 'S.V.' replying; 'but why did not the priests look better to it?' There was a time, and that not very long ago, when those good priests would have bowed their blushing necks under this rebuke. Just now, they bear it like a brazen Medusa, and calmly reply, 'they couldn't.' On behalf of those priests, and many others like them, I am glad of any opportunity of protesting against any further demands upon them for 'more zeal.' They are surfeited with labours, as it is—obligatory labours which absorb all their time and energy, and which has choked away whatever zeal is in them, if choice be of the essence of zeal. The fact is, the missionary work of England weighs every unevenly and very unequally upon her clergy. A goodly few men of calm consciences, precise manners, even temper, and correct deportment—occupy themselves exclusively in sighing for the conversion of England. Then, the missions which are most populous; the missions which teem with a poor Catholic population; the missions in which hands are stretched out from morning till night, imploring food for soul and body; the missions which need a club most—are precisely those missions in which the priestly staff is scantiest. Just now I have before my mind two missions; and the instance is far from unique. In one of them there are 3,000 people, exclusively of the labouring class. There are, besides, a large hospital and a workhouse. Throughout the year there are four evening services—exclusive of Saturday's confessions—per week, with a sermon at three of them. Four Masses every Sunday, with a discourse at three of them, besides the children's catechism and the baptisms; and, to meet all the demands of this mission, there are just two priests. The other mission has hardly 2,000 souls, all told; and these of a status with which neither want nor religious ignorance is usually associated. To meet the demands of this flock, there is a staff of something approaching

six priests. Perhaps this state of affairs is as necessary as it is anomalous. I dare say it is, or it would not be the case. But does it not seem rather hard that, while any one of these six may, whenever he needs it, go through the process of 'taking a rest,' the other two cannot look forward even to a summer holiday as a certainty, but have to trust to chance for it. Yet these two are just the kind of priests whom, by the very nature of the case, 'S.V.' and others before him, ask to give a paltry two hours more a week to 'our boys.' So far I have been destructive: let me now become constructive.

" 11.

" 4. God alone it is that can keep the harvest sound, as it is God alone that gives the increase. Growing out of this remark, my first suggestion is, that less trust should be put in the pious fads and hobbies of human origin than in the time-honoured prescriptions of the Church. A superfluous remark, you will say. Well, let us see. Few laws of the Church are severer than that by which she forbids mixed marriages. Do the clergy of England, in their relations with their people, endeavour to impress the terrible severity of that law upon their minds? Not at all. Mixed marriages are arranged for as a matter of course; the dispensations are asked for and obtained as a matter of course; the contracting parties look upon their future union so much as a matter of course, that they seem mystified when told of the necessity of a dispensation in their case; and the priest who would administer a rebuke to the Catholic party on the choice of his Protestant partner, would be spoken of as 'a very funny poor man, to be sure.'

" I have not heard yet of any instance where a proposed mixed marriage was prevented by the intervention of the Church's strong right arm. *Ad Evitandum Scandalum* is the stock and stereotyped reason advanced for the dispensation; and the priest who would dare to defend the thesis that it is better to permit an occasional scandal of the kind assumed (I advisedly use the word *assumed*), than that the power of the Church should lapse into paralysis, would be laughed out of court. None the less is it a fact that the arm of the Church, in respect of mixed marriages, is paralyzed in England.

" Again, hardly half the working population go to Confession before receiving Matrimony, and the clergy make no noise over it. They reserve all their vigour, I presume, for the offspring,

whom they are determined to save, because they will build clubs. If the parents had been married in the grace of God, my friend 'S.V.' would be spared an amount of anxiety about the children.

"I pause briefly on another well-known fact: that priests in England have not the smallest hesitation in marrying persons from districts other than their own. The people know this too, unfortunately, and but too often avail themselves of it, in order to escape a possible scolding from their own pastors. The evils of such a system are manifest. I need not parade them. Here's just one instance: Some time ago, a Protestant man and a Catholic woman, both belonging to our district, arranged with a neighbouring priest for their marriage in his church. They passed themselves off as his people, and gave addresses which would make them inhabitants of his mission. The addresses were, of course, false. Will it be believed, that not a step was taken by that priest, nor by any of his colleagues, to verify the parties' statements; that, although the banns were published, with the false addresses, for three successive Sundays, not even the impediment of *disparitas cultus* came under his cognizance; that this Protestant and Catholic were to be married without the dispensation, and that the marriage would have so taken place had I not heard of it, and stopped it on the very eve of the day appointed for it?

"5. Then, akin to all this is the compromising attitude of some priests in the administration of Baptism to children of mixed marriages. To my own certain knowledge, a Protestant was allowed to act as sponsor to a child of a mixed marriage; and the reason given by the priest allowing it was, that the Protestant father was a 'good sort of chap,' and it would not pay to offend him. The said priest had done long and noble work in the ministry. So had another who, in a responsible position at a Conference, really could see no harm in churching Protestant mothers!—nay, that to refuse the poor creatures that consolation would be a want of charity; and that, for thirty years and more, he had, in this respect at all events, been a fervent devotee of the Queen and Mistress of all Virtues.

"6. Let us diminish the quantity and improve the quality of our sermons. It is unfair to a priest, in a busy mission, that he should have to preach twice and three times a week; and it is, if possible, more unfair to his people. He can preach but very sorry twaddle when he has to preach so often, and, none the less,

has he to put aside, wholly or in part, the practical work of house-visitation, in order to make some preparation for a bad sermon.

"7. Then, there is that system of sensational advertising, by reason of which those churches with a central position in our great cities eat up the congregations of their meaner neighbours. A priest in Slumland can never be sure that Thomas or Teresa was at Mass last Sunday; for, sure enough, they were not at their own church. But wasn't there a string band, and a celebrated singer from the Opera Company, and a sermon on 'Darwinism Metaphysically Dissected,' and a member of the Corporation in state—all at the Church of the Three Wise Men? How could any fluttering bosom resist such attractions? Of course he saw it all in *The Universe* or *The Catholic Times*. Really, some of those advertisements are *not* edifying at their best, and often the puffing in them would do credit to a soap syndicate.

"8. And while we will ever pray for England's conversion, let us beware of that toadyism to converts—whether lay or cleric—to which we are somewhat prone. God forbid that we should diminish by a hair's breadth the credit due to many of them for the sacrifices they have made; but it is dangerous to imbue them with the idea that, in becoming converts, they have patronized the Catholic Church.

"9. Finally, let those priests whose minds and bodies, by reason of the peculiar necessities of their missions, are in a continuous state of strain all the year round, be assured of a month's rest at summer, no less than their more favoured, and, if you like, their more deserving brothers. Charity and utility commend it. No man earns his holiday better than the hard-worked, seven-days-in-the-week priest in the slums of Liverpool, Manchester, or London; and it is only cant that would blame his selfishness in seeking it. Unfortunately, however, it is too often a case of seeking and not finding; or, if found, it turns out not to be worth the tremendous trouble of the search. The chief hardship in these cases is the prospective uncertainty of an annual rest. The priest who labours under it is deprived of a sustaining influence which is beyond appreciating. The problem of how to assure a month's holiday every year to every working priest is not, one would say, a very difficult one to solve, and its satisfactory solution would prevent many breakdowns in the health of our clergy, and would supply, in their increased vigour, a powerful check to leakage.

“To recapitulate: Let us trust in prayer more, and in strategy less, and in our treatment of the people, let us manifest a disposition to believe the Church’s way a wiser way than our own. Should this fail, we shall then try Clubs.

“A MISSIONARY CO-ADJUTOR.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE POPE AND IRELAND. CONTAINING NEWLY DISCOVERED HISTORICAL FACTS CONCERNING THE FORGED BULLS ATTRIBUTED TO POPE ADRIAN IV. AND ALEXANDER III. By Stephen J. M'Cormick, Editor of *The San Francisco Monitor*. Benziger Brothers, 1889.

THIS is a curious, indeed an extraordinary book. It passes in review the relations of the Roman Pontiff with his Irish children ever since the date of the alleged *Bull of Adrian* to the issue of the *Parnell Rescript*, and the writer finds nothing but paternal kindness, and filial affection, all along the line. It is a review of a book written by James G. Maguire, Judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco. And, taking as specimens of “Judge Maguire’s” reasoning the extracts given in this book, we think it would have been just as well to let the judge’s ridiculous production make its way to Grubb-street unnoticed, for such malign rubbish does not need serious refutation. However, as a refutation, Mr. M'Cormick’s work is thorough and complete. He goes over the whole ground minutely, and clearly has spared no labour to show how baseless are the statements of his antagonist. Mr. M'Cormick undoubtedly means well, and has done good service in putting into popular form all the facts and arguments bearing on his subjects. But his facts are not “new,” and his arrangement is not good. The book is made up principally of a series of newspaper articles, and the *disjecta membra* are not well put together. The result is, that the book is wanting in unity, and its argument has not that logical force which the facts warrant. We think the last word—certainly the last useful word—has been said in this controversy by Cardinal Moran. He has put the arguments against the genuineness of Adrian’s

Bull in the strongest possible light, though the present writer believes that mystery hangs round it still. It is a historical puzzle, destined, we think, to remain so; and a more useful work than its discussion would, we think, be to impress upon every Catholic, what every enlightened Catholic already knows, that no Catholic principle whatever is involved in the issue of the controversy. Whether Adrian's Bull be genuine or a forgery is a matter with which Catholic faith is not, and with which Catholic sentiment ought not to be, in the smallest degree concerned.

J. M.

TRUE DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By the Blessed Grignon de Montfort. Translated from the French. By Father Faber. London: Burns & Oates.

THE fourth edition of this admirable little book has been published with a preface by the Bishop of Salford, and a letter strongly recommending it to his clergy and people. When the work first appeared in England it was attacked by Dr. Pusey in his famous *Eirenicon*, but was ably defended by Dr. Ward in the *Dublin Review*. It is a safe guide to solid and earnest devotion, and is particularly suited to the requirements of the month of May.

FATHER HENRY GARNET AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT. By Rev. John Hungerford Pollen, S.J.

THE ALLEGED ANTIQUITY OF ANGLICANISM. By Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1889.

THESE excellent pamphlets are both issued by the Catholic Truth Society, and are well calculated to promote the aid of that most useful society. Fr. Pollen discusses at considerable length, and with great ability, the alleged connection of Fr. Garnet with the Gunpowder Plot, unravelling most conclusively the web of calumny which has been woven round the martyred Jesuit's name. He says: "Our object is to show that his intercourse with the conspirators did not in the very faintest degree involve him in their guilt, and that he had no knowledge of their design outside the sacred tribunal of Penance." (*Introduction*, page 1.) This object Fr. Pollen has fully attained. The pamphlet is highly interesting and useful.

In *The Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism*, Fr. S. Smith discusses the claim set up by Lord Selborne for the Anglican Establishment: that it represents the ancient English Church of St.

Augustine. In his *Defence of the Church of England against Dis-establishment*, Lord Selborne's great anxiety is to secure to his co-religionists the loaves and fishes of establishment. But to do this with any show of decency it was necessary to set up a claim to the inheritance of true doctrine. Fr. Sydney Smith, who shows no anxiety to disturb the possessors of the loaves and fishes, meets by a direct negative the claim set up for them by Lord Selborne; and, by an array of facts indisputable, shows that in the religious history of England, prior to the so-called Reformation, there is nothing whatever to give colour to that claim. The pamphlet is full of most interesting matter: it is excellent in design, logical in execution, and, as a refutation of Lord Selborne's theory, it leaves nothing to be desired. It is thorough, complete, conclusive.

J. M.

IRISH FAIRY TALES. By Edmund Leamy, M.P. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS is a charming little book, written in truly poetic prose. Mr. Leamy was already well before the public as a prominent barrister and member of Parliament, but nothing could be more different from the thundering platform orator than the individual that is revealed to us in these pages. His exquisite tales are narrated in a most interesting, graceful style, and in such well-balanced and polished language, that we imagine he must have carefully studied Fénelon. He has rendered a real service to the young by giving them those pretty stories, gathered from the rich treasures of Celtic romance, which would seem to be more valued and utilized in other countries than in Ireland itself. The correct language, the varied vocabulary, the completeness of each thought in every phrase, together with the vivid interest of the subject, and its artistic treatment, are just what young people require. They impress and educate the young mind more than any amount of dry rules. The book is well brought out, and very amusingly illustrated. We congratulate the author on what we consider a real literary success.

CONFERENCES OF FATHER AGOSTINO DA MONTEFELTRO. Translated from the Italian. By Charles Aubrey Ansell. London : Thomas Baker, Soho-square.

SINCE the death of Father Ventura no Italian preacher has succeeded in bringing his countrymen so completely under the sway of his eloquence as Father Agostino da Montefeltro. The

Italian newspapers tell us that there is something exceedingly attractive in the presence and manner of the preacher himself, and that what is said gains much of its power from the striking and effective way in which it is presented, and from the magnetic influence of the orator. In reading over the excellent English version of the first series of Father Agostino's sermons we can well believe, that when delivered with the full surroundings of the occasion, they must have been very effective. There are passages that even to the simple reader are extremely impressive. Some of those great truths of philosophy, which stir the soul of man to its very depths, are here imparted in a most original and telling style. The phrases are often crude and badly connected; there is none of the natural sequence and flowing beauty throughout the whole discourse which we admire so much in the conferences of Lacordaire; still less of the closely-reasoned and logical power with which Father Monsabré held his audience captive for so many years. Yet, Father Agostino has a power of his own. He constantly says something striking, something which is likely to remain, and to set people thinking. He puts old things in a new and attractive form. Often in the midst of commonplaces we come on a passage of real beauty and eloquence. There is a good deal in each sermon, and preachers in the English tongue may find them, perhaps, more useful for *practical work* than discourses wrought in more finished style.

CATECHISM OF THE CHILD OF MARY.

HERE is just the little book for the Child of Mary; indeed, for all Catholic children who are old enough to be able to read. It is full of the most practical information, conveyed in the form of question and answer, and in the simplest language. It travels over the duties of a Child of Mary in every relation of life—her daily duties at home, in school, at recreation, in company, and when alone; her duties to religion, her private devotions; in fact, it mirrors the supernatural life of the good Catholic child. The soundness of the teaching it contains may be fully relied on, as it has no fewer than seven Episcopal Imprimaturs, including those of Cardinal Manning and the four Archbishops of Ireland. The little book consists of over 100 pages, is neatly printed, and sells for 1s. We recommend it strongly to the Children of Mary.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1890.

THE ENGLISH ESTIMATE OF DANTE.

THERE was scarcely any country in Europe outside of Italy in which the influence of Dante was felt so soon, or in which his merit was so fully acknowledged, as in England. Chaucer, who was born only a few years after the death of the great Florentine poet, was the contemporary of Boccaccio and of Petrarch. Having been sent by King Edward III. on a state message to the Duke of Milan, he made the personal acquaintance of the latter of these writers, and through him got access to the works of Boccaccio. On his return to England he also brought with him a manuscript of Dante's writings. Hence, although *The Canterbury Tales* are modelled on the outlines of the *Decamerone*, and tinged, to a great extent, with the spirit of the *Canzoniere*, yet they are full of allusions to Dante's works, and especially to the *Divina Commedia*. Thus, when relating, in *The Monk's Tale*, the tragic story of Ugolino, he refers his readers to the lengthened and touching account of the episode given in the *Inferno*.¹

“Whoso woll hear it in a longer wise
Redeth the grete poete of Itaille
That mighty Dante, for he can it devise,
From point to point, not o word will be faille.”

¹ Ugolino, the terrible and passionate Lord of Pisa, was taken prisoner by the Ghibelline Archbishop Ruggieri, whose nephew he had murdered. He was confined in the tower of the Gualandi with his two sons and two grandsons. All five were starved to death. Ruggieri was immediately summoned to Rome to account for his conduct.

And further on in *The Nonne's Tale* he translates the beautiful hymn to the Virgin from the last Canto of *Paradiso*.

“Vergine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio
Umile ed alta più che creatura
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio
Tu se' colei che l'umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.”

“Thou maide and mother, doughter of thy Son;
Thou well of mercy, sinful soule's cure;
In whom that God of bounty chus to won;
Thou humble and high over every creature,
Thou nobledst so fer forth our nature,
That no disdain the Maker had of kinde
His Son in blood and fleshe to clothe and winde.”

These early acknowledgments of Dante's fame are also to be found in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and in Lydgate's *Fall of the Princes*.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century two English bishops, Babwith of Bath, and Hallam of Salisbury, were present at the Council of Constance, and there met Giovanni da Serravalle, bishop of Rimini, a distinguished scholar and an ardent promoter of the study of Dante. This Italian prelate was induced by the two Englishmen to give an exposition in Latin prose of the *Divina Commedia*. In his introduction to the work he writes a short biographical sketch of the poet, and is there responsible for the assertion that Dante in his youth studied theology at Oxford. He was the first biographer to make this statement, which has been so often repeated and so often denied. Several intrinsic arguments are adduced in its support, such as Dante's intimate acquaintance with the Arthurian legends, and his allusion to the heart of Prince Henry of Cornwall, which was preserved in a golden vase in the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey.

“Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cor che in su'l Tamigi ancor si cola.”¹

¹ “In God's own lap he pierced the heart
Which still is honoured on the banks of Thames.”²

² The prince was nephew of Henry III. of England, and was murdered in the Church of St. Silvestro, in Viterbo, whilst assisting at Mass, by Guy de Montfort, in 1271.

With the rise and establishment of Protestantism in England we observe the almost total eclipse of Dante's favour. Whilst Italian models of a lower type, like those of Pulci, Boiardo, and Trissino were still welcomed and praised, the great poem of Catholic dogma was almost completely ignored. With the exception of a passing allusion in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*, the name of its author is scarcely once mentioned by any prominent writer for two hundred years.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that not much honour was paid to the poet in his native country during a good portion of that same period. Almost alone, and in the midst of his many cares, Cardinal Bellarmine rescued Dante from the comparative oblivion into which he had fallen, and vindicated for evermore the character of the poet as an orthodox Catholic and faithful son of the Church; but the direction given to literature by the movement of the *renaissance* turned the mind of Italy into a very different channel. The *litterae humaniores* of Greek and Latin models were alone thought worthy of imitation. Protestant writers also blame the Jesuits for having kept Dante in the background during that period of the *renaissance* when they were in the ascendant. Men trained in the school of the great poet were not likely, it was said, to yield in pliant subservience to the machinations of a designing order that aimed at nothing short of universal domination. Father Venturi, S.J., is a decidedly hostile critic, whilst Girolamo Tiraboschi, S.J., in his great work on the history of Italian literature gives but a paltry and insignificant notice of him who was at once the father and the founder and the brightest ornament of the literature about which he wrote.¹ The Jesuits, however, are not without something to say on the subject. Dante was, indeed, a great poet; but he was also a politician, and, as such, he was neither prudent nor moderate. He had a utopia of civil government which was as extravagant as it was impracticable, and all who opposed his views were

¹ *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Del Cavaliere Abbate Girolamo Tiraboschi, vol. v., part ii., page 491.

condemned by him with the scathing vigour of which he alone had the secret. Boniface VIII., Clement V., Cardinal d'Aquasparta, got no more quarter from him than Philip le Bel or Charles of Anjou. Catholics know how to make allowances for the excesses of an ardent nature, especially when it is seared by disappointment and misfortune, and when in calmer moments "reverence for the keys," and profound respect for the sacred person, as well as for the exalted office of those who ruled the Church, unfailingly reasserted themselves. The defects were small, indeed, when compared with the lasting and magnificent services which Dante rendered to the faith as well as to the literature of his native land; yet there were writers who sought in their hostility to the Church to magnify these accidental details, and to pass them off as the substance of Dante's lesson to the world.

Against such a course it was the natural duty of the Jesuits to react, and that duty they performed. Individuals amongst them may in their zeal have outstepped what justice fairly warranted; but when the meaning of the poet was being distorted by hostile critics, and when by unscrupulous devices the whole drift of his work was being falsified and misinterpreted, the Jesuit writers of those days warmly repudiated such methods, and their zeal for the interests of truth has sometimes been mistaken for enmity to the poet.

And when this much is said, we may readily admit that the later *renaissance* went far to spoil the taste even of the very best writers. That strength of thought which is to be found in all works of genius gave way to sickly efforts after form and grace, and Italian poetry gradually dwindled into empty and superficial counterfeit, till Alfieri and Monti restored somewhat of its primal vigour. Excellent critic and most learned historian though Tiraboschi was, he did not escape the general contagion; but his adverse comments on Dante show that he had neither time to make a careful study of the poet, nor the turn of mind to realize the beauties of his works. Indeed, with the exception of Voltaire, there is no critic of importance more severe on the *Divina Commedia*,

and there is no historian of Italian literature more unjust towards the founder of that literature itself. It arose from a false taste, and from a want of acquaintance with the deep sense that was often wound up in Dante's words and combinations of character; but that Tiraboschi, as a Jesuit, lent himself to any preconceived design, or that for considerations foreign to literature he conspired to leave Dante in the shade, no one who knows the transparent honesty of the man, and the independent spirit manifested in every page of his great work, could for a moment believe. He simply misunderstood his greatest author, and his treatment of the unrivalled poet is the most serious blemish in his work.

In England, however, the causes of Dante's ostracism were very different. There a tide of unwonted bigotry had swept before it everything that could impress on the public mind the fundamental dogmas of Catholicism. A false and misleading phantom of "the dark ages" was conjured up to frighten the ignorant, and to help in the unholy task of manufacturing prejudice. It was but natural, in such circumstances, that the great monuments of mediæval civilization which were a standing contradiction to the charges that were made should have been condemned to obloquy or kept out of sight. This was specially true of the *Divina Commedia*, which was in itself, as it were, a very synthesis of the social and political life, of the vast learning, the culture, the taste, and above all, of the faith—Catholic and Roman—of the great era in which it was written. It was only towards the close of last century that the country began to realize how guilty itself had been of the narrow and tyrannical spirit which, in the name of liberty, had trampled liberty under foot, and the character of which it had sought to fix upon Catholicism as a brand of permanent disgrace. With the advance of a new and more enlightened spirit a fresh interest was quickly awakened in the works of the great Catholic poet, and that interest has since gone on apace, till in the present century we have had no less than seventy different works on Dante published in England, some of them translations of the great poet's writings, some of them critical and appreciative essays. They are almost without exception the works of Protestants,

Father Bowden's recent translation of Mgr. Hettinger's admirable work on Dante, is the only one, as far as we are aware, that has come from a professedly Catholic pen.

The translation that has had most success¹ is undoubtedly that of H. F. Cary, published in the early part of the century, which was welcomed with delight by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and of which Lord Macaulay wrote: "It is difficult to determine whether the author deserves most praise for his intimacy with the language of Dante, or his extraordinary mastery over his own." It is written in Miltonian blank verse, and in form is as unlike the harmonious Italian *terza rima* as it well could be. Yet Cary succeeded unquestionably in catching the true spirit of his author, and in rendering the most delicate turns of thought and the most idiomatic expressions into free and dignified English. For many passages, however, we much prefer Dean Plumptre's translation, which has appeared within the last few years, or that of Haselfoot, which is also quite new. They are, in many respects, pleasanter to read than Cary's, but it would be vain to seek in any of them the most striking characteristics of the prototype. Up to the present all English translators have failed to transfuse anything of the colour, form, and measure of the original into their English version, without having frequent recourse to forced, and sometimes to antiquated and even obsolete, expressions.

The metrical translations of Wright and Longfellow are also much appreciated; but these writers had not a sufficiently accurate knowledge of that scholastic philosophy of which Dante had so firm a hold, and consequently failed to make some of his deepest thoughts intelligible in their English dress. The minor works of Dante, the *Vita Nuova*, the *De Monarchia*, the *Convito*, have also been translated by Sir Theodore Martin, the Rosettis, and Mr. Charles Lyell.

Of prose writers, the one who has given the greatest impulse to the revival of Dante in England is Dr. R. W.

¹ The first translation of the whole *Commedia* that appeared in the English language was written by the Rev. Henry Boyd, Protestant Curate of Tullamore, King's County. It was published in 1785.

Church, Dean of St. Paul's, an accomplished scholar, and a man who rose high above the narrow prejudices with which the writings of the poet had hitherto been treated.¹

"The *Divina Commedia* [he wrote in 1850] is one of the landmarks of history. More than a magnificent poem, more than the beginning of a language and the opening of a national literature, more than the inspirer of art, and the glory of a great people, it is one of those rare and solemn monuments of the mind's power which rise up ineffaceably and for ever as time goes on, marking out its advance by grander divisions than its centuries, and adopted as epochs by the consent of all who come after. It stands with the *Iliad* and Shakespeare's plays, with the writings of Aristotle and Plato, with the *Novum Organum* and the *Principia*, with Justinian's Code, with the Parthenon and St. Peter's. It is the first Christian poem, and it opens European literature as the *Iliad* did that of Greece and Rome. And, like the *Iliad*, it has never become out of date. It accompanies in undiminished freshness the literature which it begun."

Two other names may be mentioned as amongst those who chiefly laboured in England to gain for the works of Dante their fitting place among the classics of the world. For many years Mr. H. C. Barlow kept the readers of *The Athenæum* astonished at the wonders and richness of the *Divina Commedia*, and got established in the London University the Lectureship which still bears his name, whilst Lord Vernon devoted his purse as well as his pen to the task of popularizing the poet and making him better understood. With so many works devoted exclusively to Dante himself, it is no wonder that we should find a better knowledge and appreciation of him in the general literature of England. Most of the great writers not only read the *Divina Commedia*, but recorded their impressions of it and of its author in some shape or other. One of the most interesting estimates, and a truly characteristic one, is that of Thomas Carlyle:—²

"A true inward symmetry [he wrote], what one calls an architectural harmony, reigns throughout *The Divine Comedy*, proportionates it all. The three kingdoms, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*,

¹ *Dante and other Essays*. London : Macmillan, Page 1.

² *Lectures on Heroes*.

Paradiso, look out on one another like compartments of a great edifice; a great, supernatural world-cathedral, piled up there, stern, solemn, awful—Dante's world of souls! It is at bottom the sincerest of all poems. It came out of the author's heart of hearts; and it goes deep, and through long generations, into ours. No work known to me is so elaborated as this of Dante's. Every compartment of it is worked out with intense earnestness, into truth, into clear visuality. Each answers to the other; each fits into its place like a marble stone accurately hewn and polished. It is the soul of Dante, and in this the soul of the middle ages rendered for ever rhythmically visible there. No light task: a right intense one; but a task which is done.

"What a paltry notion is that of his *Divine Comedy's* being a poor, splenetic, impotent terrestrial libel; putting those into hell whom he could not be avenged of on earth! I suppose if ever pity, tender as a mother's, was in the heart of man, it was in Dante's. But a man who does not know rigour, cannot pity either. His very pity will be cowardly, egoistic sentimentality, or little better.

"Morally great, above all, we must call him. His scorn, his grief, are as transcendent as his love. *A Dio spiacenti ed à nemici sui*. 'Hateful to God and to the enemies of God': lofty scorn, unappeasable, silent reprobation and aversion. *Non ragionam di lor*. 'We will not speak of them; but look and pass.' Or think of this, 'They have not the hope to die.' *Non hanno speranza di morte*. One day it had risen sternly benign on the scathed heart of Dante that he, wretched, never-resting, worn as he was, would full surely die; 'that destiny itself could not doom him not to die.' Such words are in this man. For rigour, earnestness and depth, he is not to be paralleled in the modern world. To seek his parallel we must go into the Hebrew Bible, and live with the antique prophets there.

"I do not agree with much modern criticism in greatly preferring the *Inferno* to the two other parts of the *Divina Commedia*. Such preference belongs, I imagine, to our general Byronism of taste. The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, especially the former, one would almost say, is more excellent than it. It is a noble thing, that *Purgatorio*, 'Mountain of Purification,' an emblem of the noblest conception of that age. If sin is so fatal, and hell is and must be so rigorous and awful, yet in repentance, too, is man purified. Repentance is the grand Christian act. It is beautiful how Dante works it out. The *tremolar della marina*, that trembling of the ocean waves, under the first pure gleam of morning, dawning afar on the wandering Two, is as the type of an altered mood. Hope has now dawned; never-dying hope, if in company still with heavy sorrow. The obscure sojourn of demons and reprobates is under foot. A soft breathing of penitence mounts higher and higher to the throne of Mercy itself."

It was that same intense and earnest character of the author and his works, to which Carlyle alludes, that most vividly impressed itself on the mind of Lord Tennyson :

“ The poet in a golden clime was born,
With golden stars above ;
Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
The love of love.”

But the most formal tribute paid by the graceful Laureate to the great Italian was written at the request of the Florentines, on the occasion of the Centenary Festival, in 1865 :

“ King that hast reigned six hundred years, and grown
In power, and ever growest ! since thine own
Fair Florence, honouring thy nativity—
Florence, now the crown of Italy—
Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
I, wearing but the garland of a day,
Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away.”

In the works of Byron, Macaulay and Browning, we find many traces of the same laudatory recognition. The influence which the poet exercises on a certain section of the Protestant clergy in England is little less than fascination. Milman¹ Keble² and Maurice,³ were not, in this respect, much behind Church and Plumptre. In another sphere, Julius Charles Hare and Mathew Arnold, are almost as loud in their praise as Rosmini or Manzoni.

It must also be said, to the credit of Englishmen, that, whilst their works are still by no means free from the old leaven of bigotry, yet they have left the ungracious, and moreover, rather unprofitable task of professedly exploiting the *Divina Commedia* for anti-Catholic purposes, to the Foscolos⁴ and the Rosettis,⁵ who, in their gushing gratitude for English hospitality, pandered to the old-time prejudice, by repeating charges that were long since exploded by Bellarmine and many of Dante's Italian biographers. Foscolo's character was certainly not such as to strengthen his views, or

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, ix., page 88.

² *Praelectiones*, 678.

³ *Moral Philosophy*, 674.

⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xx.

⁵ *Lo Spirito Antipapale*, di Gabriele Rossetti, &c.

commend them by any personal virtue; and the Rosettis completely overshot the mark when they tried to put upon the poet the stamp of Luther and of Wickliff.

In the wide range of Mr. Gladstone's literary studies, Dante and Homer have disputed the palm; and if the name of the great statesman has become more closely associated with the "sovereign poet of Greece," it must not be forgotten that, in conjunction with Lord Lyttleton, he has translated into English verse many passages of Dante's poems. In a letter addressed to Signor Giuliani, author of an Italian work on Dante, he also makes the acknowledgment:

"The reading of Dante is not merely a pleasure, a *tour de force*, or a lesson; it is a vigorous discipline for the heart, the intellect, the whole man. In the school of Dante I have learnt a great part of that mental provision (however insignificant it may be) which has served me to make the journey of life up to the term of nearly seventy-three years. And I should like to extend your excellent phrase, and to say, that he who labours for Dante, labours to serve Italy, Christianity, the world."¹

There is another writer who, though not an Englishman, holds a very high place in contemporary English literature—Mr. James Russell Lowell. He was so closely connected with these countries for years, and his works are so generally admired on this side of the Atlantic, that we may fairly be allowed to include him in our list:

"At the round table of King Arthur [he wrote] there was left always one seat vacant for him who should accomplish the adventure of the Holy Graal. It was called the 'perilous seat,' because of the dangers he must encounter who would win it. In the company of the epic poets there was a place left for whoever should embody the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly all defeat, inwardly victorious—who should make us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ. He who should do this, would, indeed, achieve the 'perilous seat;' for he must combine poesy with doctrine in such cunning wise that one lose not its beauty, nor the other its severity—and Dante has done it. . . . Milton's angels are not to be compared with Dante's, at once real and supernatural; and the Deity of Milton is a Calvinistic Zeus, while nothing in all

¹ *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, by E. H. Plumptre, Dean of Wells, vol. ii., page 459.

poetry approaches the imaginative grandeur of Dante's vision of God at the conclusion of the *Paradise*. In all literary history there is no such figure as Dante—no such homogeneousness of life and work, such loyalty to ideas, such sublime irrecognition of the unessential.”¹

We may close this paper with the testimony of Cardinal Manning, which was written to Fr. Bowden on the occasion of the publication of his recent work :

“ There are three books which always seem to me to form a triad of dogma, of poetry, and of devotion—the *Summa* of St. Thomas, the *Divina Commedia*, and the *Paradisus Animæ*. All three contain the same outline of the faith ; St. Thomas traces it on the intellect ; Dante, upon the imagination ; and the *Paradisus Animæ*, upon the heart. The poem unites the book of dogma and the book of devotion, and is, in itself, both dogma and devotion, clothed in conceptions of intensity and of beauty which have never been surpassed or equalled. No uninspired hand has ever written thoughts so high, in words so burning and so resplendent, as the last stanzas of the *Divina Commedia*. It was said of St. Thomas, ‘ Post Summam Thomæ nihil restat nisi lumen gloriæ.’ It may be said of Dante, ‘ Post Dantis Paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei.’ ”

It will thus be seen that Dante's fame is no longer obscured in England. True greatness must ever overcome the pettiness of men. “ Lascia dir le genti ” said the poet in his time : “ Let people speak away.” When they have done, the truth shall remain still before them, and to ignore it they must shut their eyes. It is not long since an Englishman, prominent in public life, said, when speaking of one who was then his trusted leader, “ that there are some men whose greatness can only be fully embraced when we view them from a distance. They are like those great mountains whose beauty, to be realized in their perfect outline and impressiveness, must be contemplated from afar.” Much truer is this of Dante than of any living man. There is no Englishman so proud as must not do honour to his genius. Not domestic troubles, nor civil broils, nor the betrayal of friends, nor banishment from the land he so passionately loved, could break the energy of that great

¹ *Among my Books*, page 38.

And to those who in England aspire after a higher life—and they are not few—what words could be more captivating than those which stirred the settled and equal soul of Bellarmine, which Manzoni and Balbo, and Gioberti were accustomed to repeat with reverence, which Ozanam,¹ Montalembert, and even the bitter anti-Catholic Ginguéné² could find no language to extol, which James Russell Lowell regards as the climax of all poetry, and which Cardinal Franzelin has inserted in his treatise on the Blessed Trinity?³

“ Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
Di tre colori e d'una continenza.
E l'un dall'altro come Iri da Iri
Pareo riflesso e il terzo pareo fuoco
Che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri.
O luce eterna che sola in te sidi,
Sola t'intendi, e da te intelletta
Ed intendente te ami ed arridi !
À quella luce cotal si diventa
Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
È impossibil che mai si consente.
Perocchè il ben ch'è del volere obbietto
Tutto s'accoglie in lei e fuor di quella
È difettivo ciò ch'è lì perfetto.”

This is the true notion of God, of His essence, of His internal, intimate existence, such as He deigns to discover Himself to us in the inspired words of the Old and New Testament, and such as we may contemplate Him in this life, with the eyes of faith, through the veil of revelation and philosophy.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au Treizieme siècle*, 305.

² *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. ii., ch. x., page 248.

³ *De Deo Trino*, page 318.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.

TRUTH THE EQUATION OF THE DIVINE OBJECT OF FAITH WITH ITS HUMAN SUBJECT:—I. THE HIGHEST RELATION BETWEEN THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT, OR DIVINE KNOWLEDGE. II. THE LOWEST RELATION BETWEEN THE SAME, OR HUMAN IGNORANCE.

THE position in the Anglican Communion of one who lives under the influence of doubt in religious matters, is a position which, both logically and from a Catholic standpoint, it is difficult to defend—even if it may not be pronounced to be indefensible. The difficulty, if we adopt at first the more lenient judgment only, is due, in part, to the posture in which an adult Anglican, after suitable consideration, voluntarily places himself, or deliberately permits himself to remain. It is due in part, also, to the posture into which, not alone with his own consent, he is forced by the exigencies of the unique conditions an Anglican fulfils towards doubt, on the one hand, and on the other towards its co-relatives, knowledge and ignorance. But, the difficulty is due, to a wider extent and in a larger degree, to the attitude assumed by the Established Religion, as an organized body, in regard to the same intellectual relationships, whether by corporate action or by authorized document. In the following pages, an effort will be made to inquire into the diagnosis of religious doubt in the abstract, and in the strict sense of the term; and, also, to annotate some peculiarities of this mental condition as exhibited in the Anglican Church. This will involve the discussion of certain symptoms which owe their origin to the cultivation of religious doubt, and to some results which flow from making doubt a principle of action—a principle which practically hinders members of the Anglican body from accepting revealed Truth simply upon Catholic grounds.

The range and incidence of the above brief estimate are obvious, at first sight and in general terms, whether Anglican doubt be weighed in the balance of theology or of history.

From an historical view of the question, the statements already made are undeniable when the novelty in the religion of Christendom of the so-called "principles of the Reformation" are remembered. After fifteen centuries of the Church's undeviating teaching upon divine authority, these principles first of all, in any recognised Christian community, formally acknowledged and practically utilized the novel human element of doubt. Neither are these statements more easy to contest, when we recall to mind one of the main notes of the Establishment, considered as a *quasi*-ecclesiastical organization. Perhaps, the note of Protestantism which most inexorably severs the Anglican body from the Catholic Church, is the one which it employs in its own behalf, and both permits and encourages, if it does not enforce, amongst its adherents. Both in its formularies and in its daily life, the Establishment confers on its members the right, and almost the obligation—if an old, expressive phrase may be used—of exercising private judgment in religion. And in the exercise of private judgment, by one who is neither omniscient nor inspired, consists the essence of the principle of what we term doubt in religion.

From a theological view, also, the exactitude of the statement that doubt—in the sense of the word which will presently be explained—is the normal position of Anglicanism in regard to truth, is demonstrable from two propositions. The first is this: that external to, and apart from, all questions of individuality or free-will, nothing is of positive obligation to man, either to believe or to do in religion, which is not imposed, mediately or directly, by divine authority. This proposition is almost axiomatic, both in dogma and in ethics. For, what earthly or created power exists, or is conceivable as existing, which, of its own inception, can constitute a spiritual infallible authority to teach or to guide mankind in matters of creed, or to bind or to loose in questions of morals? Whilst, if a power exists which claims such authority without possessing it, then, doubt in matters of faith and good works is not so much lawful to the subject of the imposed obedience, as it is inevitable. And the second proposition is hardly less elementary, if it be

allowed to state in brief, what can be shown at length—that heresy, or private opinion in belief, and schism, or private opinion in action, are inexistent as evidences of theological error, or as proofs of spiritual rebellion, saving against the decrees of an uncreated and supernatural power. For, what human reason may propose for belief, and what human reason may formulate as duty, the opinion and the reason of man may always justifiably criticize, and sometimes may justifiably reject. The Anglican body, however, in its official documents, as well as by its official acts, both explicitly and implicitly disclaims the sanctions of an authority which is divine. It remains, therefore, a matter for lawful individual decision, whether or not any given member of the State-created creed in England shall live, and move, and have his being in an atmosphere of doubt. Or, to speak with more exactitude, it is hard, if it be not impossible, for a Protestant churchman, who is honest to his conscience and loyal to his position, within the almost limitless bounds of belief in his own communion, to exist in a mental condition which is not one of doubt. It is quite impossible for him to evolve a condition of moral certitude in belief, or to accept the demands of intellectual certitude in morals. Such a deterioration amongst Protestant Episcopalians from the purity of the faith once delivered to the saints—such a declension in principle from the standard of historical and traditional Christianity—it is no exaggeration of language to describe as more than unparalleled, and to call indefensible. Certainly, the records of the primitive ages, or of the first four or first six centuries to which Anglicans nominally defer, present nothing, either in creed or in morals, which is comparable to the rampant *anomia* now dominating the Established Church of England—*anomia* which is born of doubt.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary, as a preliminary step, and if only superficially, to examine the relations which subsist between truth—meaning thereby, religious truth—and the assurance of faith in a divine revelation to man. To do less than this, would be to offer the topic for thought—the ethics of Anglican doubt—in a manner unworthy of

its requirements, as a question of some theoretical interest, and of much practical importance. To attempt to do more than this were inexpedient, as tending to hide the main purport of the present inquiry, which is not merely academical; and, it may be added, were unwise, as lying beyond the powers of the inquirer.

Religious truth, in general terms, may be justly compared with, if not formally defined as, the equation of the divine object of faith with its human subject. It is the conformity of the supernatural in belief, and of the unseen but believable, with the finite and reasonable intelligence of man. This comparison, though well-known to students, has not been hitherto employed, so far as the present writer is aware, as a criterion of the claims, or as a test of the assertions, of Anglicanism. The reality, however, of the definition will be perceived, and even emphasized, when its opposite is estimated in faith or in morals. For, where there exists an absence of conformity, or where there is no equation between the object and subject, the relations must be at least two-fold. And the resulting positions vary accordingly, as the fact, if not the fault, of non-conformity or disparity may be found on either side of the insoluble equation.

First, the object proposed for belief may either fall short, or it may be in excess, of absolute truth. Secondly, the intellect of man may either accept what is proposed for belief too readily, or may disbelieve it too arbitrarily. In the former case, that which passes for, but is not, true religion, has been degraded or exaggerated, and may be mere superstition. In the latter case, man is prejudiced and bigoted; or, on the other hand, he may be hypercritical or infidel. When, however, there is exact harmony in the equation, divine and human—when there is equipoise between the revealed will of God and the supernaturalized mind of man—there lies religious truth absolutely. Such conformity presupposes, of course, two conditions. These conditions are—(1) the enunciation of truth which is infallible; and (2) the reception of truth in a temper which, in the language of Scripture, is child-like. For, where the teaching of opinion is based upon human responsibility only, there cannot pos-

sibly be, and where the reception of human opinion is based upon argumentative persuasion, there can hardly be, such an equation or conformity as is above described. This balance, however, when it exists, obtains, with each of the three divisions of Catholic and infallible truth, the historical facts of Christianity, the sacred mysteries of the Faith, and the dogmas of the Church. Nor is the balance disturbed by the Church's authoritative declarations upon questions of Catholic morality.

This is a point which must be noted in any discussion to be made on the moralities of Anglican doubt. And it is a point which must be carefully noted. For, it is a matter of notoriety which can be experimentally proved, that in the case probably of no two members of the Episcopalian body, clergy or laity, chosen at hap-hazard, and certainly in the case of no two out of the three hostile schools of thought which together express the Anglican idea of unity, can such superhuman equation or conformity be discovered. This statement need hardly exclude any but the most elementary doctrines and practices of religion, apart from which none can rightly claim the generic title of Christian. Indeed, even these latter elements of truth are received by Protestants, so far as they are valid, on the wrong ground. They are accepted as opinions only—as opinions argumentatively true, indeed, in themselves; but not as being dogmas of infallible faith which stand beyond the range of human controversy, and which are to be credited simply upon the divine authority which imposes them. Whilst, in the doctrines and practices of the Anglican Church which differentiate Protestant opinion from Catholic faith, no superhuman conformity or equation is so much as dreamed of. A doctrine in faith, or a theory in morals, pronounced to be true by any one school of thought in the Establishment, is declared to be false by a second school, and is said to be problematical by the third. A sacrament of grace, as they are wont to affirm, is preached as of absolute necessity to salvation by sympathisers with one school, is denounced as soul-destroying by those of another, and is conceived as a matter of profound indifference, whether it be employed or

not, by those of the last. Each Anglican party in turn asserts the authority, however shadowy it may be, of the Established Religion for its affirmation, for its denial, for its carelessness of the dogma or duty. Each individual Anglican assumes the sanction of the spiritual foster-mother of all non-Catholic Englishmen, for his approval of, for his disapproval of, or for his indifference to, Christian duty or dogma. And each individual section, and each personal unit, in turn, claims such authority with equal consistency, be it much or be it little. For, is not the State Church in this land composed only by the union and communion of these obviously antagonistic and co-destructive schools of thought? Is not Episcopalian Protestantism almost the only common factor which binds together the mutually jealous and heterogenous sects which are content to dwell, and are severally permitted by law to dwell, within the all-embracing arms of the Established Church of England?

St. Augustine has pointed out—what every student will readily admit—that there exist three relations between the finite intellect of man and supernatural truth. Each of these three relations intimately affects the question of equipoise between the two sides of an equation of truth. They may be described in the like number of words—knowledge, ignorance, and doubt. These relations may be considered in the order in which they have been named.

I. The first and highest relation, or conformity between the divine object and the human subject, is that of perfect knowledge. Here, the human intellect is pervaded by the light of revelation, and is informed by the mental possession of the facts, of the mysteries and of the dogmas of true religion. How this perfect knowledge may be acquired, or in any given case has been acquired, is not now and here under discussion. In all probability, and at the present day, if the knowledge be acquired, it was either inspired into a Catholic subject of it, who was not born in the true fold, or was instilled after he had painfully passed through one, if not through both of the other relations between the intellect and truth—namely, ignorance and doubt. Under any conditions, if the gift has not been inherited, and has not been

implanted in youth, knowledge based upon authority, as a fact, and in a certain way, has been attained. And here there is found to be an equation between the object of faith and the mind of man. A question then arises: May this equation be justly predicated, either abstractedly of the belief or in the concrete in the case of any individual soul in connection with the Anglican communion? In other words, does the Church of England possess, and if it possesses, does the Establishment impart to its members, perfect religious knowledge? Does this human creation, of whose birth our fathers have told us, whose career we have witnessed and are witnessing, of whose obvious decay we yearly expect the closing scenes—does the Church of England impart such knowledge in such a manner that its members arrive at the highest of the above-named relations—namely, at divine certitude? Clearly not. It does not claim such possession of truth. It does not claim such power of imparting truth. Does the Church of England, then, exercise the power of which it fails to claim the possession, or rather, which it paradoxically, yet with honesty, disclaims to possess? Apart from the antecedent impossibility of realizing this moral quibble, the last proposition can be truly affirmed neither by those within nor by those without that legalized body. Of course, those who stand without Anglicanism cannot affirm it; or, to be logically consistent, they would not remain without, but would seek to enter within its facile confines. And those who live within its obedience cannot affirm it; for they can definitely point to no standard, or rule, or canon; they can name no person, persons, or body of persons, which can guide into assurance one soul who earnestly and in all simplicity seeks a solution of the problem on which hereafter so largely depends. There is literally no authority, dead or living; there is no authority, past or present, or even rationally prospective in some golden age of Protestant Anglicanism, to which appeal can be made—always excepting two which shall be duly named, in order to cover all possible objections; and being named, may be neglected.

The first of these appeals supposed to be possible to

Anglicans, is an appeal to a General Council of the future. But, this is out of the question upon any principle, whether Catholic or Protestant. A general council of Protestants, if not a contradiction in term, is a contradiction of ideas. A general council of Protestants *cum* Catholics is not only a contradiction in terms, but is an Anglican chimera, comparable only to the idea which some have entertained of a High Mass at St. Paul's Cathedral, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as celebrant, with the representatives of Rome and of Constantinople as assistant ministers, and with Christendom for a congregation. Whilst upon Catholic principles, the appeal itself, the *ignis fatuus* of the puzzled Episcopalian controversialist, is a condemned proposition to the faithful; and, even were it permissible, is one in which the appellant could indirectly participate only when he had ceased to be an Anglican clergyman and had humbly subsided into a Catholic layman; in effect, when he had ceased to be the appellant.

The other imaginary Anglican appeal is to the authority of private judgment. This appeal is more real and more practical, if not more defensible, and takes two forms. It is made either to the dead letter of printed documents, disputable Acts of Parliament or other, of ten or twelve generations ago. Or, it is made to individual voices of antiquity, once distinct, and always when in conjunction authoritative; but now isolated, inarticulate, or treated as oracular—voices which have been silenced for some sixteen or eighteen centuries, and which it is the pretension of Protestants in the nineteenth era that they can galvanize into a semblance of renewed vitality. Moreover, in the latter case of exception—that of private judgment—there exists avowedly no acknowledged and responsible head who can decide authoritatively between conflicting opinions, upon the important question, "What is truth?" It is patent to all who read their newspapers, that the Episcopalian body is to-day almost rent in twain, if not sundered into three parts, for the lack of a genuinely spiritual Court of Final Appeal. The Church of England has, indeed, shuffled on, so to say, for more than three centuries bereft of this essential element of

Catholic organization. But, none can say that it has thus vegetated without serious detriment to its spiritual condition. Neither can those who are the victims of doubt logically fall back on the decisions of the temporal power. For, the very last thing which the temporality, *i.e.* English statute law, pretends even to decide for those Anglicans who approach its tribunals, is the abstract truth or the positive falsehood of controversial questions. For this it possesses neither mission nor mandate from either the State or the Church of England. The utmost which the temporal power presumes to decide—though it here decides with no faltering voice—is upon the principles and practices, from a legal and statutable basis, of the “Protestant Reformed Religion, as by law established in this realm.” And it is not amiss to remind members of the Establishment, who play with such terms as Anglo-Catholicism and even pretend to monopolize the word “Catholic,” what is the precise name by which in one of its sacred offices the Church of England wills itself to be called. The Protestant Reformed Religion is the religion which its “Supreme Head,” the Crown, with or without any saving clause, swears, at its coronation and at the dictation of its spiritual chief, the Primate of All England, to “the utmost of [its] power to uphold.”

II. The second relation between divine truth and the human intellect, is one of complete ignorance. This relation exists when the mind of man, in matters of religious faith, is void and empty and blank. Here, there is an absence of all divine knowledge, and the supernatural balance is completely destroyed.

Now, the debatable question of knowledge or ignorance in religious faith, depends largely upon the definition by which we are guided, and by the tests we decide to apply to the position which we desire to estimate. Let us attempt to criticize the present-day aspect of England, and to apply to it, as a test, the comparison or definition of equation—between faith and reason—with which this discussion opened. In this case, we shall be forced to include the English-speaking nation as a whole, but from no fault of theirs, amongst those who are practically in a state of religious ignorance.

As Catholics, appealing to Anglicans, we need not hesitate to attach, nor feel Pharisaical or self-centred in attaching, this sweeping sentence to a very perceptible percentage of the Anglo-Saxon people. So far as the Church of England stands in the position of an Ecclesiastical corporation—and so far as Acts of Parliament can confer this status, the Establishment does occupy it—that legal corporation is bound to take a similar view. If the Establishment be capable of expressing a corporate opinion on this matter, it must, on the like grounds, relegate to the same intellectual position of ignorance in regard to faith, at least one-half, if not two-thirds, of the existing population of this materially highly favoured kingdom. Such a proportion elect to remain outside the pale of the spiritual ministrations of the existing Church of England. Indeed, the truth lies, probably, far beyond the range of this modest calculation of numbers. It is believed to be a statistical fact, that the State Religion has lost a vast majority even of her nominal members. If this be so, and from their point of view, the Anglican body, when it developes the organ of speech, can attribute the possession of religious knowledge only to the proportionately smaller minority of its actually professing members. A more apposite instance of acknowledged ignorance could hardly be admitted by those Protestants who may not be disposed to accept as unquestionable the Catholic test of equation above formulated. The illustration, however, may be adopted. Indeed, we must ask leave to extend its range, so as to include an even larger and wider scope. This comparison is not made with any intention of needlessly magnifying the unhappy differences which, from the sectarian foundation upwards, sever Protestant England from Catholic truth. It is offered as a preliminary statement only to a fresh departure in the inquiry into the moralities of Anglican doubt. For, it is helpful towards obtaining an insight into the solution of the problem—partly philosophic and partly religious—to be able to measure the length, and to sound the depth of one cause, at least, of such a condition of doubt. Who then, or what it may be asked, is responsible for these exceptional relations between truth and knowledge in a still nominally, though,

as English churchmen and clergymen candidly own, to a great extent unbaptized country? It will be our endeavour to indicate where an answer may be found to this inquiry.

To effect this, with any chance of success, an effort must be made to estimate the real character of the Anglican Establishment by some of its more obvious and undeniable results. The following represents one aspect which England, the main home of Established Protestantism at the present day, presents towards the amount of divine truth for which the nation is still responsible before God. The State Religion has lived in almost unrivalled ownership of the old ecclesiastical position in England for three and a-half centuries. During this period, and within this area, it has usurped the dignities, it has mal-administered the revenues, it has misappropriated the buildings, and it has at once adopted and adapted the usages and rites of the Catholic Church. It has, moreover, presumed to claim the exercise of supreme and nearly unchallenged spiritual authority, so far as births, deaths, and marriages and the like are concerned, over every soul created within the four British seas. It has been supported politically, socially, and religiously, by the use of the most effectual forms of tyranny, by the enactment of the most vexatious prohibitions of hostile legislation, by the enforcement of the cruellest of penal penalties against the faith of its recent ancestors. It has been made dominant in the English nation, and has ruthlessly domineered over the English people—Nonconformist and Catholic alike—under the guise of a religion established by law. And out of many results that might be quoted of Parliamentary “protection” of what may not unfittingly be termed the “home industries” of a national, insular, and self-made religion, three offer themselves as suitable subjects for further criticism.

The first result of Anglican religious supremacy, which strikes an impartial observer, is this: by far the larger portion of the English people, at the present moment, have been absolutely, and to all human foresight irrevocably, lost to the State-created, law-protected religion. Probably, two-thirds of the population of to-day have, both in theory and in practice combined, utterly repudiated the faith, morals, and

worship of the Church of England. Certainly upwards of two-thirds have ostentatiously severed themselves and their families from its membership—if their practice alone may be taken as a guide, whether such practices be of a non-conforming, or of an individualizing, or of an agnostic character. Probably, almost certainly, not one-third part of the extant population of our eight or nine and twenty millions are genuine, practical, and consistent members of the Protestant Episcopalian body. In the agricultural districts, indeed, the proportion may be a little larger than one-third. For, Anglicanism appeals to the sentiments of the upper ten thousand, and to the material interests of their more immediate dependents amongst the lowest and least educated rural population. But, in districts where the local magnates are not hereditary and broad-acred, though they be the untitled aristocracy, where the toiling masses are less dependent upon the leisured classes, the ratio is more extreme. In the great centres of industry and skill, of mechanical labour, of self-taught knowledge of a higher sort, of intelligence and thought, the proportion is less than that small faction named. Whilst, if we take trustworthy and ascertained figures to help us to realize the actual extent to which the English communion has failed to respond to her great national responsibilities and duties, in a certain direction, the results are still more remarkable, and to Church-people must be almost appalling.

For instance: the accommodation which the Establishment offers to her children for common-prayer—once on one day in seven—forms no exacting or unfair test of the reality of one side of its missionary efforts on behalf of Christianity in this God-forgetting—it had almost been said God-forgotten—land. And in considering the figures to be quoted, it must not be overlooked, that a difference exists between the employment of the like accommodation in Protestant and in Catholic churches respectively. As a rule, the average religious Protestant says his prayers in public once, one day in the week—preferably at the close of the Lord's day. As a rule, each seat in every Catholic Church in town districts, or the majority of seats in most churches, are used over and over

again on all days of obligation, and on some days of devotion, and are used to a wide extent on every day of the week, all the year round, both early and late. This being premised, the statistics of Anglicanism may be quoted. They are as follows: in ten large manufacturing towns that could be named, with a population in each case of more than 100,000, the aggregate number of souls amounts to not less than 2,000,000. The privileged Church, which undertakes by Act of Parliament to serve the English nation, provides but a single sitting, in round numbers, for every ten units of this section of the people. Whilst the average attendance at divine worship of the mighty nation which still legally supports and subsidizes Anglicanism, with more lavishness than is granted to any other established religion in the world, is probably not higher than one soul in every twenty within the same area. In London and its huge "province covered with houses," with a population bordering on 4,000,000 according to a non-official record taken a few years ago, the numbers are not very different, except that the accommodation shows a larger percentage, and the attendance shows a lower percentage of the teeming metropolitan population. This, in brief outline, is one element in the argument on the moralities of Anglican doubt, and on some of its more obvious, if not its more necessary, results.¹

The second result of Anglican supremacy may be held to be almost a natural outcome of the first. If this consequence

¹ Since the above was written, an article has appeared in a ritualistic paper of June 6th, from which the following extract is *a propos*. Lately has been published a Parliamentary Blue Book on Free Seats in the churches of the Establishment. In a review of the statistics provided by Parliament, the writer of the leading article says:—"In the case of 180 churches, the return seems to show that there are no free seats whatever. We have added up the population of the districts served by these churches. They amount to 214,538; the seats provided being 45,748, or about one for every five persons. For the remaining 168,790, no provision has been made by the Church of England. They are evidently considered outside the pale of her ministrations or mission." (*Church Times*.) Such is a record of the absolute absence of provision for the wants of its people by the richest Church in Christendom in 180 of its parishes. What may its deficiencies be in thousands of other parishes, where no pretence is made to meet the needs of the masses, may be imagined. A study of this Blue Book would, probably, repay the inquirer.

be disputed, the result must be credited to a supernatural provision of Providence for preserving the mere rudimentary fragments of a common Christianity, the secondary worship of Almighty God, and the requirements of informal, unsystematic and untaught morality, in Protestant England. Such provision was the more necessary for three main reasons. First, because it was made on behalf of a nation which, though as Catholic was renowned the wide world over for its faith and piety, yet, as Protestant, quickly degenerates into a state of ignoring, of oblivion, or of denial of its belief and of rejecting the consequent liabilities towards belief. Next, because the Protestant form of belief, unlike any other known form in the higher types of religion, is simply a permissive religion: it is in no sense a religion of obligations. It allows everything—of course, with exception, in the direction of Popery. It commands nothing—with scarcely an exception—in any direction whatever. Whether such a congeries of permissive enactments, in faith and in morals, at the least, if not in ritual, deserves the sacred name of our holy religion, is a moot point. But, the provision we shall consider is all the more providential, inasmuch as the Church of England fails to make public divine worship, even on one day out of the seven, in any sense of obligation to its members. Lastly: the provision to be named was made also—and this adds force to the argument—in opposition to the grievous neglect, past and present, of the official guardians of the highly-salaried and dignified clerical rulers and servants of the people. This result may be thus stated: that the Parliamentary religion at this date, is either the actual parent, or, as a corporate institution with a history of three hundred and fifty years, is the lineal progenitor of considerably more than two hundred distinct religious sects. Each sect, many of them deserving equally with the common parent from whom they trace their descent, the title of a Church, possesses its own government and laws, more or less codified and binding. Each sect can look back to its own past career, and look forward to its own ideal and future hopes. Each sect can indulge in its own form and manner, or in the absence of all formal restrictions, in public

prayer, and can enforce its own special and sectarian discipline and can administer its own peculiar spiritual rites and ordinances. Each Church, again—or, to speak more exactly, many of the Protestant Churches—have founded their own schools and colleges; have established their own orders and ministry; have built their own chapels; have bought land for their own cemeteries, and have surrounded themselves with all the accessories in brick and mortar, in real and funded property, not less than in persuasion of right and sentiment, which makes for a permanent, if not for a flourishing religious body in the nineteenth century. The large majority of these sectaries, as a matter of course, have arisen since the gradual, or since the entire repeal of the brutal and cruel penal laws, mainly levied against the adherents or converts to the old historical faith of England, which once and for long disgraced the Statute Book of this boasted land of liberty. The whole of these sectaries, without exception worthy of name, have had their origin since the revolt of Henry Tudor was perpetrated against the divinely-created centre of Christendom. This fact, which has been sometimes overlooked, and sometimes has been theoretically explained away, forms a second limb of this portion of the argument on the moralities of Anglican doubt.

A third result of the supremacy of the State Religion partakes more or less of an internal characteristic. The Church of England, as we have seen, has been outwardly reduced in numbers, from a body co-extensive in law with the entire national population, to a faint and feeble shadow of its former self. The Church of England has been forced to witness, in corporate and individual secessions from itself to more consistent developments of Protestantism, a two hundred-fold repetition of its own anti-Catholic parody of religious reformation and re-organization. The Church of England, as by law established, has now to be exhibited in the light of a house divided against itself. Retaining for the present—and, it may be hazarded, for the present and near future only—all the pomp and circumstance of an Establishment, it has gradually lost by its own idleness

and imbecility, or it has gradually been deprived by the temporal power which created it, of almost every patch and shred of real authority, influence and power. Indeed, in the late past, it has been less and less strongly supported, in every decade of years, by State enactment and by social respectability. For example, to glance only at some of the recent humiliations of the Church of England, as a spiritual body claiming the divine prerogatives of the one true Church. It has forfeited the primary, and to a large extent the secondary education, of English youth. Its ancient Universities have been, in modern parlance, unsectarianised. Its Church-rates have become voluntary offerings. Its system of tithe-paying, between owner and occupier, between natural causes of decline and human indisposition to pay, appear to be drifting away like the morning mist. Its religious buildings may be, and are, freely used as lecture halls, as music halls, and even for anti-Christian marriage by the hands of the clergy of the Establishment—namely, for the marriage of criminally-divorced couples. Its spiritual courts have been made formally—Anglicans themselves being the judges, as they ever were in essence—secular tribunals, created and administered solely by Act of Parliament. And the grim spectres of Disestablishment and Disendowment have now emerged into almost visible outline from the former obscurity of a dim and distant future. Meantime, cultured education, the higher ranks of intelligence, the busy middle-class, the skilled and independent artisan, and adult men of all orders, sorts and conditions, have silently or noisily, gradually but surely, withdrawn from outward communion with the State-created Creed. It is still supported—and even is supported with more and more lavish generosity—by the money, influence and patronage of the titled and of the wealthy few. Indeed, the great Anglican world seems determined that no efforts, at least no financial efforts, shall be spared to hide the hollowness of their parliamentary religious system. Yet, their wives, their children, their servants, their dependents worship more readily within the walls of Anglican temples, specially in towns, than do the pecuniary benefactors themselves of

Anglicanism. And if, in rural districts, the labouring poor of both sexes still evince a large amount of surprising long-suffering, forgetfulness of wrongs, and often of unrequited fidelity; yet, if credence may be placed in those who affirm that they know, and have good opportunities for knowing, the fidelity is of a sort that conceals a deep antagonism to the country parson, and the patience towards the squire or squireen, and their excellent unselfish woman-kind, is born of a keen sense of favours to come.¹

In the midst of all this external fictitious support and questionable unreal homage, however, the very life of the Establishment is being eaten away piecemeal with internal, far-gone corruption. The residue of the Church of England of the Reformation is, at this moment, self severed into three absolutely contrary, irreconcilable and bitterly hostile sects, or schools of thought. These three sects or schools, not to speak of their numerous sub-varieties, as is well-known, are as diverse and distinct from one another as three several and independent religions. They differ at every conceivable point of divergence, from matters affecting the highest principles of faith, to those which concern the minutest and most insignificant details of common prayer. They each and all, and probably with textual justice, believe themselves to represent the legal Church of England, as represented in the letter of its double-faced, or three-sided official documents. Thus believing, each section of Anglicanism, in turn, does more, with logical minds, to damage the reputation of the Establishment and to lower its prestige than the attacks of open enemies. The more consistent members of each section of Protestant Episcopalians, were they frank, would gladly see, as they ought gladly to see, their communion thoroughly purged of the presence of the other two. But, on this point they are not frank; and some members of the extreme party of the right, who profess to respect

¹ The reader may care to be introduced to, or reminded of, a noteworthy, anonymous and short work of fiction, which enshrines much social truth touching the agricultural poor of England, their condition, trials and sentiments. It is called *The Life of Thomas Wainless, Peasant*. Manchester: Heywood, 1885.

authority, together with many of the left and centre, pretend to rejoice in this abnormal discord: whilst, the three schools combine only, and ought to combine only, with sincerity, when their common State Establishment, which equally upholds them all, with its untold privileges, with its endowments and edifices, with its spiritual assumptions, with its secular rank and dignity, is seriously menaced in its tenderest part by the foe from without, or by the traitor from within.

More need not be said at the present stage of the inquiry. Enough has been urged to warrant the plain enunciation of the following question, even when tempered with the qualification which precedes it. If only the bare outline be true of what has been above written of this second result of the official supremacy of Protestant Anglicanism, is it probable that the State-protected Religion is capable of counteracting that spiritual condition of the English people which we are engaged in considering? Can Anglican Episcopalians essay to cope with the second relation between divine truth and the human intellect, which is the topic of our present argument, and which we have ventured to call complete ignorance?

ORBY SHIPLEY.

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM—V.

OOSTACKER AND TERMONDE.

G HENT is said to surpass every other town in Belgium in the number of shrines of our Lady which it possesses; though the claim would hardly be allowed to pass unchallenged by Bruges or Brussels. Among the more celebrated of these shrines must be mentioned those of our Lady of Dolours, our Lady of Lede, our Lady of the Bank, our Lady of the Swallows, our Lady of Hal, our Lady of the Blind, and our Lady of the Voluntary Slaves; to which formerly might have been added another famous for miracles—that of our Lady of the Rays, or our Lady crowned with Stars. The

statue of our *Lady of the Bank* was, tradition tells us, found on the bank of the Scheldt, not far from the Abbey of St. Peter: a confraternity was founded, in connection with the Shrine, in 1321, and still exists. The devotion to our *Lady of Lede* took its rise at the end of the fourteenth century, when a statue, representing our Lady, bathed in tears, sitting leaning against the cross, and receiving the Body of our Lord, was sent from Cologne to Lede, a village not far off. The statue at Lede, which became the object of a celebrated pilgrimage, is known as our *Lady of the Sweet Passion of God*. The statue of our *Lady of the Voluntary Slaves* has been in Ghent from time immemorial; a confraternity was founded under this title in 1634, and enriched with indulgences by Urban VIII. and Innocent X. The devotion to our *Lady of the Swallows* dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. According to the legend, a flight of swallows were seen flying round and round an old oak near Ghent, and it was further noticed that they never left the tree by day or night. On examination an image of our Lady was found carefully hidden. A cultus sprang up, and miracles were not wanting to confirm it. The statue was solemnly transported to Ghent, and a chapel built for it: but in 1805 it was placed in the chapel of St. James's Hospital. A solemn octave, in honour of our Lady of the Swallows, begins every year on July 2nd. The oldest existing shrine is that of our *Lady of Dolours*, also known as *N. D. de l'arbre pleureur*, which represents our Lady holding the dead Body of our Lord. Indulgences were granted to all who should visit the oratory so early as 1313. A new chapel was built in 1771, by Gudeval Seiger, Abbot of St. Peter's: the miraculous statue being placed on a throne at the High Altar. Numerous *ex-voto* testify to the success with which the help of our Lady is invoked at this shrine, which till recent years was the most celebrated shrine in Ghent and its environs: but since 1874 that of our *Lady of Lourdes at Oostacker*, a hamlet about two miles from the city, has thrown all others into the shade.

This shrine is really situated in the hamlet of Slootendriesch, a part of the commune of Oostacker, which was in former times a dependency of the Abbey of St. Bavon, whose

abbots exercised the power of life and death within its bounds. The people of this district have always been very devout to our Lady ; whose suppressed feasts they keep with the old solemnity, and whose Rosary is generally said in common by each family.

The chief family of Sloodendriesch was for long that of the Baron de Plotho, but this ended with an heiress who married, in 1785, Eustace Marquis of Courtebourne. He died in 1845 ; leaving a son, Alphonsus, who married Mary, Countess of Nedonchel. She was left a widow in 1857. Madame de Courtebourne is as distinguished for the simplicity of her life as for her "profound and respectful attachment to the Catholic Faith," the ordinary characteristics of the *old* Catholic nobility of the continent.

In 1871 she had a grotto made in her park to contain an aquarium ; and by a strange coincidence it was in or close to the spot in which her husband's uncle, Baron Francis de Plotho, a secular priest, had built himself a hermitage after failing in his endeavour to become a Trappist. She determined to place a statue of our Lady in the grotto, and, whilst she was hesitating which it should be of two or three in her possession, the parish priest of Oostacker happened to call and was told of her idea. A statue of our Lady of Lourdes was at once suggested by him. His suggestion was acted on, and the statue placed in the grotto. A custom sprang up of all who visited the aquarium saying an *Ave* before it ; and after a time the parish priest was asked to bless the statue, which had become the chief object of visits to the grotto. On account of the known piety of its owner, the Bishop of Ghent gave the requisite authorisation, and St. Peter's day, 1873, was fixed for the ceremony. No one could have foreseen what this would lead to.

The people of the neighbourhood heard of what was about to take place and asked permission to assist at the function ; this was granted, and some two thousand persons were present. The ceremony made a deep impression on those who assisted at it, and soon a further permission was asked for all who wished to do so, to be allowed to visit the

grotto during certain hours on Sundays and festivals. Once more the pious owner consented.

The first extraordinary cure, or miracle, using the term in the permitted sense, happened in February, 1874. After this pilgrims came from far and wide. Madame de Courtbourne asked permission from the Bishop of Ghent to build a small chapel near the grotto, and was astonished at his lordship's reply:—"It is not a chapel, Madame, but a church and a large church which must be built." She did not hesitate, but undertook to bear all the expense. The Bishop of Ghent laid the foundation-stone on May 22nd, 1875, and the church was consecrated on September 11th, 1877, by Monsignor, now Cardinal, Vannutelli, Nuncio to the Court of Brussels. The church was given to the Jesuits; one of the sons of the pious foundress had belonged to the Society, and had been rector of its school at Tournay.

Some idea of the popularity of Oostacker may be gathered from the statistics of the pilgrimages, from which the following facts are culled. On one day in May, 1875, twenty-five thousand *men* went together in pilgrimage from Ghent; in 1876 there were a hundred and fifty organised pilgrimages, in which more than sixteen thousand persons took part; in 1885 there were three hundred and sixty-five pilgrimages, with nearly fifty-one thousand pilgrims. No idea can be given of the enormous number of private pilgrimages.

The fame of Oostacker was enhanced, and the number of pilgrims greatly increased by an incident which occurred very early in the history of the shrine. Three impious undergraduates of the University of Ghent plotted together to deceive the people. They went to Oostacker, and one of them pretended to be blind. His two companions bathed his eyes with the water of the grotto and continued to ask him: "Can't you see yet?" At last they got for their answer: "I can see no longer." The unhappy youth had been struck blind, and was led away from the grotto in a state of helplessness.

It is time to describe the spot which in recent years has acted as a magnet for Flemish piety. The country is flat, and without beauty, and as unlike as possible to the beautiful

surroundings of the sanctuary of Lourdes. The Gothic church has a fine interior, though the outside leaves something to be desired. In its neighbourhood are a number of inns for the refreshment of pilgrims, most of which have pious names, as, for example, *Hôtel de Lourdes*, *Hôtel St. Joseph*. The grotto is a minute's walk from the church, and stands in a kind of garden, at the entrance to which is a notice-board, bearing the single word *Silence*. Round the edge of the garden are seven chapels, each of which contains very beautiful statuary, representing one of the Dolours of our Lady. Those who make the way of the Seven Dolours, in fact all men within the sacred enclosure, are bareheaded. The grotto itself is under a mound, and just outside the entrance is a basin containing the water, which at first used to have a little Lourdes water mixed with it every day. The inside is covered with *ex-votos*, among which crutches and candles figure largely. In addition to these there are several letters, written to thank our Lady for her help, which have been framed and hung round the grotto. Outside on the top of the mound there are three pyramidal structures, from which are suspended a great number of the little waxen representation of the various parts of the body constantly given in Belgium as *ex-votos*:—a leg, if a leg has been cured; an arm, for an arm; a head, for a head; and so on.

It may be gathered from what has been said that the number of extraordinary cures at Oostacker must have been very great; and so it has. Oostacker bids fair to rival its great prototype, Lourdes, in the number and the wonderful nature of its cures. One example must suffice. In 1874 Mrs. Nevejan, the wife of a medical man at Thourout, became blind, and was declared to be incurable by the most distinguished oculists in Belgium and Germany. Her case became complicated by other maladies, and at last she was not only confined to her bed, but in danger of death. She received the Holy Viaticum, and then wished to make a pilgrimage to Oostacker. Her husband at first refused to allow this, but at length consented, and she set out, accompanied by her little son, a child of six or seven, and four of her relatives. When they reached the

shrine, after a journey of two hours and a-half or three hours, the little boy threw himself before the statue, and kept repeating:—"Our Lady of Lourdes, give mamma back her sight." Every now and then he turned to his mother and said:—"Mamma, can't you see yet?" This went on for a long time, and the hour of departure had arrived without any result. For the last time the eyes were bathed with a handkerchief which had been dipped in the water of the grotto, and Mrs. Nevejan recovered her sight. The little fellow threw his arms round his mother's neck, and exclaimed:—"Oh, mamma, I am so happy, I have prayed so hard for your recovery!" The party set out, and in time reached Thourout, having been joined *en route* by Mr. Nevejan. All the bells in the town were ringing to greet her, the dean having received a telegram; and, on the arrival of the train, a large proportion of the inhabitants went to the church, where a *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving.

The miracles of Oostacker not only drew crowds of pilgrims to that favoured spot, but also gave a great impetus to the *cultus* of our Lady of Lourdes in Belgium. Altars and chapels were erected in her honour all over the country, and among other places may be mentioned Brussels (St. Gudule), Bruges (the Beguinage), Courtray, Antwerp, Mons, Liege, and Alost; and at some, at any rate, of these altars numerous *ex-votos* are to be seen. For a more detailed account of the pilgrimage to Oostacker our readers must be referred to the *Pelerinage à N. D. Lourdes en Flandre*, by F. Denis, S.J. (Desclée & Co., Lille, 1886); and, especially for the earlier history, to *Lourdes en Flandre*, by the Rev. E. Scheerlinck (Ghent, 1876).

TERMONDE.

The town of Termonde, or Dendermonde, to give it its Flemish name, distant some seventeen miles from Ghent, is famous for the statue of our Lady of Afflighem, and is within easy reach of other shrines more or less celebrated, the chief of which is at *Lebbeke*. In the year 1108 the inhabitants wanted to build a church, and after much discussion as to the site, finally pitched on a field belonging

to a widow. She consented to sell the field, but requested them to wait till after the flax harvest, as she had sown it on the very day that the decision was arrived at. The matter was settled in this way, but during the night, according to the legend, she was favoured with a visit from our Lady, who told her to get up and gather the flax which was ripe, as she wanted the place for a church. This was said three times, and then the woman getting up saw our Lady, who said, "What are you waiting for? Your flax is ripe and can be gathered. Hasten, for I desire that my Son and I may be honoured for the future on that ground." Our Lady then disappeared. At daybreak the woman hastened to the field, and found that the flax, which had been sown the day before, was quite ripe. To perpetuate the memory of this prodigy, every year on the Saturday after the Annunciation a High Mass is sung as a suffrage for an abundant crop of flax. Other marvels accompanied the building of this church; such as the length and breadth being marked out by threads of silk held by invisible hands. Many pilgrims visit the spot, especially on the Feast of our Lady's Nativity. The statue, when borne in procession, is carried by the principal inhabitants of Termonde. The confraternity of our Lady, Consoler of the Afflicted, was established in this church nearly five hundred years ago.

Andeghem, like *Lebbeke*, about two miles from Termonde, possesses a statue of our Lady of the Hermitage, or, as it is also called, our Lady of the Lime Tree, which for centuries has been celebrated as an object of pious pilgrimage. The very ancient statue of our Lady of the Fog at *Waesmunster* is much frequented, especially on the Feast of the Annunciation, which is always celebrated with the greatest solemnity. At *Buggenhout*, five miles or so from Termonde, in the church built in 1500 in honour of our Lady of Dolours, is found a statue of our Lady, Consoler of the Afflicted, which draws many pilgrims, and which is said to be celebrated for "a prodigious number of miraculous cures." But far more celebrated than any is the statue of *our Lady of Afflighem*, the history of which was written by the late Cardinal Pitra, O.S.B., when he was still a monk of Solesmes.

Rather more than eight hundred years ago a Benedictine abbey was founded at Afflighem, near Alost, in Flanders; the exact date of the foundation is unknown, but as the new abbey was blessed by St. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, it must have been finished before 1075. From the preaching of the first Crusade, for some reason or another, the Abbey of Afflighem became a favourite with the Crusaders. Among others so devoted to it may be mentioned Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders; Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, and first Latin King of Jerusalem, or "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre," as he preferred to be called; and Godfrey's eldest son, Henry. The abbey became celebrated throughout the Low Countries, and especially for its devotion to our Lady. Pilgrims flocked to it from all parts, and among its benefactors were some illustrious and royal personages, among whom must be mentioned St. Louis of France; and Adelaïs of Louvain, the second wife of Henry I. of England; her second husband, the Duke of Lincoln; and Henry II. of England. Queen Adelaïs worked a standard, which became the *oriflamme* of Brabant. It always remained at the abbey, save when the dukes were at war, and on great feasts it was borne in solemn procession in a chariot drawn by four oxen. Before entering on a campaign the Dukes of Brabant received their standard from the hands of the Abbots of Afflighem, just as the Kings of France received theirs from the Benedictine Abbots of St. Denis. Among the pilgrims who visited Afflighem may be mentioned an Englishman, Nicholas Rys, who in 1160 fell ill in its hospice, where he had sought the proverbial hospitality of the monks; he was known to have persecuted the abbey, but was treated so fraternally by his hosts that he joined their ranks as a converse brother.

In the year 1146, the Abbey of Afflighem was honoured by a visit from St. Bernard, who passed through Flanders on his way from Lille, where he had venerated the Holy Candle, to Germany, where he was going to preach the Crusade. He had been called upon to settle a dispute between the Premonstratensian Abbots of Ninove and Dilighem, places not far from Afflighem, and succeeded in his task; the docu-

ment which he dictated and signed being still in existence, and preserved in the public library of Ghent, where it was unearthed by Cardinal Pitra, when engaged in refuting the contention of the Bollandists that St. Bernard was never at Afflighem. Business over, the saint gave himself up to the full enjoyment of intercourse with his religious brethren, and how great the pleasure must have been, and how exact the observance of the rule at Afflighem, may be gathered from his words: "Elsewhere I have seen men, here I see angels. In truth Afflighem afflicts man, but elevates the soul." The names of a few of these angels have been preserved to us. First of all came their leader, the Abbot Peter; then Albert, who had resigned the abbacy, but nevertheless was always known by the title of *Marianus Abbas*; Walter, Prior of Wavre, the originator of the feast of Our Lady of Peace; B. Francon, first Abbot of Vlierbeck; Ingelbert, first Prior of Bigard, the father and biographer of St. Vivine; and Ralph the Silent, who for sixteen years kept silence, and only spoke at last to command a fire, which had broken out before his eyes, to stay its course. St. Bernard, not unnaturally, endeavoured to induce these monks, so exemplary in their observance of St. Benedict's rule to adopt the Cistercian constitutions; he failed in his endeavour, but, none the less, his name was to be for ever connected with Afflighem.

When the moment of his departure had come, he went to the church to make a last visit before leaving. With him were the monks of the house, and various abbots. As they went along the cloister they passed a statue of our Lady, which for sixty years had stood in a corner near the dormitory. Following his usual custom, when in presence of a statue of our Lady, St. Bernard inclined his head, and said *Ave Maria*; and then, in the presence of the assembled monks, the statue inclined its head, and from its mouth came the word *Salve Bernarde*; in gratitude the saint placed the silver-gilt crook of his pastoral staff at the foot of the statue. In memory of this wondrous event, it was decreed that henceforth for ever the "great silence" should be enforced in this part of the cloister; and as the monks passed before the

statue on their way to the church from the dormitory, every morning, they inclined before it three times, anyone who failed to do so being sharply corrected in chapter. The event was not commemorated at Afflighem only, but a mention was made of it in the Martyrology of Villers, on October 18th: "In Belgium, commemoration of our Lady, who, by the mouth of the statue of Afflighem in the presence of the monastic body and many other persons, saluted the Holy Father Bernard, saying in a loud voice, *Salve Bernarde.*"

St. Bernard's staff remained at Afflighem till the destruction of the abbey by the Gueux, in the sixteenth century, when it was confided to the care of Archbishop Hovius, of Mechlin, Commendatory Abbot of Afflighem. He exposed it to the veneration of the faithful in 1595, and restored it to the monks, when they rebuilt their abbey, in 1605.

The sacred statue was broken by the Gueux, in 1580; but in 1606 two statues, exact copies of the original, were made from the remains. It is said, indeed, that some statuettes were also made, and we know that the monks carefully treasured the smallest fragments of the original statue. One of the new statues was placed in the old position in the cloister, but in 1621 it was removed to the monk's choir of the new church. Three years later a solemn procession on the feast of the Assumption was instituted, and the statue was carried by four Capuchins. The new statue excited devotion no less than the original, and various miracles are recorded in connection with it. But in 1796 Afflighem was once more desolated, and the monks expelled. They took with them the statue, and the staff of St. Bernard. In 1836 only one monk remained, Dom Veremond d'Haeus, who was professed at Afflighem in 1793. Just as F. Sigebert Buckley, the sole survivor of the old Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, had the happiness of clothing and professing monks in the gatehouse prison, and thus perpetuating his congregation, so F. Veremond succeeded in restoring his order in Belgium. In 1838, the Benedictines of Belgium bought the suppressed Capuchin Church at Termonde, and in it placed

their venerable relics;¹ and so the statue of our Lady of Peace became once more accessible to the faithful. In June, 1870, the monks regained possession of Afflighem, which eighteen years later was raised again to abbatial rank; and in the same year they opened a house at Steiubrugge near Bruges.

The second statue was given in 1627 to the Benedictine priory of Basse-Wavre, near Brussels, and, we are told, became the source of numerous miracles. Basse-Wavre is still a celebrated place of pilgrimage. The church of Deynesbeke, near Sotteghem, possesses a statuette which is believed to have been made from the fragments of the statue of our Lady of Afflighem; and a similar statuette is venerated in the church of St. Catherine, in Brussels, under the title of the *Black Madonna*. But it would be beyond the scope of the present article to give an account of these off-shoots, so to speak, of the shrine of Afflighem.

E. W. BECK.

MIRACLES.

A FEW months back, Dr. Talmage asked Mr. Gladstone if his faith in Christianity had wavered in his old age. "The longer I live," replied Mr. Gladstone, "the stronger grows my faith in God; and my only hope of the world is that the human race will be brought more into contact with divine revelation." Would that we could say that the world, at the present time, echoed the sentiments of the great statesman! We have only to cast an eye over the literature of the day—to lend a half-willing ear to the current topics of conversation in society—to see that their tone and tendency are as the inverse ratio to the earnestness and sincerity of Mr. Gladstone's noble aspiration. Not that religion, revela-

¹ In addition to the pastoral staff of St. Bernard, the monks of Termonde have his chalice.

tion, the work of the churches, are altogether ostracised from society; but that a tone of doubt and denial—nay, of utter scepticism—pervades all classes. The existence of God, revelation, the immortality of the soul, eternity, hell, heaven, the possibility and existence of miracles, are all, in turn, agitating the public mind. These questions are no longer the peculiar property of the professor, nor the eclectic study of the lecture-room. We are living in what is popularly called an enlightened age; that is to say, the age of the manual, the primer, the thousand-and-one literary and scientific periodicals, magazines, and reviews of the day. Our lot has fallen upon an age superficial and unsound, it may be; but an age of general and widespread information. The masses have taken the outworks, and are now storming the citadel of knowledge. Knowledge is no longer the exclusive inheritance of the privileged few; literature, science, history—all are laid under contribution. Philosophical speculation, even, and religious inquiry, have not escaped the profanation of irreverent hands. We therefore think it salutary that such questions should no longer be relegated to, and immured within, the walls of cloister, college, or lecture-room. Dr. Vaughan, late Archbishop of Sydney, spoke in the following terms of the religion of doubt and denial, at present gaining ascendancy throughout the world:—

“It is principally through the ignorance of the multitude that the religion of denial is making, and has made in the past few years, a large number of converts to its teachings; and is likely—unless those who can speak, do speak, boldly and logically, too—to make great havoc among the rising generation, who, having little leisure for the habit of deep philosophical speculation, are led away with facility by such as push themselves forward as oracles of sciences, and as leaders in the van of modern thought.”

We purpose, therefore, in this paper, to discuss the vexed question of “miracles,” their possibility and existence.

In the January number of the *I. E. RECORD*, we attempted to prove the authenticity and integrity of the writings of the New Testament. Internal and external evidence, contem-

poraneous history, collateral facts—all tended to establish, beyond controversy, the absence of interpolation or corruption of the original Inspired Text. The historical life, then, is no fiction; nor are the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles myths and legends. They are the unimpeachable, established facts of history—a history no less true because it is divine.

The veracity of the Apostles, and the integrity of their works, being beyond dispute, how shall we account for the marvellous and unprecedented events contained in their narrative? Our contention is, that these events are not only historically true, but that they are miraculously true; that is to say, events accomplished not merely through the instrumentality of human or natural agency, but by a power supernatural and divine.

Our Blessed Lord appealed openly and fearlessly to His miracles as an incontrovertible testimony of the truth of His divine mission. They were not wrought in the dark, with closed doors, in secret, or in the presence of a few witnesses. He multiplied the loaves and fishes upon the hill-side, in the presence of thousands of witnesses. He raised the widow of Naim's son to life in the public thoroughfare. He changed water into wine in the presence of the assembled guests of a marriage banquet. He not only worked his miracles openly in the light of day, but He fearlessly challenged His bitterest foes to test and examine their truth. "If I do not the works of My Father," He said, "believe me not. But if I do, though you will not believe Me, *believe My works*; that you may know that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father." (John x. 37, 38.) What answer did they make? "This man," said the chief priests and Pharisees, "doth many miracles." (John xi. 47.) Tertullian taunted the Jews with having "stoned the Christ, not because he worked miracles—that they could not deny—but because he wrought them on the Sabbath day." Celsus, Porphyrinus, Julian the Apostate, did not deny His miracles; but, like the Pharisees, they attributed them to the agency of evil spirits. Upon one occasion the Jews said to our Lord: "Do we not say well that Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" Jesus answered them categorically: "I have not a devil." Upon another occasion (Luke xi. 15)

they accused Him of casting out devils by the power of Beelzebub, the prince of devils. He replied: "If Satan be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand?" St. Thomas (3^a, q. 43, 40.) appeals to miracles as ample testimony of the divinity our Blessed Lord's mission.

Since miracles evidently play such an important part in the life and labour of our Lord, let us ask ourselves what is the nature of miracles—are miracles possible?

Miracles are theologically defined to be sensible effects, beyond the known laws of nature, and only capable of being produced by the extraordinary interposition of divine power. St. Thomas defines a miracle to be an effect produced by a cause beyond the whole order of created nature—and that cause is the omnipotent power of God. Cardinal Manning observes, that "a miracle does not necessarily imply a violation of nature, as some have supposed, but merely the interposition of an external cause, which can be no other than the agency of the Deity." He calls miracles:—"irregularities of the economy of nature, forming one instance of many of the Providence of God;" and again: "they are exceptions to the laws of nature." "A true miracle," says Le Moine, "is a sensible, unusual operation or effect above the natural ability or inherent power of natural agents—that is, all created beings, and therefore performable by God alone."

Miracles are of two kinds:—I. Such as consist in a suspension of the effects of some of the known laws of nature. II. Such as are not contrary to any of these laws but out of the ordinary course of nature, and require a power superior to that of any natural agent to perform them. For a stone to fly upwards, for the sun to stand still, for a man to walk on the water—these are suspensions of the laws of nature. It would be a miracle out of the ordinary course to cure diseases by simply willing, commanding, or by a touch.

Such being the definition of, and nature of miracles, we ask the further question, Are such miracles possible?

I. *Logically*, there is no difficulty, as the possibility and existence of miracles do not imply any known contradiction

II. *Physically*, to a believer in God the question seems blasphemous and absurd. Nevertheless one of the products of this age of progress and enlightenment is the general questioning and denial of miracles. A Christian regarding God as the author of nature—its ceaseless Conservator, the Legislator of its laws, the infinite Source and final Cause of all its forces and phenomena, attributes to Him the power of changing or suspending its laws at will. The relation of the Creator to His creation is most intimate, real, and unceasing. His supervision of the universe is both positive and negative ; not only does He protect the world against destructive agencies, but He directly influences the very being of His creation, so that if His influence were withdrawn the creation would at once return to the abyss of nothingness from which it was drawn. "Conservation like creation, implies a direct action of the Divine Power, and the immediate presence of God in all things that He conserves." St. Thomas teaches that not to conserve would be to destroy, as the conservation of creatures can in no way depend upon themselves; and again, the essence of God being infinite, His power is incommensurable, and everything that exists has the source of its existence in God. Therefore, to the believer, divine interposition is no antecedent difficulty to the credibility of miracles. "They manifest," as Cardinal Newman cogently remarks, "not only the general wisdom, but the design and extended plan—the steady and sustaining purpose of one sovereign mind." They reinforce with new and splendid illustration the magnificent lesson of modern science—complicity of results traced back to simplicity of principles, variety of phenomena issuing from unity of order—"the gathering up, as it were, of the threads which connect the universe in the right hand of the one Eternal Mind." With regard to the physical possibility of miracles, J. J. Rousseau exclaims that he hesitated whether to call the man who could doubt such a possibility, a madman or a blasphemer.

"But [cries out the modern sceptic] mutability, inconstancy in the laws of nature, imply inconstancy, mutability in the mind of the author of nature—the mind of the Divine Architect. From the

beginning of all time the Creator has formulated His laws, and ordered His purposes with regard to the regulation and preservation of His universe. To suppose change, derogates from the dignity of the Divine Mind. The laws of nature are the decrees of God; but the decrees of God cannot be changed, since God's will is immovable. Therefore, miracles cannot happen."—Spinoza, *Voltaire*.

The man of science, too, has his watch-cry: "If the laws of nature are unstable—may be suspended or reversed—then is our province invaded, our principles violated, and we ourselves undone."

True, God decreed from eternity that the world should be governed by certain uniform laws, but he also decreed that in certain circumstances those laws should be interrupted, suspended, or changed. "God," says St. Thomas, "invested nature with certain laws, but he reserved to himself the power of departing from these laws. Hence change of order does not imply mutability or change in the Divine Mind." "God acts," says St. Augustine, "sometimes against the usual order of nature, but never against the supreme and absolute law of divine justice. He changes His works, but His counsels and views He never changes."

Bishop Hay makes the following pertinent remarks on this subject:—

"The whole creation, and all the laws by which it is maintained, proceed from the free will and good pleasure of Almighty God. He made use of the present system of nature with a view to those wise moral ends which He proposed to Himself. He freely made all things in nature as they are; He can with equal ease change them as He pleases. As He freely enacted those laws by which all nature is governed for the best ends, so He can dispense with them when He sees proper—that is, when the end proposed can be better accomplished by such dispensation; and though this good end happens in time, both it, and the dispensing with any law of nature in order to procure it, were always present with God from all eternity; and, therefore, when it is actually accomplished in time, it can argue no change in Him. He forms no new decrees, He makes no new laws, He acquires no new knowledge; what He willed in time, He willed from eternity. *Opera mutat consilia non mutat.*"

With regard to the outraged men of science, we can

only say: "Ne sutor ultra crepidam." Cardinal Newman aptly remarks (*Idea of University*):—

"Men whose life lies in the cultivation of one science, or the exercise of one method of thought, have no more right—though they have often more ambition—to generalize on the basis of their own pursuit but beyond its range, than the schoolboy or the ploughman to judge of a Prime Minister. But they must have something to say on every subject; habit, the fashion, the public require it of them; and if so, they can give sentence only according to their knowledge."

And Bacon observes: "Men have used some sciences to which they have most applied, and give all things else a tincture according to them, utterly untrue and improper." Cicero tells us of the musician who maintained that the soul was but a harmony, and says pleasantly: "Illic ab arte sua non recessit."

Science corrects science, and as Bacon again points out: "Neither is it possible to discover the remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand upon the level of that science and ascend not to a higher science." Physical science relates to the physical world—its forces, powers, phenomena—the study of the correlations of cause and effect in the laws of nature. A miracle belongs to another science—that of Theology; a science different from, though not opposed to, the science of the mere physicist. The votary of physical science may discover, analyse, and classify the ordinary laws and forces of nature; but before a miracle—the revelation of God's light, glory, and power, we can only address to him the words that were addressed to Moses from the burning bush: "Come not nigh hither, put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place wheron thou standest is holy ground."

In the possibility, opportuneness, and even necessity of miracles, we must, moreover, remember that God rules a world not of irrational creatures, *automata*, mere machines—necessary agents devoid of free-will—but free agents and rational creatures. His government of the material universe is absolute—the conservation of his creatures is unceasing—but in the general divine ordinance and government of the world man's will is free. In all our acts there are two

forces—the force of God which moves us, the force of our will which moves simultaneously but freely with the divine motion. These two forces very frequently act in direct opposition one to the other: then God interposes His divine authority and power to rectify the evil done, and in order to remind His erring, forgetful creature, supervenes nature, suspends its laws to assert His supreme prerogative, and give the lie to those who would banish the Creator from His own creation.

An interesting question is raised by controversialists as to the continuation of miracles: May we expect living miracles to exist in the present day—or did the age of miracles pass away with the death of the last Apostle? Some maintain that miracles ceased with the lives of the Apostles—others that they were frequent during the first three centuries—until the Church came forth from the catacombs, and was recognized and established by the civil law in the person of the Emperor Constantine. Others contend with regard to the fourth, fifth, and even to the sixth century. It need hardly be remarked that the Catholic Church has given no countenance to these discussions. Believing in her divine mission, convinced of the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost, remembering the promise of our Blessed Lord, that He will remain with His Church till the end of all time, the Catholic Church confines the operation of miracles to no persons and to no age. The establishment of God's kingdom—when the Church was in its infancy—required a more splendid demonstration of supernatural power. Hence in the time of our Lord and the Apostles the world was filled with the glory of their miracles. A miraculous agency was invoked to give testimony to and confirm the supernatural element in their doctrines and teachings. But in the present day the existence of the Church for now nearly two thousand years whilst earthly powers and dynasties have crumbled away beside it; the influence of that Church on the destinies of the world; the moral power it has exercised over the lives and conduct of men; the insatiable void which its destruction would create in the world from which it has disappeared—all testify, no less than the miracles wrought by our Lord, to the

divinity of its mission, and to the abiding presence of God's power in its midst. No ! God's arm is not shortened, and if it were conducive to the welfare of His Church, the glory of His Name, the salvation of souls, the mighty universe is still in the hollow of His hand, its winds ; its storms, its waves are still the slaves of His behest—its powers, its forces, its laws, whether to make the sun stand in the midst of its course, or to make the deformed cripple leap with joy with the sense of restored strength and power to his limbs—laws, and their suspension or change, still obey the voice of the Great Legislator. “And as for Me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.” (Isaiah lix.) “And whatsoever you shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.” (John xiv. 13.) “Greater works than these shall he do, because I go to the Father.” Such promises were given for the support, comfort, and confirmation of His Church. They were the Divine legacy which should strengthen and uphold the Church at the departure of its founder. The assurances, then, that such miracles may be perpetuated is beyond the shadow of a doubt ; and that such miracles have been wrought, we have the conclusive incontestible evidence of the Church. It may be interesting to give here the formalities necessary to the recognition of a miracle by the Church.

1. To avoid all precipitation, the popular report of the sanctity and miracles of the deceased must have existed for some considerable time before the bishop be allowed to begin his proceedings of inquiry.

2. The bishop must himself preside, if possible, at all the steps of the process ; and if he be obliged to substitute any of the inferior clergy, this judge must have a Doctor of Divinity and a Licentiate of Canon Law for his assistants.

3. He who receives the depositions must countersign every article with the witnesses themselves who subscribe them.

4. Each deponent must be asked for a circumstantial relation of the facts which he attests. It is not allowed to read over to witnesses what may have been deposed by those preceding them, and to cause it to be confirmed by their consent; but each one must be examined by himself apart, and the answers to each interrogatory extend at full length.

5. The notary and the promoter of the cause, as well as the witnesses, must be sworn to observe profound secrecy with reference to the questions put and the answers given.

6. Information must be sent to the Pope of the whole procedure, and of the judgment of the Bishop, passed thereupon.

7. A copy of the papers must be made in proper form, authenticated, sealed, and sent to the Congregation of Rites at Rome.

8. The originals are preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral Church of the diocese, in a special chest, sealed and under different keys, which are deposited with persons of different rank and character.

9. Besides the witnesses presented to the Bishop by the promoter of the case, he must also examine as many others as he can find capable of giving any proper information.

10. No extra judicial acts or attestations are allowed to be inserted among the authentic writings of the process.

We conclude our short paper, therefore, by re-stating what we have attempted to prove—that miracles were acknowledged to have been worked by our Lord; that He appealed to them as a testimony of His Divine mission; that miracles logically and physically are possible, and derogate in no way from the perfection of the attributes of the Divine mind; that they are beyond the scope of the mere physical; and that the continuance of miracles is an attribute of the Catholic Church—the true Church of an ever-present omnipotent God.

FRANCIS B. SCANNELL, O.S.B.

CATHOLIC CLUBS FOR WORKING LADS.—II.

IN the former part of this essay, I expressed my conviction that a Club would not succeed unless it was in some sense educational. I propose now to develop this view, basing my suggestions, as before, on the result of experience.

It must, of course, always be borne in mind that the ostensible object of a Club is to provide amusement. It may and should prove a most effectual means of promoting both the religious and intellectual advancement of its members; but amusement is the bait which attracts them, and we must be careful that our zeal for the improvement of the lads does not lead us to forget this. For the same reason, both educational and religious work must be introduced with tact, and care must be taken not to exaggerate the results which will follow from self-improvement. It is not wise, especially in these days, to tell a lad that he will advance his position in life, and increase his earnings, as a result of reading and culture. He probably knows enough of the struggle for existence to be aware that hundreds who are more accomplished than he can ever expect to be find it difficult to obtain employment; and our aim should be to raise the tone and standard of a class, rather than to take the most promising individuals out of it.

In saying this, I am conscious that more than one of my old Club lads at Isleworth has materially advanced his position in life; and I am aware that this is attributed, by those who have the best opportunities of knowing, to the training and influence of the Club. But such cases are, and must be, exceptional, and it is not wise to bring them forward as a stimulus.

It is, I think, better to be perfectly straightforward, and to say to the lads: "The world is full of beautiful things, which will make your life brighter and happier if you know how to use them. If you turn your attention to reading, you can obtain for yourself an endless variety of entertainment, which will be profitable as well as pleasing; for the more you read, the more you will understand about the

things around you, and the more interesting they will become. If you take up drawing or music—if you spend your spare time in museums and picture-galleries, or in studying the works of nature, if you are living among them—if you devote yourself to the acquirement of technical knowledge, or practise feats of skill—in all these ways you will make your life fuller and happier, even if you never add a penny to your income.”

With all this, however, it must never be lost sight of that a considerable proportion of the members will not take up any educational work. With these, you must be satisfied with the reflection that, so long as they are in the Club, they are, at any rate, saved from the streets and the public-house; and, if this is all that the Club accomplishes, it is, so far, doing good and useful work.

The principal means of education is, of course, by reading. In every Club there will be some members who, at least, read every week some one or more of the numerous stories which run through a long series of penny instalments, and which are artfully contrived so as to terminate at a crisis which renders the purchase of the next number a necessity. Such stories are passed from hand to hand, and so reach a wide circle of readers. I am not going to enter upon the question of their merits or demerits. It must, however, be admitted that they supply the only literature—if the word may be used in connection with them—which is read by a large class of boys, and that they at least serve to keep up the habit of reading, which is, indeed, acquired at school, but is too often abandoned as soon as school is over. “Jack Harkaway” and his innumerable followers, schoolmates, and imitators, and the interminable adventures of “Mick McQuaid,” have engaged the wrapt attention of successive generations of schoolboys, and seem likely to continue to do so for a long time to come.

Other lads find their reading in the weekly newspaper—which, in my experience, is usually *United Ireland*. This, I remember, greatly shocked a worthy brother of St. Vincent de Paul, who felt it his duty to report to a high authority the dangerous and seditious literature which I was providing

for my Club. But the high authority declined to interfere, and the London Council of St. Vincent de Paul ruled that politics could not be excluded from Clubs, however out of place in Conferences; so the really excellent Irish landlord who tried to boycott the paper did not make much by his interference.

The question of politics in Clubs may fitly be noticed here. The matter has never presented itself to me as a practical difficulty; for, as I have already said, my lads have always been Irish in sentiment and mostly so by descent. In such cases, it seems to me that the members have a right to choose their own newspapers; and if these are political—well, what Catholic newspaper is not? We have one, which has chiefly a local circulation, which keeps clear of vexed questions; and we *had* another, which, after a profession of neutrality, became viciously party in its politics, and then died. Unless, therefore, Catholic papers are to be excluded, politics must be allowed, and they must manifestly be those of the members for whom the papers are purchased. I do not think folk realize how strongly radical our young Catholic working-men are, at any rate in London; and that not by any means only because at the present time the Radical party has adopted the Home Rule programme. A paper that is Catholic and Irish is naturally popular among Irish Catholics; and this is why *United Ireland* (not of course to the exclusion of the cheaper religious papers) is always in request.

Besides the readers of stories and newspapers, there are two other classes: one, a very small one, of those who have a real love for knowledge and literature; the other, which is larger, of those who hardly ever take up a book or a paper, who come to the Club simply for the games, or to meet their friends. The first should be helped forward by the loan of books, by encouragement to buy them for themselves, and by recommendation of what to buy; the last should not be bothered to take up work for which they are unsuited, and which, if unduly pressed, may alienate them from the Club. To these, the routine of the Club presents all that they can receive in the way of education.

Among the readers, however, some can be induced to go beyond the newspapers and the "penny dreadfuls." For the last twelve years I have had a reading-class, sometimes two, in connection with the Club, consisting of from six to ten meeting once a week; and if anyone interested in a Club will take up this special work, I think he will be amply rewarded for his trouble. If he has an available room and a decent library, and will invite the lads to meet at his house, he will find it advantageous to do so. Lads don't care to go to the school; the Club-rooms can hardly be used without trenching on the rights of other members; and it is well to have books of reference at hand, for one never knows what questions will be asked. At Isleworth about half a dozen read in this way several of Shakespeare's plays, with one or two of Goldsmith's and Sheridan's: at the present time we are reading Cassell's *Citizen Reader*. Plays, however, are undoubtedly the best for reading; the constant change of speaker keeps the interest alive and the attention fixed: and with Shakespeare one can hang a great deal on to the peg afforded by some phrase which needs explanation. We always read each play through twice, and prefaced it with Lamb's *Tale*, which I read to them. I usually read something before they went away; good stirring historical poems, such as Tennyson's *Revenge*, or simple ones, like *Dora*, were liked; so was Rossetti's *White Ship*. The original "readings" and comments relieve any monotony which might otherwise exist; but the real value of work of this kind lies in the opportunity which it gives for conversation and the interchange of ideas. A vast amount of instruction can be imparted in the course of an evening spent in this manner, and I do not advocate too close an adherence to the subject which is immediately in hand. It is not difficult in this way to spend two hours a week very pleasantly, and I believe the lads gain more in the way of general information than they would otherwise obtain.

At Isleworth many of my lads were in the choir; this involved some musical training, which is a valuable adjunct to education. We are just starting a singing-class at Southwark, which seems likely to do useful work.

An occasional "social evening," or entertainment in the Club, given by the members, will help to keep up the interest. Here much may be done by excluding the low type of music-hall song which is allowed to obtrude itself far too frequently in our popular entertainments. I do not mean that such songs are indecent, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, but I am sure that the tendency of most so-called "comic" songs is lowering; and it is to me an unexplained mystery how Irishmen can endure and even applaud ditties in which their countrymen are represented as fools or knaves, and in which such "fun" as exists turns upon drunkenness and coarseness. It is sometimes urged that people like these songs and are amused at them; this, in a sense, is true; but is that any reason why we should give them no opportunity of preferring what is better, by guiding their tastes in a more healthy direction?

Every Club should have a library, and this should be selected with due regard to the tastes of the members, who indeed, should be encouraged to suggest additions. I am inclined to think that the Club books should not be lent; not only because the proportion of lent books which are lost is even greater in a club than in a private library, but because a certain number who would come to the Club to read would stay at home if they could take the book away with them; and a good attendance at the Club is desirable. Every book should be readable, and good of its kind; and the selection should be varied and comprehensive. With my lads, it is desirable to encourage and foster the fondness for Irish literature which is natural to them; such books as A. M. Sullivan's *Story of Ireland*, and *New Ireland*; O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*; the *Essays* of Thomas Davis; most of the volumes of Duffy's *National Library*; Patrick Kennedy's books, and the like, will be read with avidity. All intelligent Irish lads read and delight in *Speeches from the Dock*; but perhaps this would not be always approved by those who provide the library. There should be a certain number of Catholic tales, avoiding such as are too sentimental, and such fictions as *The Lily of Israel*; some lives of Saints, well and attractively written; and a fair sprinkling of the higher

standards of reading-books of different publishers, which are very popular as volumes of miscellaneous reading, and can often be picked up at small cost. One or two books of reference, such as Chambers' *Etymological Dictionary*, and Cassell's *Concise Cyclopædia*, should be on the shelves; and volumes of *The Graphic* and *The Illustrated London News* are a constant source of interest.

In our large towns, the members of the Club should be taken to picture-galleries, public buildings of interest, churches, cathedrals, and the like. Care should be taken to explain to them the subject or other points of interest connected with pictures; and it is therefore better to organize several expeditions, taking a few—not more than six—each time, rather than to take a large number at once. It is astonishing how apathetic lads are about things of this kind, unless their observation is stimulated, although they are quite ready to take an interest in pictures or buildings when the reason for doing so is pointed out to them. It is, of course, a great drawback to this sort of work that in England our galleries and museums are closed on the one day on which the working-man can make use of them; but opportunities can be found by those really anxious to make them available. An excursion into the country is another form of education, and one of which a certain number will from time to time avail themselves.

I have left to the last the most important kind of education—that which is connected with religion, but it is certain that in this direction the influence of a Club may be very powerful. Our lads are exposed to dangers of many kinds in their daily association with their fellow-workmen, who are almost certain not to be Catholics, and nowadays are too often opposed to all religion. In the reading-classes to which I have referred, I am constantly interrupted by some question suggested by something which has been said in “the shop”—some passing remark, it may be, or some taunt for which there was no answer ready. In cases of serious trouble, the lad would probably consult his confessor, if he were in the habit of visiting him frequently; but there are numbers of small matters in which he would not do this, although he is

glad to have an explanation of what troubles him. It must be remembered that many of our lads have not a very accurate knowledge of their religion—such knowledge, that is, as would enable them to confute an opponent; and they are glad to have someone to whom they can apply for information.

The aim of everyone who is desirous of making a Club successful, should be to induce the lads to look upon him as a friend, and to be upon terms of perfect confidence with them. It is not always easy to attain this footing; but its attainment should be steadily aimed at, and will in due time be acquired. The magnetic power of attraction and of perfect understanding between teacher and taught is common in books, but rare in real life; where it exists, it is a special gift, and a valuable one; but those who possess it are few. It is, however, not difficult to convince lads that you have their interests at heart; that you are open and above-board with them, and anxious to promote their happiness; and this conviction will solve many of the little difficulties which are sure to arise from time to time.

I find I have omitted to say that such Clubs as I have been speaking of should be restricted to Catholics. If this is not the case, their religious influence will be weak, if not wanting; it is manifestly impossible to insist—say—on attendance at Mass, if you are conscious that a proportion of your audience do not know what Mass is, nor why they should attend it; and anything like a general Communion is, of course, impossible.

I have tried to show in the above remarks that it is not impossible to manage a lad's Club, if reasonable means be adopted to ensure success. The importance of keeping our young men together is generally admitted; but I regret to say that I know few, if any, Catholic Clubs which undertake this work for lads and young working-men of the ages I have mentioned. I have not hesitated to point out how small a percentage of such lads will avail themselves of opportunities of culture, and how very much smaller is the number of those who will persevere. And yet the proportion is, I believe

much larger among this—the artisan—class, than it is among the young clerks and others who wear black coats, fashionable collars, and elegant ties, and consider themselves vastly superior to those who are, they think, on a somewhat lower plane of existence. The difference between the two classes seems to me to be, that the former—the working lads—are, at any rate, aware of their own ignorance, whereas the others are ignorant that they *are* ignorant. They seem to embody the sentiment irreverently attributed to a prominent personage at the University of Oxford :—

“ My name is Benjamin Jowett ;
 What there is to know, I know it ;
 What I don't know isn't knowledge ;
 I am the Master of Balliol College.”

For these, however, much more is done in the way of providing amusement ; but I am by no means sure that the result is satisfactory.

Some organization for our working lads, such as is provided by the Young Men's Friendly Society, the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men,¹ the Manchester Working Lad's Association, and numerous other bodies, is an urgent want, and would do much to arrest “ the leakage ” which undoubtedly exists. We may reasonably hope that the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, through its Patronage Committee, or otherwise, will take the matter up more thoroughly, and on broader lines than it has hitherto done : and as a step to this, that the well-meant but badly-executed explanation of “ Patronage ” work which appears in each yearly Report, will be re-written by someone who has had practical experience among working lads. What is needed is a combined effort, the result of a meeting in London or any centre, of a few men able and willing to give time and care, and a little money, to work of this kind.

There is yet another means by which this and much other

¹ Mr. Pelham's *Handbook of Youths' Institutes*, issued by this body, contains an excellent summary of London work among young men.

solid work could be carried on. Three years ago I published a paper¹ from which I venture to extract the following:—

“Many of the English public schools and colleges have of late years taken up a new kind of work. A mission is started in some poor part of London to establish a church, with schools, clubs, and social works of all kinds, the expenses of which are defrayed by the members of some one of these schools and colleges. In South London alone such missions have been planted by five Cambridge colleges, and by Charterhouse, Wellington, and Dulwich schools.² In this way another band of union is established between the different classes of society; and even those who from one cause or another, cannot themselves take active part in the work of civilizing, and in a manner Christianizing, the community, are enabled by their alms to share in the work. Cannot something of this sort be done among ourselves? How many priests there are who would willingly have in their crowded missions a hall for meetings and lectures, rooms for clubs and libraries, amusements for their boys and young men, social recreation for their girls and young women, but who might as well wish for the moon as for anything of the kind! The needs of our poor and the duties of the more wealthy towards them have lately been brought before the inmates of some of our schools and colleges; and it may be hoped that this will lead to some practical result. If Stonyhurst, or the Oratory School, would undertake to subscribe annually some sum towards the support of a working-men’s club in the poorer parts of London, or Manchester, or Liverpool, the result could not fail to be beneficial. A blessing to ‘him that gives and him that takes’ could not fail to follow; one more link would be added to the chain which should bind together the different classes of society—a chain which is weakening year by year; we should realize more and more that we are children of the same God and of the same Church; that our aims and hopes and interests are the same; and that it is not so much our duty as our privilege to help one another.”

It would be a beginning in the direction indicated if either of the schools named, or any other, would make themselves responsible for a Club such as I have been attempting to describe. The actual management would be vested in the hands of a small local committee, who would from time to time report to the school how the Club was progressing; it might be that such a com-

¹ *Dublin Review*, July, 1887.

² This number has been increased since the above was written.

mittee might be formed of the students of the school. The communication thus established could not fail to be beneficial to all parties concerned: the expense would not be great, and the trouble involved would be a labour of love. If those in authority should condescend to notice favourably the suggestion thus crudely set forth, it would be a privilege to me to enter further into details of a scheme which has in it the elements of success, and is at least deserving of a trial.

JAMES BRITTEN.

GANGANELLI.

LAURENCE or Vincent Ganganelli, more known generally to fame as Clement XIV., was by birth an Italian, being born in the ancient town of St. Angelo in Vado, near Rimini, in the Duchy of Urbino, in the year 1705.

His family had been resident there for generations and bore the name of their birth-place. His father, who was a physician, continued till his death to reside in the family mansion, with its airy rooms, well-arranged furniture, and a balcony that looked out on a picturesque vine-clad plain. He moreover enjoyed a large practice in the district, and unwonted popularity with all classes of the community amongst whom he lived.

His son was in complexion fair for an Italian. His intelligent face, lighted up by remarkably lustrous eyes, and this manner, at once cheerful and attractive, made him a favourite with the people of the neighbourhood, especially with the poor. He had frequently been brought into contact with the latter, by his father on his medical visits to the homes of the sick poor, where he observed the great depth of their religious feeling; notably in the strong men, rough from digging in the fields, the workers in the garden, and the husbandmen; all loving their little children and wives, respecting their aged parents,

attending them in their illness, administering to them in their need, and when all these were passed, closing their eyes in death with the hope of their opening them hereafter in a better world.

As much he considered might one look for a gem on a barren waste, as for such charms of home life in any place outside the haunts of great religious influences.

In 1724 he resolved to enter the service of the sanctuary, and having fully made up his mind, joined the Franciscan Order, towards the end of that year. Little more at this time is known about him. He made his solemn profession in the year 1725; was ordained priest in 1732, and not many years afterwards created Cardinal by Clement XIII.

About this period the controversy raged which ended unfortunately in the suppression of that great order, the Society of Jesus, and was at flood height when he entered the sacred college. Happily for himself Cardinal Ganganelli saw the worthless and evil designing character of the men who were endeavouring to make desolate the sanctified homes of the great sons of Loyola. Being himself the only religious of any order, wearing at the time the Church's purple, he considered it incumbent on him to do what came within his power to oppose so wicked a project.

The firmness which characterised this resolve is said to have been most pleasing to the Pope, who felt glad at the wisdom of his choice in making a cardinal of such a man, whose general appearance, voice and manner wrought impressions in his favour. Besides, it is well-known that Clement XIII., when bishop of Padua, was a sincere and ardent admirer of the society; a fact that spoke clarion-tongued for their goodness in being esteemed by one enjoying so high a reputation for sanctity.

But rudeness and insolence were at this period the order of the day, and had since the beginning of the eighteenth century marked the conduct of the Catholic monarchs towards the Apostolic See, who now more than ever determined to maintain this attitude of opposition, instead of their former respectful deference.

It would seem as though the glories of Pepin and Charlemagne, and the victories of Hildebrand were alike fugitive in this age, and had passed like northern lights, and faded only to leave the sky in greater darkness. In such times we can scarcely feel surprised that great reluctance arose among many churchmen to undertake the burden and responsibility of the Papal Throne. Of these one was Benedict XIII., of the Orsini family, who in 1724, after his election, begged with tears not to be forced to accept the Pontifical dignity. He was a Dominican, and only submitted to the office under obedience to the General of his Order.

Nor is it surprising that this sentiment should prevail, when a little time previously he with many others saw how the troops of Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, had pillaged the States of the Church, and his generals conclude an alliance with the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza for the purpose of laying the clergy under contribution, because that monarch thought Clement XI. had, during the War of Succession, looked with favour upon the claims of France in opposition to his brother's accession to the Throne of Spain : though this War of Secession, which arose on the death of Charles II., Clement did all he could to prevent. In like manner, when the Roman Court, though much against its will, but in the interests of peace, was forced to recognise Charles III. as King of Spain, and to grant him the investiture of Naples, Philip V. of Anjou, on being made aware of the conditions of this treaty, became so indignant that he commanded the Papal Nuncio to at once leave Spain, and forbade all intercourse between the Holy See and his subjects. To this ebb had the affairs of the Church come between her chiefs and the princes of Europe, when the Bourbon kings of Spain and France made their desperate onslaught on what was then, as now, considered one of the most useful out-posts of the Papacy, the Society of Jesus. Amongst the satellites-in-chief of the crowned heads, at whose bidding was made this unworthy attack, special mention might be made of Pombal, the Portuguese Minister, and the Court Canonist Periera. Of these the German historian

Alzog writes thus: "Whatever may have been the motives of the latter, the former certainly acted from diabolical hatred of men who would not consent to be his tools, and from the lust of gold in which the reductions abounded." This Pombal, it is said, had himself got up a conspiracy against the king, and did all he could to lay this act of perfidy at the door of the Jesuits; ten of them were put on their trial for this conspiracy, and, notwithstanding the glaring unfairness of the court in the manner of its constitution, obtained an honourable acquittal.

Again, John Chatel, as far back as the year 1594, was said to have made an attack on the life of a certain king of France; even the guilt of this deed was now imputed to the Jesuits, and the accusation was renewed, though this John Chatel, in the strongest protestations, over and over again, exonerated these venerable men from all knowledge of his act. Thus were continually the most crafty political methods employed against the Society of Jesus, till finally the European sovereigns resolved in a body to avenge, as it were, in the person of these good men whatever wrongs they imagined they had at any time endured at the hands of the Apostolic See. They, therefore, forthwith demanded through their envoys, that the Pope should "abolish unconditionally the Society of Jesus."

This demand may be said, with truth, to have broken the heart of that great Pontiff, Clement XIII., who, in order to appease this demand, called a Consistory for the 3rd of February, 1769, in which it was to be considered. He passed away, however, before this date without having shown any notable signs of the approach of his so near dissolution.

In May of the same year Cardinal Ganganelli became his successor. He took his predecessor's name on ascending the Papal Throne, and was installed as Clement XIV. Though his election did not take place till the Conclave had sat for three months, the appointment appears to have given great satisfaction both to priests and people, it being well known that the august office—whatever might be said of its bestowal occasionally in the past on persons not

raised above mediocrity—had on this occasion, at all events, been bestowed on one whose abilities were an honour to the Papacy.

His installation took place on 19th of May, 1769, and, what rarely occurs, he had on the occasion to be consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, Bishop of Rome, as when created a Cardinal he was only in Priest's Orders.

Scarcely had the oil of chrism dried on his hands, when he felt, with black dismay, that the question of the suppression of the Jesuits had commenced already to cast its shadows into the council-chambers of the Holy See—though, in the light of history, one finds it difficult to understand by what mental process he could have thought to ward off, through his reign, so grave a question, especially as he should have expected that his early espousal, when cardinal, of the cause of the followers of St. Ignatius, made him anything but a favourite in the eyes of the kings of Europe.

His first directions, therefore, issued on becoming Pope, were those most likely to avert, if not destroy altogether, the machinations of the enemies of the Jesuits. He raised to a bishopric the Canonist Periera, and made a cardinal of the brother of Pombal. Moreover, to assuage the various Potentates, he forbade for ever the reading of the Bull "*In Coena Domini*" at which they took so much offence. These, and similar acts, were the means he used to reach the sympathies of "the powers that be." But they fell on the stolid hearts of men in whose lives no track remained that led to good, either in religion or politics. These concessions only brought him back a reminder of the promises he made in the first year of his Pontificate to the Spanish Government on September 30th, 1769; another to France, the November of the same year—"that he would abolish the Society of Jesus." He still, however, fondled the hope that his cherished wish would yet be realized, and that in the end mutual discussion would beget feelings of a more tolerant and just kind, and such as would help all parties to reject, with scorn, the execution of so great an injustice.

Needless to remark, such proposals found no favour in any

of the Cabinets of Europe, with the result that never before had the members of the Curia beheld in Clement so much fire and so little sunshine. It was, he now found, too late to stem the torrent that swept on in increasing volume, menacing ruin to the order of the Jesuits. And he suffered intensely from a tide of conflicting thoughts that rushed in surges through his over-wrought brain. At length he yielded to the renewal of the Consistory of February 3rd, which the death of his predecessor rendered temporarily inoperative.

For four years a congregation sat, especially appointed to consider charges, which somehow suggested, to say the least of them, the idea of foam and water, many of which were without foundation. Men of mind, and of great learning and discrimination worked the machinery, through which flowed the subtle essence that was supposed to contain the poison said to vitiate the institute now on its trial for existence.

Enemies of the society, more especially the emissaries of the different governments, took every advantage of unscrupulously using the power their position had conferred. They even forced their opponents to leave the respective countries in which their order had foundations, and refrained from no device, capable of being employed, to damage their character in the eyes of the world. Charges the most gross were circulated, to their prejudice, in every imaginable form. In the meantime canonists on either side strove hard to maintain the ground assumed, and allotted to them by their respective patrons; and fought hard behind long ranges of probabilities, and in deep trenches of all manner of distinctions, and from within walls of words. The end came at last, and found expression in the Brief beginning with the words, "*Dominus ac Redemptor noster.*" This bore date July 21st, 1773, and settled practically a dispute that had lain long in abeyance. Then came into historical prominence the celebrated saying of Aqua Viva, "let them be as they are, or let them cease to be." That expression told the story of the true nature of the Jesuit order in a phrase that was modest, so far as their own disposition in the hour of persecution was concerned.

With regard to the justice or the injustice of this decision, no more than with its results either to the Apostolic See, or to the actors in its different stages of progress, it is not necessary or desirable to enter on a disquisition here, as I merely allude to the suppression of the society in so far only as it became a phase in the life of Clement XIV.

Clement did not long endure the shadow this event cast on his life, and soon showed signs that old age and its accompanying infirmities had begun to tell upon his formerly robust frame.

He paid frequent visits to the Church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome, where in early life he officiated as a priest, and where he now sought the consolations of religion by surrendering himself to great devotional feeling.

He every day said Mass, prayed much, and made long meditations. The bent of mind which in boyhood prompted him to enter the Franciscan Order, seemed now to come back upon him with peculiar force, and he regretted ever being compelled to leave the seclusion of his convent. Unlike men in general, who fear much when their end approaches, the fear of death in Ganganelli seemed to become lulled by the promptings of strong faith.

At the Easter of 1774 he was taken dangerously ill; he lingered, however, a few months, and died September 22nd, the same year. A monument (the work of Canova) placed in the church of his order at Rome, the Santi Apostoli, to commemorate his memory, is still there to denote that he was once Bishop of the Eternal City.

JOSEPH A. O'SHEA, O.S.F.

CATHOLIC V. PROTESTANT; OR, CONTROVERTED POINTS OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE SUBSTANTIATED BY HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THERE are few priests engaged in any sphere of missionary duty who are not called upon, from time to time, by non-Catholics, and sometimes even by the children of the household of the Catholic faith, either to give Scriptural evidence of Catholic dogma, or to refute from the Word of God, some of the misconceived notions of Protestants. To inquirers after truth, moreover, they occasionally need to be ready to give "an account of the faith that is in them."

It often happens that the duties of the clergy are so onerous, manifold, and absorbing, that they have little leisure time, for searching either the Scriptures themselves, or the works of authors who have *ex professo* treated controversial subjects.

Hence, it has occurred to me, that it would be of advantage to the readers of the I. E. RECORD if some one arranged in alphabetical order, the various subjects of controversy, and brought to bear upon each the sacred texts, as presented both by the authorised Catholic and Protestant versions of the Scriptures, carrying on this work, month by month, and a little at a time, until the controverted matter at least concerning the principal points of doctrine, be pretty well exhausted. I feel it is no inconsiderable venture, for one engaged in many of the ordinary duties of an active priesthood to undertake to inaugurate this project; but how better spend my leisure time than in helping to compass so desirable an end?

I subjoin a brief paper on *Absolution*, as being the first controverted point in alphabetical order.

The plan I propose to adopt is as follows:—(1) to give a definition of the subject treated; (2) to furnish the Catholic texts which bear directly or indirectly upon it; (3) to give the same from the Protestant versions of the old and newly-revised editions; and (4) to conclude each short article with an explanatory note.

Moreover, to spare the reader the trouble of reference the texts of Scripture shall always be given in full, unless when identical. The Catholic references will be taken from the Douay version ; the Protestant from the old and new versions as in present use by the Church of England ; and, whenever the version of the former is found to differ in words or short sentences from either of the latter, such words will be printed in *italics*, so that the reader may see at a glance the slightest verbal divergency.

Having sketched my plan of procedure, let us now consider the important subject of sacerdotal

ABSOLUTION.

Definition.—Absolution from sin is “a remission of sin which the priest, by authority received from Christ, makes in the Sacrament of Penance.” (*Cath. Dict.*, page 5.) “It is a judicial act by which a priest, as judge, passes sentence on the penitent.” (*Conc. Trident.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 9.)¹

CATHOLIC VERSION

(DOUAY).

Matth. xvi. 19.

“And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, *it* shall be bound *also* in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, *it* shall be loosed *also* in heaven.”

Matth. xviii. 18.

“*Amen* I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound *also* in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed *also* in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“He said therefore to them again: Peace be to you. As the Father hath sent me, *I also* send you. When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.”

PROTESTANT VERSION

(OXFORD, 1611).

Matth. xvi. 19.

“And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind *on* earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

Matth. xviii. 18.

“Verily I say unto you, *Whatsoever ye* shall bind *on* earth, shall be bound in heaven; and *whatsoever ye* shall loose *on* earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“Then said Jesus to them again: Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, *even so* send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose *soever* sins *ye* remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose *soever* sins *ye* retain, they are retained.”

PROTESTANT NEW RE-

vised version

(OXFORD, 1881).

Matth. xvi. 19.

The same.

Matth. xviii. 18.

“Verily, I say unto you, What *things soever* ye shall bind *on* earth, shall be bound in heaven; and what *things soever* ye shall loose *on* earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you; as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you, And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose *soever* sins *ye* forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose *soever* sins *ye* retain, they are retained.”

NOTE ON ABOVE REFERENCES.

On the above passages of Holy Scripture, St. Chrysostom,

¹ “Si quis dixerit, absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis non esse actum judiciale . . . anathema sit.”

one of the greatest lights of the early Christian epoch (5th century), writes thus :—

“To the priests is given a power which God would give neither to the angels nor the archangels ; for to these it was not said : ‘whatsoever ye shall bind,’ &c. Earthly princes have, indeed, the power of binding, but it is only as to the body ; but the binding power of the priests reaches even to the soul, and ascends to the heavens, insomuch that what the priests do below, God ratifies above, and the Master confirms the sentence of the servants.”—*St. Chrys. on the Priesthood.*

Such, in a word, may be said to be the language of the Holy Fathers in all ages.

“It is, indeed, true, that God alone can forgive sins *in His own name and by His own power* ; but as He has the power of forgiving sins in His own name, He can *communicate* that power to others *as His ministers.*”

And this is what He has really done :

“*Solus Deus per auctoritatem et a peccato absolvit et peccatum remittit. Sacerdotes tamen utrumque faciunt per ministerium, inquantum verba sacerdotis in hoc sacramento instrumentaliter operantur in virtute divina, sicut etiam in aliis sacramentis.*” (*Sum. Minor. St. Thom. Tract. XI., de pœn, No. 3.*)

From the above texts, then, the Catholic Church maintains that Christ evidently gave the power of binding and loosing to all the Apostles and to their successors, while expressing the supreme prerogative and power of St. Peter, their head, to whom He specially addressed Himself in the 16th chapter of St. Matthew’s Gospel. For the keys of a city or kingdom are wont to be presented or handed over to the person that exerciseth the *chief* power. So that, while we own a power of the keys given to all the Apostles alike in both SS. Matthew’s and John’s Gospels, we regard it as subordinate to St. Peter and to his successor as the Head of the Church on earth. Hence we see in the 18th chapter of St. Matthew the power of binding and loosing, which was promised to St. Peter in a more eminent manner, is here promised to the other Apostles. Then from the 20th chapter of St. John’s Gospel it is clear that Christ *did* bestow this power upon all the Apostles, when He said : “Receive ye the Holy

Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained." These words clearly express the delegation of His power of forgiving sin, which, as God, He hereby gave to His Apostles and to their successors—all bishops and priests—to forgive sin in His name, as His ministers and instruments, even though they be sinners themselves; for in this they act, not by their own power, nor in their own name, but in the name of God, who, as the principal cause, always remits sin. The holy Fathers of the Church, the great exponents of the doctrine of the early Church and of their times, following St. Augustine, affirm the same. Vide St. Aug. tract. 49 *in Joan*, and in his book of 50 Homilies, hom. 9; St. Chrysostom *de Sacerd.* lib. 3; St. Ambrose, lib. 3 *de poenit*; St. Cyril, lib. 12, cap. 50, *in Joan.*; Basil, lib. 5, *contra Eunom.*, wherein he proves the Holy Ghost to be God, because He forgiveth sins *by the Apostles*: St. Irenæus, lib. 5, cap. 13; St. Greg. *Hom. in Evang.*, &c. It might be well to quote here the words of Tertullian, who witnesseth for the century immediately after the Apostles. He writes:

"If you think heaven still closed, remember that *the Lord left the keys of it to Peter, and through him to the Church.* . . . The all-provident God, in case there should be some obstacle to the opening of those gates after Baptism, *instituted something further to open them, namely, the Sacrament of Penance.*"

Origen, too, says:

"If we have revealed our sins, *not only to God, but also to those who are able to heal our wounds and sins*, our sins will be blotted out. . . ."

And St. Cyprian:

"Let all confess that satisfaction and remission of sins *granted by priests hold good with God.*"

In the fourth century, St. Athanasius writes:—

"As man is illuminated with the grace of the Holy Spirit *by the priest that baptises*, so also he who confesses in penitence, receives *through the priest*, by the grace of Christ, *the remission of sins.*"

And to meet that trite objection of both ancient un-

believers, as well as modern non-Catholic Christians, what could be more powerful than those words of St. Augustine :—

“ Let no one say, ‘ I confess my sins to God ’—‘ God knows my heart ’—and ‘ God knows more than anyone can know, because I do penance in my heart ’—‘ Therefore [responds the Holy Doctor] therefore, *without reason* it was said : ‘ Whatsoever you shall loose on earth,’ &c. . . . Therefore, *without purpose*, the keys were given to the Church. *Without meaning !* In vain becomes the Gospel ! In vain—the words of Christ ! ‘ Frustramus Evangelium ! Frustramus verba Christi ! ’ ”

And yet, despite the clear evidence of Scripture on this point, and the universal acceptance of it by the great lights of the Church, the doctrine of sacerdotal absolution has nevertheless to occupy a foremost place in the field of controversy. For not only do our separated brethren reject it and the Sacrament of Penance, of which it is an integral part, but the so-called Reformers of the sixteenth century plainly removed the necessity of any such sacrament by their extraordinary, bold and even blasphemous teaching regarding free-will and sin. Though we shall have to treat these matters, as well as confession, properly so-called, in their own alphabetical order, it will be nevertheless appropriate and useful to quote a few of their extravagances on this point.

“ The commandments of God are all equally impossible.” (Luther, *de libert. Christ.*, tom. 2, fol. 4. 2.) “ Good works, even the best of our works, are mortal sins and deserve damnation.” (Luther, *Ast.*, 32, tom. 2, fol. 110.) Calvin taught the same, according to Alexander Ross, *View of Religions*, page 237, a book printed in 1658, *which I have* : “ No sins can damn a man, but only unbelief.” (Luther, tom. 2, fol. 171, 2.) “ By God’s own will He lays man under a necessity of being damned.” (Luther, *ib.*, fol. 434, 2.) “ Free-will after sin is an empty name ; and when it does its best, it sins mortally.” (Luther, tom. 2, fol. 111, 2.) “ God forces man to sin.” (Zuinglius *de Prov. Dei*, tom. 1, fol. 365-366.) “ God has created the greatest part of mankind on purpose to damn them.” (Calvin, according to Collier’s Dict., under the word *Calvinism*.)

So much, though only a little that could be quoted, from the Fathers of the Reformation.

The Church of England (and with it we may allocate the non-Conformists), rejects the doctrine of sacerdotal absolution by the fact of admitting only the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, while she distinctly states in her Twenty-fifth Article that penance is not to be counted as a sacrament, having no visible sign or ceremony ordained of God. (*Book of Common Prayer*, Art. xxv.) Yet with her proverbial inconsistency she explicitly approves of auricular confession and sacerdotal absolution in her "Visitation of the Sick," as follows:—

"Here shall the sick person be moved to make a *special confession* of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession *the priest shall absolve* him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, *who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners* who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and *by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Amen.'"

Now as the practice on this consistently follows the rejection by them of the Sacrament of Penance, except in optional cases in *articulo mortis*, the logical conclusion is that, if there be any sacramental efficacy or condoning power in the absolution, he is exhorted not to die without absolution, *even though he lives a whole lifetime without it.* Who does not see the gravest inconsistency here? The Ritualists, Puseyites, and High Church party generally, seem to recognise so keenly this inconsistency that they are gradually introducing the practice of sacerdotal absolution; moved also, no doubt, by the irresistible force of the Divine Word and by the authority of tradition. The force of the above texts, the Low Church party seems to studiously shirk. Their Bible is generally unannotated; hence the evident sanction of the power of binding and loosing stands without comment. And if we seek one of their versions with notes, what do we find? I will quote from Wood's *Christian Family Bible*, in which the Rev. author declares *he has only directed attention in his notes to those passages which manifestly appeared to want explanation.* (Wood's *Bible*, prefatorial address.) Well surely, the above texts court some explanation. Let us turn then to

this Unannotated Bible. To John xx., verse 23—"Whose soever sins ye remit, &c," he has the following note:—

"According to the tenor of the Gospel, that is, supposing them to repent and believe, they (the sins) are remitted; 'and whose sins ye retain,' supposing them to remain impenitent, they are retained. So far is plain. But here arises a difficulty. Are not the sins of one who truly repents, and unfeignedly believes in Christ, remitted without priestly absolution? And are not the sins of one who does not repent or believe, retained even with it?"

The annotator says not a word more; he seems to have overcome the acknowledged difficulty *by merely stating it*. And if we appeal to their theologians, we find Bishop Porteus, commenting on the above text of St. John, asserting that Christ did not give the Apostles any real power to remit sins, but "only a power of declaring who were truly penitent, and of afflicting miraculous punishments on sinners; as likewise of preaching the Word of God." So far does this explanation of Dr. Porteus conflict with the plain natural sense of the Written Word that the renowned Protestant champion, Chillingworth, shows at length the inconsistency, and concludes by acknowledging that they who seek absolution should approach "*one that hath authority delegated to him from God Himself to absolve and acquit them of their sins.*" (Chillingworth, *Serm. vii.*, pp. 408, 409. See Milner's *End of Rel. Con.*, Letter xli.)

The Rev. Dr. Whitby (1718) thus paraphrases the text of St. John:—

"Then said Jesus to them again, 'Peace be to you, as My Father hath sent Me (*to preach in His name*), even so send I you (*to preach in My name*). And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost (*to enable you for this office*). Whose soever sins ye (*thus commissioned and thus assisted by the Holy Ghost, declaratively shall*) remit, they are (*and shall under the Gospel covenant be*) remitted to them; and whose soever sins ye (*declaratively in your Gospel shall*) retain, they are (*and shall in Heaven be*) retained."

It may be well to conclude with the remark that the Lutherans (the elder branch of the Reformation) expressly hold that absolution is *no less a sacrament* than Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that *particular absolution* is to be retained

in confession : that to reject it is the error of the Novatian heretics, and that, *by the power of the keys* (Matthew xvi. 19) *sins are remitted*, not only in the sight of the Church, but also in the sight of God. (*Conf. Augs. Arts. xi., xii., xiii., Apol.*)

I trust by these quotations I have furnished sufficient matter to aid my brethren in dealing with any inquiries after truth concerning sacerdotal absolution.

Confession, which naturally precedes the act of a judicial sentence and sacerdotal absolution, will be treated in its proper place : but the next subject in order will be on "Abstinence and Fasting."

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

THE USE OF LARD AND DRIPPING ON FAST DAYS AND DAYS OF ABSTINENCE OUTSIDE LENT.

"VERY REV. SIR,—Would you kindly answer the following questions in the next Number of the I. E. RECORD :—

"Is the use of lard and dripping permitted on fast days and days of abstinence outside Lent ?

"And does the permission to use lard and dripping on fast days extend to the collation as well as to the principal meal ?

"H. M. M."

We desire, at the outset, to direct the attention of our readers to a very exhaustive paper, on the use of lard and dripping on Lenten and extra-Lenten fasting days, as also on all days of abstinence during the year, by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in the I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. ii. (1881), page 166. We reproduce here the substance of His Grace's exposition, so far as it treats of fast days and days of abstinence *outside of Lent*.

Among the dispensations asked for by the Irish bishops assembled at the Synod of Maynooth, was the following :—
 "Denique Episcopi petunt ut diebus jejunii, exceptis solemnioribus, usus laridi tanquam condimenti permittatur." This

dispensation was granted in the following terms:—"Quoad usum laridi et sagiminis supplicandum Ssmo. pro extensione Indulti dati die 20 Februarii, 1853 Emo. Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ad omnes Hiberniae dioceses. Eadem die ac Feria, Ssmus. audita relatione ut supra benigne annuit pro gratia juxta DD. Emorum suffragia."

To reply to our correspondent's question, we have now to inquire, does this concession extend to fast days and days of abstinence outside of Lent? And does the permission to use lard and dripping on fast days extend to the collation?

I.

Does this concession extend to *fast days* outside of Lent?

The concession does extend to fast days outside of Lent; because this concession is only an extension, to the whole of Ireland, of an Indult which had been granted to the diocese of Dublin as early as 1853. Now, the Indult granted to the diocese of Dublin availed not only for fast days in Lent, but extended also to all fasting days outside of Lent. Hence the dispensation granted to the whole of Ireland, in 1877, must be regarded as extending to extra-Lenten fasting days.

It can happen, however, that, in a particular diocese, it may not be lawful to use lard or dripping on fast days outside of Lent; because, as His Grace writes, "It must be borne in mind that the Indults of 1853 and of 1877, are not to be regarded as dispensations granted directly by the Holy See to the faithful, but as Indults empowering each bishop, as far as in his wisdom he may deem it expedient to do so, to grant this dispensation to the faithful of his diocese."

When we say, therefore, that the concession granted in 1877 extends to fast days outside of Lent, we mean that, in virtue of that Indult, the Irish bishops are empowered to allow their subjects to use lard and dripping on fast days. If a bishop exercises this power, then his subjects may use lard and dripping on fast days. If the bishop deems it inexpedient to exercise his power of dispensing, then the faithful in his diocese may not use lard and dripping on fasting days. Practically, therefore, each priest must inquire

whether his bishop has granted this dispensation to the faithful in his diocese, and whether it extends not only to Lent, but also to the extra-Lenten fasting days.

II.

Does the Indult of 1877 extend to *days of abstinence* during the year—*e. g.*, to Fridays?

This question, also, must be answered in the affirmative; that is, the bishops have power to grant this dispensation, even on ordinary days of abstinence during the year. But, again, the bishops may not always exercise this power; and hence, as in the preceding case, each priest must learn for himself whether his bishop's dispensation, in the use of lard and dripping, extends to days of mere abstinence during the year.

III.

Does the permission to use lard and dripping, on fast days, extend to the collation?

Though—according to a principle oftentimes explained—permission to use lard, &c., at the collation, would involve a dispensation in the law of *fasting*, as well as of *abstinence*, still the Irish bishops undoubtedly have power to extend the dispensation even to the collation. The bishops, however, may restrict the use of lard and dripping to the principal meal; and hence each priest must learn the extent of his own bishop's concession. But “there can be no doubt [to use His Grace's words] that, as a matter of ecclesiastical legislation, the use of lard, &c., as condiments, when allowed at the principal meal, is also, in the absence of a special restriction, allowed, in similar circumstances, at the collation.” And what is allowed at the morning collation to those who fast, is also allowed, in similar circumstances, to those who may take a full breakfast—*e. g.*, to those who are excused from fasting by reason of their exhaustive occupation.

Finally, we subjoin a few necessary observations:—(1) It is not allowable to eat lard in its solid state, like ordinary food: “Certum est [writes Sabetti] non licere illud edere per frusta ad instar obsonii, quia ita caro reputatur.” (N. 334, Quaer. 2°) (2) Lard and dripping, therefore, may be taken

only in a liquid state, as condiments, "and only in cases where other kinds of food are allowed, in conjunction with which they are thus serviceable." Hence, at the *collation*, "their use, as a substitute for oil, is allowed only in the cooking of certain kinds of food, vegetables, &c., the use of which had, previous to this concession, been sanctioned by usage." Poor people use lard and dripping in a liquid state, as a condiment with bread, potatoes, &c., and also in the cooking of other kinds of food. (3) When lard is allowed on fast days or days of abstinence, *swine-lard* only is understood to be permitted: "Nunquam vero in concessione condimenti laridi intelligitur adeps cujuscumque alterius animalis praeter suillum." (Sabetti, *ibid.*) Lehmkuhl, however, says that, in some places, the word *laridum* gets a wider interpretation; hence, the custom of one's country will be a safe guide to follow in this matter: "Et licet illud, [laridum] si dispensatio conceditur, intelligi consueverit de solo sagimine *suili*, in quibusdam locis tamen etiam de alius generis sagiminibus." (Lehmkuhl, vol. i., page 774.)

II.

THE RE-BAPTISM OF INFANTS BAPTIZED PRIVATELY BY NURSES OR DOCTORS.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly notice the following in the pages of the I. E. RECORD:—At a meeting of priests, a point arose with regard to conditional baptism, after baptism is conferred by a nurse or medical doctor. One of the priests held that conditional baptism should be administered in *every* case, even though in a particular one the nurse or doctor were taught how to baptize, and were, besides, cool-headed and conscientious; and he founded his argument on usage, sanctioned by the bishops. Others were of opinion that it would be altogether opposed to the teaching of theology to baptize in all cases indiscriminately, and against the statute framed by the bishops, which deals with this particular question. "SACERDOS."

Though the priests referred to by our correspondent seem to have differed very much in their speculative views regarding the re-baptism of infants, we fancy there is very

little practical difference of opinion amongst them. We would say, in reply to our correspondent's question :—

1°. Infants privately baptized, by nurses or doctors, are not to be indiscriminately re-baptized. It is perfectly clear that, if a priest has no doubt about the validity of such a private baptism, he cannot re-baptize the child. Now, we can conceive cases where there would be no reasonable doubt about the validity of private lay baptism; for example, if administered by a doctor who was known to be familiar with theology, and very conscientious in the discharge of his duties. This may be a very exceptional case; but it illustrates the rule laid down by theologians, that children baptized privately by nurses are not to be indiscriminately re-baptized. Gury asks, “An sint rebaptizandi infantes sive ab obstetricibus, sive a laicis baptizati?” And he answers, “Resp. Neg., nisi adsit probabilis suspicio erroris in collato baptismo. Ita communissima et vera sententia, inquit S. Lig., n. 156, ubi decisionem S. Congreg. commemorat.” (Gury-Ballerini, vol. ii., n. 249, Quaer. 4.) Similarly, the Maynooth Statutes say, “Baptizari sub conditione volumus infantes expositos a parentibus, atque etiam eos qui a nutricibus, aut obstetricibus in domibus privatis abluti sunt, *nisi similiter fide dignis testimoniis constet baptismum fuisse rite collatum.*” (Page 76, n. 40.)

2°. When may a priest be sufficiently certain of the validity of baptism conferred by a nurse or doctor to omit the administration of conditional baptism? The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide addressed an instruction to the Vicars Apostolic in the East Indies on this subject, which supplies the reply to our question :

“Unusquisque missionarius catechistas suos . . . semel saltem singulis annis diligenter examinare tenebitur, ut certior fiat, quinam inter illos sint fiducia digni. 2°. Ut non teneatur missionarius, baptizatos a catechista fiducia digno, sub conditione baptizare, requiritur ut adsint duo testes, qui testificari possint baptismum fuisse legitime collatum; quibusdam tamen casibus exceptis, in quibus singulis perpensis circumstantiis, attenta peritia et probitate catechistae, cui tamen fiducia non est nimis facile concedenda, fieri potest, ut nullum prorsus probabile dubium circa validitatem baptismi oriatur, etiamsi non adfuerint duo testes.” (Apud Lehmkuhl, vol. ii. page 15.)

Therefore, if two trustworthy and competent witnesses testify that baptism has been already validly conferred by a lay person, then the priest is not bound to re-baptize the infant. This would seem to be regarded by Propaganda as the normal evidence of the certainty of private baptism. In some exceptional cases—"quibusdam tamen casibus exceptis"—the evidence of one witness, or the evidence of the lay minister himself, may convince the priest that baptism should not be repeated. The evidence of the lay minister of baptism is not, however, to be too easily believed—"cui tamen fiducia non est nimis facile concedenda." Hence, too, the Maynooth Statutes prescribe that the baptism should be repeated, "Nisi similiter *fide dignis testimoniis* constet baptismum fuisse rite collatum." Missionary priests in this country, we think, regard with suspicion the baptism conferred by nurses, because they are not always the most intelligent persons; and though they may have been well instructed, there is a danger that, being unaccustomed to baptize, and being somewhat disturbed by the excitement of the occasion, and from other causes, they may omit something really essential to the validity of the sacrament.

3°. In every case of private baptism the priest must diligently inquire whether baptism has been validly conferred before he can proceed to re-administer the sacrament, even conditionally. "Verissime dicitur, in singulis casibus diligenti examine inquirendum esse, num servata fuerit debita materia et forma. Id enim etiam postea, anno 1878 generali edicto S. Officium denuo inculcavit." (Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., page 16.) Priests, therefore, should always make this *diligens examen*; but, of course, the *examen* will vary with circumstances; *prout adjuncta ferant*. They can ask, was private baptism administered? Did any person witness it—and in this country we think it is rarely if ever witnessed by anyone except the nurse; then, if not witnessed by others, priests can ask the nurse, if she is present, how she baptized, &c. Of course, priests are not bound to be making useless inquiries; and, therefore, if a priest could not accept conscientiously the evidence of the nurse alone, he would not be bound to put her any questions, if the baptism were not witnessed by other trustworthy and competent witnesses.

4. To conclude, therefore : a child who was baptized by a nurse or doctor, should be re-baptized, unless the priest is certain that the baptism was validly conferred. And, except in the case of very intelligent and self-possessed nurses—in exceptional cases, a priest can scarcely accept the testimony of the nurse alone that the sacrament was validly conferred. A nurse may go through the ceremony correctly when examined by the priest, and make some serious mistake when administering the sacrament. In individual cases, therefore, each priest shall have to determine for himself whether there is any doubt about the validity of the sacrament or not ; but as the priests who have spent a considerable time on the mission, insist on re-baptizing in those cases, we would recommend young priests to imitate their example, at least until they can learn from their own experience, what value to attach to the baptism conferred by nurses. We may remark too that, though baptism cannot be at all repeated unless there is some doubt about its validity, Lehmkuhl distinguishes between when a priest is *bound* to re-baptize conditionally, and when he *may* re-baptize conditionally. According to Lehmkuhl, a priest *may* re-baptize even when there is not sufficient doubt about the past baptism to induce an *obligation* of re-baptizing. (Vol. ii., page 15.)

Finally, we would direct the attention of our readers to the following from Gury :—“ Hinc parochus curet, ut fideles rectum baptizandi ritum probe teneant ac servant ; præsertim vero quoad obstetrices hoc munus ei incumbit, cui invigilare episcopi est.” (Pars. ii., n. 249, Quaer. 4, note 2.)

III.

THE UNION OF PARISHES ; AND THE MASS PRO POPULO.

The following case of conscience has been referred to the Editor of the I. E. RECORD :—

“ The parochus had been for some years parish priest, with the usual collation of a parish of somewhat more than 500 families. The adjoining parish of an equal number of families became vacant on account of the translation of its parochus to another more suitable. On the invitation of the bishop the two parishes were placed under the present parish priest's care and jurisdic-

tion. The parishes now are worked by the assistance of curates, one of whom resides in the lately annexed district. The parochus has not got any collation in *scriptis*, and, as far as he is aware, there were no conditions annexed by the Ordinary when making the annexation. He has been now some nearly ten years in this position, and until lately was discharging satisfactorily to his own conscience the various duties and obligations of his office towards his added flock. Hitherto he discharged the obligation of saying Mass by offering the Mass for the people of the two parishes, in the same way as he had been previously accustomed to offer Mass for the people of his parish before its union with the other one. Lately, however, he has commenced to have scruples on the matter, from reading cases that seem to him nearly *a pari*, and he is very much in doubt but that he is bound to offer a distinct Mass for the people of both parishes—so that in this respect the people whom he has lately acquired should not be in a worse position owing to this deprivation. The parochus asked the curate of the new parish if he offered up the *Missa pro populo*, and his answer was that he did not. He does not wish to be asking his bishop any questions about his position or the terms of the union of the parishes, and he would wish to know from the editor what his opinion is regarding his present obligations and likely, too, past neglect, and how this latter may be remedied.

“ SACERDOS.”

Our correspondent asks our opinion as to whether he is bound to have two Masses applied for his people on Sundays and holidays—one Mass for the parish to which he was first appointed, and another for the adjoining parish which was committed to his care at a later period. This depends on the manner in which the parishes were united. We shall therefore have to consider—1°. The different ways in which parishes may be united; 2°. How the obligation of saying Mass for one's parish is affected by these different modes of union; 3°. What are our correspondent's present obligations; and 4°. What are his obligations in regard to the past.

I.

Canonists tell us that parishes may be united in three ways—by *extinction*, by *subjection*, and by *annexation*.

“ Unio, annexio, seu conjunctio beneficiorum fieri potest triplici modo: 1°. *Extinctione*, si, v.g., ex duabus parochiis fiat

una, adeo ut ambo beneficia in unum tertium coalescant . . .
 2°. *Subjectione*, si una Ecclesia alteri subjiatur tanquam superiori, adeo ut ei adhaerere debeat velut accessorium principali 3°. *Simplici duorum Annexione*, adeo ut aequè principaliter uniantur. Ambo suam naturam, et titulum conservant cum privilegiis, et neutrum alteri subjiatur; sunt tantummodo sub uno rectore.”¹

These different modes of union have an important bearing on the present question; hence it is necessary to attend carefully to their meaning, and to the difference between them. In the case of union by *extinction*, both old parishes cease to exist. They are no longer, *e.g.*, parish *A*; or parish *B*; or parish *A*, plus parish *B*. The old parishes cease to exist as parishes, and a new parish is formed consisting of what before were two real and separate parishes. This is well expressed by Huguenin: “Unio fit *per confusionem* [per *extinctionem*] cum plura beneficia in unum veluti *corpus tertium* coalescunt, ita ut *singula quidem existere desinant*, eorum tamen jura compatibilia in beneficium novum transferantur.” (*Expositio Juris Canonici*, tom. ii., page 150.)

In the case of union by *subjection*, one parish is subjected to another, “tanquam accessorium principali.” And in the case of union by *annexation*, two parishes are permanently subjected to one pastor, though retaining their separate rights, name, and status: “Quando duo beneficia in perpetuum uni rectori subjiuntur, salvis utriusque beneficii juribus, statu et nomine.” (Huguenin.)

II.

How is the obligation of saying Mass for the people affected by these different modes of union? When parishes are united, there remains the obligation of saying separate Masses for the separate parishes, unless the parishes themselves have ceased to exist—unless the union has been plenary and *extinctive*. Lehmkuhl writes: “Imo si parochia, duarum parochiarum administratio committitur, debet aut per se, aut per alterum curare, ut pro *singulis parochiis* singulae

¹ *Praelectiones Juris Can. Habitaæ In Sem. Sancti Sulpitii*, tom. ii., page 538.

Missae applicentur." (Vol. ii., page 144, Ad. v.) And Gury still more explicitly teaches this doctrine: "Imo obligatur parochus duabus parochiis praepositus, duplicem in festis applicare Missam per se vel per alios, nisi unio illarum parochiarum sit plenaria et *extinctiva*." (*Ed. Ratisbon*, Pars. ii., n. 361, note 1.)

If, therefore, parishes are united only by *subjection*, or *annexation*, there remains the obligation of offering separate Masses on Sundays and holidays for the separate parishes.

III.

What are our correspondent's present obligations? If the union of the parishes were *extinctive*, then our correspondent would fulfil his obligation by offering one Mass on Sundays and holidays for the united parish. But if the union was not *extinctive* then he is bound to have separate Masses offered for his two united parishes. Was the union of the parishes *extinctive*? It depends on the intention of the bishop who united the parishes; but we should say, from our correspondent's letter, that it was not *extinctive*, and that he is bound to have separate Masses said for his parishes. Our correspondent thus describes the mode of union: "The adjoining parish of an equal number of families became vacant . . . On the invitation of the bishop, the *two parishes* were placed under the present parish priest's care and jurisdiction." Now, this would correspond to union by *Annexation*, *unio aequae principalis*, as it is sometimes called, which we have already explained. Of course our correspondent's bishop might have intended the *unio extinctiva*; but it does not appear from our correspondent's own description, that it was an *extinctive* union. We think, therefore, that our correspondent, notwithstanding his unwillingness, should refer the matter to his bishop. If the bishop who united the parishes be still alive, he can explain the nature of the union: if he be not alive, his successor may find some record of the manner in which the parishes were united, which would solve the difficulty. In either case the parishes can be united *extinctive* from the present time, and then our correspondent will fulfil his obligation in future by saying one Mass for his parish on Sundays and holidays.

IV.

What are our correspondent's obligations in regard to the past? Again, if we were to judge by our correspondent's own description of the mode of union, we should say that the parishes were united by *annexation*, and that our correspondent is bound to supply the Masses that have been omitted. But, again we would recommend our correspondent to refer the matter to his bishop. He may decide that the parishes were united *extinctivè*; and even if it were certain that they were united only by *annexation*; or if it remained doubtful, they could be united *extinctively ex nunc*. And as our correspondent acted *bonâ fide*, and as the matter is one in which a mistake might easily occur, we think he could easily obtain from Rome, through his bishop, a *compositio* in regard to the Masses that have been omitted. He may get absolved from his obligations concerning the past, by offering one Mass, or a few Masses for his people.

Finally, we wish to supplement our notes in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD on the subject of Honoraria and Duplication. We quoted the following from Lehmkuhl:—"Constans autem est prohibitio pro secunda Missa, quae sic ex necessitatis causa celebratur, . . . obligationem ullam justitiae vel quasi-justitiae extinguendi." We should have added, that a priest who has charge of two parishes, and who must say Mass in both parishes on Sundays and Holidays, may, on the same day, fulfil the two-fold obligation of saying and offering separate Masses for his two parishes.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

 CORRESPONDENCE.

LEAKAGE OF THE CHURCH.—OUR BOYS.

"REV. SIR,—Were I to answer your correspondent, 'Missionary Coadjutor,' at any length, I feel I should only be going into a question which has already been dealt with elsewhere ('Leakage of Church in England,' &c., C.T.S.), and a long letter would

trespass too much on the space of the I. E. RECORD, and on the patience of your readers. I must, therefore, be very brief.

"Far from wishing to put additional weight on the shoulders of our overburdened priests in England, I simply speak of one form of 'leakage' still going on, and how it is to be met. If he doubts me, let him, in any church where no Boys' Guild exists, count the number of boys (over thirteen) at Mass on Sunday. A well-known London priest once said that almost nine out of every ten boys were lost sight of after leaving school.

"I quite agree that the three or four evening services in each week are too much. By all means knock them off, and have a weekly meeting for boys and youths. Benediction services are not the means ordained to bring stray sheep to the fold, such as are gathered together in the place and manner I wrote of in my essay. I say that Clubs *are* also the Church's ways, at least for our age, and are suited specially to our exigencies.

"I fear he makes rather serious allegations against clergy of Great Britain in pages 570 and 571. All the priests I know do try to prevent mixed marriages, and we preach on it once or twice a year. I have prevented one or two.

"I never knew before, also, that 'hardly half the working population go to Confession before matrimony,' &c. In our diocese we are most careful. In all my experience, I only married one couple unshriven, and that by a mistake. Hence, his sneer, about 'building clubs' to save their offspring, is quite uncalled for. The whole tone of his letter seems rather uncourteous.

"As to whether our leakage is worse than other countries, that is nothing to do with the case. Such comparisons are puerile. We have to attend to our own household. If in our country the Church is, as he says very truly, all but exclusively kept up by that very class among whom there is the leakage, then there is all the more reason for paying attention to the sons of our poorer people.

"S. V."

LEHNKUHL'S "MORAL THEOLOGY."

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am aware, like many other readers and subscribers of the I. E. RECORD, that there are many corrections and emendations made to the third and subsequent editions of Lehmkuhl's *Moral Theology* by the learned author.

"I would be anxious to know if such corrections and improve-

ments have been published in pamphlet or booklet form ; and, if so, where it can be procured, and at what price.

“ If this has not been so, may I suggest that it would be well to bring the omission under the notice of the learned author and publishers through the medium of your widely-circulated *I. E. RECORD*. Those amongst us who have bought the earlier editions of the great work cannot afford to invest a like sum in the later editions, but would gladly purchase a supplement, &c.

“ SACERDOS.”

[We are not aware that the additions and corrections referred to have been published in a separate pamphlet form.—*Ed. I. E. RECORD.*]

DOCUMENTS.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND ON THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on Thursday, the 25th of June, the following Resolutions were adopted on the Education Question, and the policy of the present Ministry in reference to it:—

“ I. We take this opportunity of again publishing and of re-affirming the Resolutions of the last General Meeting of our Body, in reference to the Education Question.

“ These Resolutions, originally drawn up at a Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, held at the Archbishop's House, Dublin, on the 21st of March, 1889, were adopted by the General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, on the 25th of June, 1889. They are as follows:—

“ ‘ 1. On the subject of Primary Education, the Committee beg leave to call attention especially to the following grievances, which the Bishops have repeatedly complained of, individually and at their meetings, and which have been specially set forth in the Report of Lord Powis's Commission, in 1870, and in several

subsequent official Reports, notably in a recent Report of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, as urgently calling for redress :—

- “ ‘ (a) Restrictions on religious teaching and practices, and on the use of religious emblems, are enforced in schools, which are, and have been, strictly denominational, or unmixed, as to the religion of the pupils. Catholics claim as a strict right, inseparable from religious freedom, that the managers of such schools should be free to conduct them on denominational principles ; and that the conscience clauses and restrictions of the mixed system should apply only to schools frequented by children of different religious denominations.
- “ ‘ (b) The existing Model Schools, although strongly condemned by Royal Commissions, are still maintained at a heavy expense to the State, mainly for the benefit of middle-class Protestants.
- “ ‘ (c) The newly-established Training Colleges are placed under heavy pecuniary burdens and disadvantages, from which the State Training College is entirely exempt. Catholics claim, as an essential condition of the new training system, that the denominational Colleges shall enjoy the same advantages, in every respect, as the mixed College. A recommendation to this effect was made by the Royal Commission of 1870.

“ ‘ Underlying the above and other grievances, and mainly chargeable with them, is the unfair constitution of the Board of National Education. This Body, by which the grants to Primary Education are distributed, and the whole Primary System is administered, is not fairly representative of the Catholic population of Ireland, and offers no adequate protection for the large Catholic interests involved in the National System of Education. We demand, as an essential condition of the reform of the system of National Education, that the Board be reconstituted on a new and equitable basis.

“ ‘ 2. As to the system of Intermediate Education, the following amendments have been frequently asked for by the patrons and managers of Catholic Intermediate schools, and the same

have been recommended by the Educational Endowments Commission.

“(a) That the amount of the funds allotted by the State for the carrying out of the system, which is admitted on all sides to be entirely inadequate, should be largely increased.

“(b) That as the competition created by the system involves a large increase of school expenses, the results fees obtainable by schools should be increased.

“There is, moreover, a very general demand that, as in the Royal University, so in the Intermediate Examinations, girls, in so far as it is considered desirable for them to take part in the competition with boys, should compete for the same prizes, and under the same programmes.

“It is also keenly felt as unfair to Catholics that non-Catholic members form the majority of the Board of Intermediate Education.

“As regards University Education, the committee renew the oft-repeated protest of the Catholic bishops, clergy, and people of Ireland, against the unfair and oppressive system of higher education, established and maintained in Ireland by State endowments in the interest of non-Catholics, and to the grave social detriment of Catholics.

“Catholics demand equality in University, as well as in Intermediate and Primary Education with their non-Catholic fellow-subjects, so far as those systems are sustained and endowed by the State. They demand that their educational grievances, which have extended over 300 years, and which have been a constant, ever-growing source of bitter discontent, be at length redressed, and they appeal to all sections of Parliament, without distinction of political parties, to legislate promptly and in a just and generous spirit in this all-important matter.

“The committee abstain from formulating the University system which would best satisfy their demands and wishes; they will merely observe, that these would be satisfied substantially (a) by the establishment, in an exclusively Catholic, or in a common University, of one or more colleges conducted on purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in all the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by other colleges of whatsoever denomination or character; (b) by admitting the students

of such Catholic colleges, equally with the students of non-Catholic colleges, to University honours, prizes, and other advantages; and (c) by securing to Catholics in the Senate or other supreme University Council, an adequate number of representatives enjoying the confidence of the Catholic body.'

" II. We wish to reiterate the expression of our thanks to Thomas Sexton, Esq., M.P., who in the last session of Parliament brought forward, in a speech of singular power, the claims of the Catholics of Ireland as set forth in the foregoing resolutions; and to the other members of Parliament who so ably supported him.

" III. We request our representatives to continue their efforts to secure for their Catholic fellow-countrymen justice in this important matter of education. Furthermore, we request the Irish Parliamentary Party as a body to press this question on the attention of Parliament by every effectual means in their power, even to the resistance, if necessary, of the annual votes to the Queen's Colleges.

" IV. We regret that the expectations raised by the declaration made on behalf of the Ministry in reply to Mr. Sexton's speech last session, still remain unfulfilled, and that in one most important matter the fulfilment of them has since been declared to depend upon conditions which must be regarded as practically impossible.

" V. We request the Bishop of Ardagh, our representative on the Senate of the Royal University, to resign his place on the Senate as a protest against the continued neglect by the Ministry of the interests of the Catholics of Ireland in the matter of University Education.

" VI. Regarding the 'Custody of Children' Bill, and the 'Protection of Children' Bill, recently introduced into Parliament, as most dangerous in their tendencies, we feel called upon to request the Irish Parliamentary Party to give to these bills the most strenuous opposition, unless they are safeguarded by the insertion of such provisions as will secure the children against the dangers of proselytism.

" (Signed),

" ✠ MICHAEL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland, *Chairman*.

" ✠ BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK, Bishop of Ardagh
and Clonmacnoise, *Secretary*."

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF S. RITES.

SUMMARY.

Is it allowable to fix painted figures to the back or pillar of Chasubles?

BRUNEN.

Rmus. Dnus. Franciscus Salesius Bauer hodiernus Episcopus Brunen. exponens a fidelibus sibi commissae Dioeceseos, occasione primi millenarii ab obitu S. Methodii Episcopi proxime recolendi casulas et pluvialia dono offerri suis Ecclesiis exhibentia a tergo imagines Ss. Pont. Cyrilli et Methodii non acu in tela serica, sed oleo super tela lino vel gossypio pietas alterique eiusmodi telae agglutinas, a S. R. C. humiliter quaesivit, an sacra paramenta cum eiusmodi imaginibus legitime adhiberi possint?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Sacretarii, re mature perpensa, ita in casu rescribendum censuit:

Pietas imagines uti exponitur permitti posse, dummodo agatur de paramentis sericis, vel auro argentoque contextis, ac de cetero ad normam legum liturgicarum confectis.

Atque ita rescripsit ac declaravit. Die 30 Martii 1885.

SUMMARY.

I. May the clergy sit in choir, while the celebrant is incensing the altar, and saying the Introit and *Kyrie*?

II. May a custom of doing so be tolerated?

III. The Pax at a Mass at which a bishop is assisting.

CONCORDIEN.

De mandato Rm. Episcopi Concordien. Rev. D. Antonius Canonicus Belgrado hodiernus Magister Caceremoniarum in Seminario ipsius Dioeceseos S. Rituum Congregationi insequentia Dubia pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum:

Dubium I. An, praeter Episcopum, etiam Clerus sedere possit quando Celebrans altare thurificat absoluta Confessione, et recitat introitum et *Kyrie*?

Dubium II. Sin autem tum ad eam altaris thurificationem, tum ad recitationem Introitus Clerus stare debeat, quaeritur num tolerari possit consuetudo sedendi?

Dubium III. Invaluit consuetudo ut in Missa solemni cum adsistentia Episcopi, celebrans Canonicus det osculum pacis Presbytero adsistenti, qui cum defert ad Episcopum ac statim

Diacono, qui etiam dat Subdiacono Ministris Missae inservientibus, secus isti in Officio suo perturbarentur. Potestne tolerari inducta consuetudo?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex apostolicarum Caereemoniarum Magistris ac Rmi Assessoris ipsius Sacrae Congregationis, omnibus mature perpensis, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Affirmative ad primam partem, seu durante thurificatione; Negative ad secundam, seu quum recitatur Introitus et *Kyrie*.

Ad II. Provisum in primo.

Ad III. Servandam Caereemonialis dispositionem.

Atque ita rescripsit, et servari mandavit. Die 14 Aprilis 1885.

SUMMARY.

Solemn Procession on the occasion of closing the Quarant' Ore.

TROIANA.

Rñus. D. Thomas Passero hodiernus Episcopus Troianus quod sequitur Dubium S. Rituum Congregationi enodandum subiecit, nempe:

In Ecclesia Cathedrali Troiana singulis annis solemnī pompa Sñum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum publice fidelium adorationi exponi solet in forma quadraginta Horarum; antequam vero SSma Eucharistia reponatur, fit cum eadem infra ambitum Ecclesiae sollemnis Processio incedentibus singulis Capituli Canonici, planetis indutis, ut praescribitur in Missis et Vesperis Pontificalibus. Dubitans autem idem Episcopus an huiusmodi consuetudo adversetur Rubricis et Decretis S. R. C. humillime petiit utrum licite ea servari queat?

Sacra vero eadem Congregatio ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii in casu respondendum censuit:

Servari posse expositam laudabilem consuetudinem. Atque ita respondit. Die 14 Aprilis 1885.

SUMMARY.

I. Effects of the personal privilege of saying the new Votive Offices and Masses.

II. Is it allowable to sing the other parts of the Palm Sunday and Good Friday service, if the Passion be not chanted?

III. The Mass for Ordination held on Saturday of Quatuor Tempora when it is a Vigil.

IV. May the Stations of the Cross be left uncovered during Passion time?

V., VI., VII., VIII., IX. Questions regarding the conditions and manner of celebrating the Feast of the Titular of an Oratory.

X. Rules regarding the Mass to be said *in aliena Ecclesia*.

XI. Do these rules hold for Oratories?

XII. Is the Mass-bell to be rung at a Mass in a private oratory where only the priest and server are present?

XIII. The tone of the prayers at the Benediction *cum SS^{ae}*.

MARIANOPOLITANA.

Rmus. Dnus. Eduardus Faber Episcopus marianopolitanus a S. R. C. insequentium Dubiorum solutionem humillime postulavit, nimirum :

Dubium I. An extra Ecclesias, quarum Kalendario rite addita fuerunt Officia votiva, per Decretum 5 Iulii 1883 concessa, privilegium personale ad libitum ista recitandi Missasque respondentes more festivo celebrandi sic intelligi debeat, ut in cantandis Missis ac Vesperis (salvo iure Missas more stricte votivo celebrandi) ne Commemoratio quidem de iisdem fieri possit?

Dubium II. Utrum Dominica Palmarum ac Feria VI in Parasceve liceat ceteras functionis partes cantare ubi *Passio*, deficientibus Diaconis, a Celebrante tota legetur, excepto fine qui iuxta rubricam cantatur in tono Evangelii?

Dubium III. An, Vigilia occurrente in Sabbato Quatuor Temporum, Episcopus Ordines conferens, debeat non solum facere Commemorationem de Vigilia per orationes, sed etiam eiusdem Evangelium in fine legere?

Dubium IV. Utrum inagines, quae quatuordecim Viae Crucis stationibus affigi solent ad instruendos fideles eorumque pietatem fovendam, relinqui possint non velatae, tempore Passionis?

Dubium V. An Decretum in Marianopolitana 29 Novembris 1878, ex quo constat quoddam Oratorium consecratum ibidem descriptum ius habuisse ut celebrentur cum Octava tum ipsius Festum Titulare, tum eius Dedicatio, extendi debeat ad oratoria eiusdem generis simpliciter benedicta, in eo sensu quod eorum Titulus cum Octava sit celebrandus?

Dubium VI. An titulus, cuiuslibet Oratorii in perpetuum cultui divino ac praesertim Missae celebrandae addicti, in actu

consécrationis vel benedictionis auctoritate Episcopi assignatus eo ipso ius saltem in actu primo habeat ut eius festum (nec non et Dedicatio si sit consecratum) sub ritu Duplicis primae classis cum Octava celebretur, ita tamen ut exercitium istius iuris non incipiat, nisi certae conditiones impleantur, quibus ab initio non existentibus vel postea deficientibus, suspenditur?

Dubium VII. Utrum, ad supradicti iuris exercitium tria haec requirantur et sufficiant:

I. Quod Oratorium omnibus fidelibus pateat, vel saltem ad usum non privatae familiae, sed v. g. personarum in Seminariis, Hospitio etc. degentium adhibeatur?

II. Quod ibidem peragi soleant iuxta dispositionem Ordinarii quaedam functiones Ecclesiasticae aut saltem divini Sacrificii oblatio?

III. Quod adscribatur sive Clericus beneficiatus sive Communitas ad recitandum in choro canonicum Officium stricte obligato, sive Congregatio inter membra sua numerans clericos sacris ordinibus initiatos, sive Sacerdos ab Episcopo deputatus ut sit proprius Oratorii Rector?

Dubium VIII. Utrum in praedictis Oratoriis, quae propter tertiae conditionis supranumeratae defectum celebratione Festi Titularis (et Dicationis) cum Octava privantur, licitum sit ex Decretis in Compostellana 8 Aprilis 1808 ad 8, in una Societatis Iesu 18 Septembris 1877 ad primum ex ipsa die qua officium etiam accidentaliter translatum recitandum foret, cantare Missam de Titulo (et de Anniversario Dicationis) additis in quantum eas patitur ritus solemnitas, Commemorationibus Officii currentis cum Evangelio Dominicae vel Feriae maioris in fine?

Dubium IX. An ubi cantatur ista Missa, ceterae si quae ibidem celebrentur similiter de Titulari (vel de Dicatione) legendae sint?

Dubium X. Duae tabellae de celebratione Missae in Ecclesia aliena publicatae sunt anno 1859 tamquam a Secretario Sacrae Congregationis Rituum approbatae (quorum exemplar per modum appendicis iam exhibitum fuit); quaeritur utrum servari possint et debeant istae tabellae, an vero sequenda sit regula generalis, vi cuius (praeter, paucas exceptiones quoad Missam Conventualem, Missam de Beato, etc.) Sacerdos non legit Missam iuxta Kalendarium Ecclesiae alienae, nisi quando in ea vel celebratur Officium duplex aut duplici aequivalens cum diverso colore, vel fit de Festo cuius Solemnitate populi concursus attrahitur?

Dubium XI. An regulæ circa Missæ celebrationem in Ecclesia aliena similiter obligent :

I. In Oratoriis saltem benedictis sive festum eorum Titulare celebretur cum Octava sive non ?

II. In locis ad tempus, donec erigatur Ecclesia vel Oratorium, ab Ordinario deputatis ad Missæ celebrationem, etc. ?

III. In parvis Oratoriis extra principale Oratorium apud communitates Ecclesiasticas etc. cum licentia competenti institutis ?

Dubium XII. Utrum Rubrica qua præcipitur campanulam a ministro Missæ lectæ pulsari, spectet ad Oratoria huiusmodi, in quibus plerumque solus adest celebrans cum ministro ?

Dubium XIII. Utrum Orationes coram Sanctissimo Sacramento exposito extra Missam et Horas Canonicas cantandæ sint in sexto tono an vero cum duplici vocis a *Fa* ad *Re* inflexione ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Cæremoniarum Magistris, re mature perpensa, ita propositis dubiis rescribendum consult, nempe :

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Servetur methodus præscripta a Benedicto XIII pro Ecclesiis ruralibus.

Ad III. Affirmative ad primam artem, negative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Pro Oratoriis simpliciter benedictis Negative, et servantur Decreta.

Ad VI. Si sit consecratum Oratorium ius ei competit uti pro publica Ecclesia consecrata, si sit benedictum provisum in V.

Ad VII. Si Oratorium sit consecratum, sufficit sola consecratio.

Ad VIII. Si Oratorium sit consecratum, servantur eadem quæ in Ecclesia ; si benedictum provisum in V.

Ad IX. Si sit consecratum, Affirmative.

Ad X. et XI. Servanda regula generalis etiam in Oratoriis, exceptis mere privatis.

Ad XII. Campanula in Missa pulsanda est etiam in privatis Oratoriis.

Ad XIII. Orationes in casu cantandas esse sexto tono cum unica vocis inflexione in fine cuiusque orationis.

Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit ac servari mandavit. Die 18 Iulii 1885.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU. By the Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., D.Sc. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

QUITE a large number of works on the Passion Play have appeared in England within the past twenty years. They are all, as far as we know, Protestant both in their authorship and tone. Dr. Molloy has, however, supplied to Catholics of the English-speaking world, and, indeed, to all fair-minded Protestants also, by far the most interesting and trustworthy account of the great drama—of its execution and surroundings. No person who intends to visit Ober-Ammergau should start without a copy of the book; and anyone who cannot afford himself that pleasure, will find the most complete and graphic description, not alone of the Passion Play, but of every detail of scenery, of travelling, and of practical experience connected with it.

The "Play" itself is solemn and impressive beyond description, and is sure never to be forgotten by those who witness it. It can only be seen every ten years.

Dr. Molloy's work will be an interesting and useful *souvenir* for the privileged few who can make their way to the Bavarian Tyrol this time; but it really conveys to those who are not so favoured, a very full and interesting notion of the modern representation by the inhabitants of a retired Bavarian village, of the greatest event the world ever saw. J. F. H.

S. ALPHONSI M. DE LIGUORI EPISCOPI, CONFESSORIS ET ECCLESIAE DOCTORIS, LIBER DE CAEREMONIIS MISSAE. (Pustet.)

ALTHOUGH this book on the ceremonies of the Mass bears the name of St. Alphonsus, the greater part of it is not his work. It consists of three parts:—(1) an introduction of more than thirty pages; (2) the explanation of the ceremonies of the Mass; (3) appendices. The second part alone is the work of the Saint. It was written by him, in the Italian language, when already an old man, and is now presented to the public, translated into Latin by the Rev. G. Schober, C.S.S.R. This part is, as might have been expected, clear, full, and accurate; but it would, perhaps, have been more easily studied if the translator had suppressed

St. Liguori's words wherever a contrary decision has been given since his time. Father Schober, out of reverence for the founder of his Order, has, in all cases, given the words of the original author; but wherever, owing to recent decrees, any change has to be made, it is done in notes—St. Liguori's words being bracketed, and printed in italics.

The first part treats of the obligation of the Rubrics, of the application of the Mass, of preparation and thanksgiving. The third part contains some very useful matter, especially a long appendix on Votive Masses, and an appendix on Masses for the dead.

The book is a very useful one, and contains extensive and accurate information regarding the Rubrics connected with the celebration of the Mass.

LIFE OF FATHER CHARLES SIRE, S.J. Translated from the French. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is the life of a very devoted priest of the Jesuit Order, whose reputation for sanctity was widely known. He was member of a large and saintly family, having five brothers priests. One of them it was, the Abbé Dominique Sire, of St. Sulpice, who got the Bull *Ineffabilis*, proclaiming the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, translated into every known language, richly illuminated, and presented in a magnificent "meuble" to Pope Pius IX. The subject of the present biography was chiefly remarkable in the discharge of the ordinary duties of a Jesuit novice and priest, for his strong faith, his unfailing devotion to the Sacred Heart and the Blessed Virgin, and a general sweetness and serenity of disposition which scarcely anything could ruffle. The translation, though defective in many respects, is yet good enough to give a fair insight into the virtues and character of this saintly priest.

J. F. H.

LIFE OF ST. BONAVENTURE. Translated by L. C. Syke. Burns & Oates, and Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS "Life" gives in a comparatively small compass, not only the leading features of the life of St. Bonaventure, but, in addition, much information about the order of which he was such a distinguished member. The writer has displayed considerable familiarity with the works of St. Bonaventure, both philosophical and ascetical, and has evidently formed correct notions about the state of religion and of learning in the thirteenth century. The translator might have vouchsafed the name of the writer, or even of the language in which the "Life" was originally written.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1890.

AN ISLAND SHRINE IN THE WEST.

ARDILAUN, more correctly Ard-Oilean, or High Island, is one of the most interesting of the many holy islands off the western coast of Ireland. There is another island of the same name in Lough Corrib, from which Sir Arthur E. Guinness takes his title of Baron Ardilaun; but the ocean island was practically unknown, except to the saints of old. It is situated about six miles south-and-by-west of Inisboffin, and about three miles off the extreme western point of Connemara, which is known as Aghros Point, and is about eleven Galway miles west of Clifden. Being so very remote and almost inaccessible, it has been very rarely visited by strangers; even the most enthusiastic antiquarians have shrunk from committing themselves to an open boat in these wild seas, and then scaling the perpendicular cliffs that rise all round the shores of the island.

We were enabled, not without some risk, to visit this singular holy island last July; and we venture to hope that a brief account of such a sanctuary of ancient piety will prove of some interest to our readers. We made an early start from Clifden, on Monday morning, the 22nd of July, accompanied by our worthy host, Father Lynskey, the excellent pastor of Clifden, and his curate, Father Biggins, both well skilled in the colloquial Irish language, which is a matter of some importance for those who venture to explore these remote regions. The drive from Clifden to Omev Island lies along the northern shore of the long narrow inlet of Streams-

town, and affords many picturesque views of the bold headland that runs from Clifden towards Omev Island, and overlooks all the hills and islands of these remotest shores. On arriving at Omev, which is about seven miles beyond Clifden, we drove across the strand that separates it from the mainland when the tide is out, and paid a visit to that island, which is very celebrated in connection with the history of St. Fechin.

The islanders of Omev told us that, as it was blowing a stiff breeze from the north-west, it would be quite impossible to reach Ardilaun on such a day, and advised us not to make the attempt. However, the time at our disposal was limited; we had come far to see this island shrine, and if it could not be reached in July, when could we hope to reach it? So Father Lynskey resolved to drive on to Aghros-Beg, and see if the hardy fishermen of the ultimate west would venture to effect a landing on Ardilaun. Yes, they would; the clergy were to be along with them, and they had nothing to fear. It would, no doubt, be a tough pull in the teeth of such a wind and such a sea; but all would go well if we only kept steady and the men worked hard. Our crew consisted of six stalwart and good-humoured young fellows with bronzed faces, strong arms, and fearless hearts. Their good pastor had succeeded in getting a pier built for their boats, which before were often dashed to pieces on the rocks; and if he asked them, I believe they would volunteer to take him all the way to America. The waves were much broken by the cross seas between the rocks and islands on this part of the coast, yet we shipped very little water, and slowly forged ahead in the very teeth of the wind and sea until we reached partial shelter under the lee of the Friar's Island, whose huge cliffs rise black and bare between Ardilaun and the mainland. The wash of the broken billows, however, compelled us to give the island a wide berth, although we were for a while actually under the shelter of its precipitous rocks. Then one more supreme effort was made to clear the half mile of open sea between the two islands, through which the wind and waves swept fiercely in from the north-west. The sweat rolled down in streams from the men's faces, yet still they

bravely held by their oars, now in the trough of the sea, and the next moment on the very crest of the huge billows that rose so threateningly around us. No word was spoken, the men held their breath, and steadied their oars so as to catch the water at the proper moment, when the oars would help to balance the boat on the broken crests of the waves. After twenty minutes' hard exertion we got over this bit of angry sea, and all felt a sense of relief as soon as we glided under the comparative shelter of the cliffs of the High Island.

It certainly well deserves the name. Is there any chance, we thought, of stepping on to that steep sea-wall, and then scaling these horrid rocks? How can the boat approach them even for an instant without being dashed to pieces? None of us were novices at sea; but we all saw the difficulty of landing on the island; and even the skilled mariners, who live so much on these stormy waters, could not say for certain, until they reached a certain spot, whether it would be possible to land on the island or not. But they would soon tell us. We were now approaching the little cove in which alone we could hope to land with a westerly or north-westerly wind. It is at the eastern side of the island, and would certainly escape the observation of any persons who were not acquainted with the place. This little cove is very deep—the men told us it was fully twenty fathoms—and runs in under the shelter of a huge projecting cliff, which towers over it on the north, and thus somewhat shelters it from the broken waves. Not that we shall land, in the ordinary sense of our boat touching the shore—that would be quite impossible in these restless waters, bounded by these steep and rugged rocks. Experience has taught the Connemara fisherman how to effect his purpose in another way, and even allow his boat at the same time to take care of itself. He makes a rope fast to a huge stone, which he throws out from the stern into the sea, and which is heavy enough to hold his boat under a lee shore. Then he pays out the rope until the boat approaches near enough on the crest of a wave for an active man to jump ashore with another rope, to which a light anchor is made fast. This anchor he secures in the face of the rock as best he can, and then the boat rides

securely between these two cables. By hauling the anchor line taut she may be brought close enough to the rock for the passengers to jump in, one by one; but when the strain is removed, she recedes from the shore, and rides securely by the stone anchor, which will not allow her to touch the rocks. It was thus we left our boat, riding safely on the waves without even one man to care her. It was not at all easy to scramble up the cliff, although here and there something like footprints were cut in the rock. But one of the men, having reached the summit, assisted his next neighbour, and so on at the various stages of the ascent, until all had reached the summit in safety. A false step, however, and the climber would certainly glide down the face of the slanting rock into a boiling sea some twenty fathoms deep. He might then strike out for the boat or the mooring ropes; but he had no other chance of escape.

The island is about a quarter of a mile in length, but not more than a furlong in average breadth. It contains an area of eighty-two statute acres covered with a beautiful sward of short green grass, so soft and so elastic that it feels under the foot like a velvet carpet or a spring mattress of woven wire. I never saw anywhere the soil covered with a softer and greener sod, or one richer with the fragrance of many odours. The rocks protrude in rounded eminences in two or three places, but the remaining part of the surface is gently undulating and covered with the same soft and fragrant turf even close to the edge of the cliff. The general level of the island is about 200 feet above the sea, and it is faced round by a wall of absolutely inaccessible cliffs, except at that point on the eastern shore where we landed with so much difficulty. When the wind blows from the south there is a similar little cove to the north of the same protruding cliff that sheltered our boat, where a landing can also be effected, but only in the calmest weather. On the north-western face of the island, which is exposed to all the fury of the Atlantic, the cliffs rise sheer from the waves, and actually overhang the sea at a height of nearly 300 feet in the highest points. The prospect from this portion of the island, looking to the north-

west, is very grand and awe-inspiring. Boffin and Shark raise up their bare black outlines beyond the waves against the naked sky to the north; to the west is the ultimate ocean, which amongst these islands can hardly be said to be ever calm; on the land side, the Twelve Pins of Connemara rise up in gloomy grandeur; then, looking southward, beyond Cruagh Island may be seen the white breakers around Slyne Head lighthouse and the distant islands of Aran, and, of a clear day, Kerry Head and Brandon Hill rise up grandly from the sea on the extreme verge of the southern horizon. And then the eye turns from all this savage grandeur of rocks and waves and mountains to repose with double pleasure on the vivid green of the soft turf beneath your feet.

Neither is all life wanting on this lonely island. It is true, there are no inhabitants in the island now; but there is a great abundance of rabbits, and a small and hardy colony of sheep that are slung up the rocks to browse on the fragrant herbage, and whose flesh is so sweet that it would be a luxury for an epicure. The gannet and the herring-gull and all the birds that haunt the desolate ocean islets are here, too, in abundance. But of man, at present, there is no trace, except a solitary roofless house, which was built to shelter the miners, who sunk a shaft in search of silver and copper ore; which, however, appear to have disappointed their expectations, for both house and mine have been long abandoned by the workmen.

What renders this island specially interesting is its ecclesiastical ruins, which, in all probability, date from the sixth century. We shall here describe them exactly as we saw them. We first came to a holy well at the foot of a ledge of rock, which rises above the green sward of the island. It is surrounded by a rude stone wall, and close at hand was a flag sculptured with a plain Celtic cross of the most ancient type. The flag was probably used to cover the well; but it was broken either by the miners or some Vandal visitors, who had no reverence for holy things. The well itself is called "Tubber Brian Murrough," according to some of the fishermen; but others declared that it was "St. Brian Boru's Well." It is on the south-eastern part of the island, and about 100

places from the bee-hive cells and the cashel that enclosed them. The water is of a tea-colour, probably owing to the presence of peat; but it is sweet and pleasant to the taste. O'Flaherty, describing this island, says: "It is inaccessible but on calm settled weather, and so steep that it is hard after landing in it to climb to the top, where there is a well called Brian Boru's (King of Ireland) his well, and a standing water, on the brook whereof was a mill."¹ The standing water is there still, and the brook still bears its surplus flood to the edge of the precipice, over which it pours its stream into a deep black pool walled in by cliffs more than 150 feet in height. The sea below is as deep beneath the surface as these giant walls of rock rise above it, so that the aspect of the spot is at once terrible and grand. Boats rarely ever venture into the recesses of these stormy ocean halls. It is still called in Irish *Cuan naillín*, or the mill-cove, because the mill-stream poured down its steep flanks into the sea. The stream itself is not more than fifty yards in length from the lakelet to the edge of the cliff. The place where the mill-wheel turned can still be traced, and although in summer it was a tiny stream, no doubt the frequent rains of the west always supplied the monks with abundant water to grind their corn. The lakelet is evidently of natural not artificial formation: it seems, too, to be of considerable depth, and contains some fish, which was doubtless one of the reasons that caused the island to be chosen as a hermitage by the saints of old.

On the margin of the lake, under a rising ground that sheltered the spot from the cold winds of the north-east, the monastic buildings were situated. They were all built of flat stones, without mortar; but both buildings and enclosure are now completely ruined. Enough, however, remains to determine their nature and extent. They were of the same general character as the ecclesiastical ruins that are still to be seen on so many of the islands of the West. There was the rectangular oratory, the cloghauns or bee-hive cells, and the enclosing cashel; which last, however, was

¹ See *West Connaught*, page 115.

little needed, for nature's rampart was all round about them ; and, even if some marauders were bold enough to scale the cliffs at the landing-place, it would not be difficult to defend the monastery itself. It was admirably situated for that purpose, under a cliff that sheltered and defended it on the east ; to the south was the lake ; on the west and north-west, the mill-stream and the sea-cliffs cut off all approach ; so that a few resolute men could have held it against a host.

The cashel was 35 yards by 26 ; the oratory, near its centre, was 21 feet by 12, in the clear. There are remains of three cloghauns : one which, still nearly perfect, has thick walls, square within, but circular on the outside, and it is an excellent and well-built example of its class ; the second is unroofed, but the walls remain ; only the doorway of the third can now be observed—it was close to the oratory on the east. The western gable of the oratory is still nearly perfect ; the stones were small and flat. The doorway had a horizontal lintel, with very slightly inclining jambs ; but the masonry seems to have been of a rather inferior character. The native rock is not the granitic felspar and quartz of the mainland, but seems rather to be a hard mica slate, easily split up into flags. The eastern gable of the oratory is now entirely destroyed, and its stones scattered about. One cell stood at the east end of the oratory, the two others were near its north-east angle, but apparently outside the cashel. A little mortar seems to have been used in the heart of the wall of the oratory ; but none was used in building the cashel or the cells. Some 40 yards from the cashel, on the north, there is another awful sea-cove or pool, appropriately called *Dubh-linn*, or "The Black-pool." It is of a still deeper and wilder character than that into which the mill-stream pours its waters, and rendered the monastery absolutely unapproachable on the north and west. Between the cashel and this Black-pool there are traces of another building, which was probably a guest-house for the reception of strangers—it is no longer possible to determine its exact character or extent.

Slyne Head and its light-house, with all the sea-worn islets that surround it, can be distinctly seen from the cashel,

about eight miles due south: and it forms a very striking object in the distance. A little to the left, but close at hand, rise up, bold and bare, the rugged outlines of Cruach, or "The Stack Island." O'Flaherty calls it Cruagh-ar-ni-may, and Sir James Ware names it *Insula Cuniculorum*—it was so fruitful of rabbits: but it was fatal to dogs, which either "dye on the spot, or shortly after coming out of it." The rabbits are there still; but we did not hear that it is still "a bane to dogs," as the old historian of Iar Connaught describes it.

We found no inscribed stones on the island, although it was alleged by the men that there were some to be seen there a short time previous. There are traces still discernible of the monks' garden, and what seems to have been an ancient graveyard, on the eastern shore of the smaller lake, between it and the cliffs. Of course, if the monks had a mill, they doubtless raised, as well as ground, their own corn, in the sheltered nooks on the south-eastern arm of the island. On the western and north-western slopes no crops could live, if the sea-breezes blew of old, as they do now, over the island. O'Flaherty says that, in his own time, there was "extant a chapel and a large round wall [the cashel enclosure]: and, also, that kind of stone building called *cloghaun*. Therein, too, yearly, an eyrie of hawks is found." We believe they breed there still; although the boatmen were not quite certain on this point.

But who were the holy men who dwelt in these little cells, and prayed in that poor oratory, surrounded by these awful precipices and that ever-restless ocean? It is not unlikely that this island was the one referred to in *The Navigation of St. Brendan*, as the first of the many strange islands discovered by that daring sailor-saint. When he had been many days at sea, and his supply of provisions was well-nigh consumed, Brendan and his monks, we are told, saw an island towards the north, which was very high and rocky—*valde sarosa et alta*. And, as they approached the shore, they saw that it was exceedingly lofty, and straight as a wall; and they saw streams flowing down the cliffs into the sea; but they could find no port to bring their vessel

alongside. Now, the monks being almost famished with hunger and thirst, eagerly sought to catch in their vessels a little of the water, as it fell from the cliffs; but the blessed Brendan rebuked them, and bade them wait until God would show them a landing-place, and some means of refreshing their wearied limbs. It was not, however, until they had several times sailed round the island that God showed them, on the third day, a narrow cove for landing, which was only large enough to admit a single vessel. Then Brendan rose up and blessed the narrow entrance, and found that it was cut into a rock, which rose up on either side like a wall, but yet gave them a means of reaching the summit.¹ All this is an exact description of what we ourselves saw at Ardilaun; and there is probably no other island in the North Atlantic Ocean of which it is equally true. What follows belongs entirely to the marvellous and supernatural, but certainly is not uninteresting. The writer of the voyage, describes how, when the saint and his companions walked along the shore, a dog came to meet Brendan, as if he were his master, and then led the saint and his companions, by a certain pathway, to a "town," into which they entered. And, lo! they found a large room prepared for their reception, with seats and couches, and water to wash their feet.

Now, as soon as they were seated, Brendan warned his monks not to touch anything without permission, as he feared that one, who was more greedy than the other brethren, might be tempted by all the fine things that they saw around them; for the walls were hung with curiously-wrought vessels of various metals, and also with bits and reins, and drinking-horns mounted with silver. After a little, Brendan seeing no one, and being very hungry, said to the brother who used to wait at table: "Bring us the dinner, which God has sent us;" and the brother rising up found a table close at hand prepared for dinner, with napkins, and loaves of wondrous whiteness—one for each of the company—and fishes also in abundance. Then Brendan blessed

¹ *Navigatio Brendani*, cap. iii.

the table, whilst the brethren all joyfully partook of the food prepared for them, and gave thanks to God. After their meal they lay down on the couches to rest their limbs, tired from the toils of the sea, and slept soundly.

Now, whilst they were sleeping, Brendan rose up to pray, and he saw the devil, in the shape of an Ethiopian boy, take one of the silver-mounted bits from the wall, and give it to the greedy brother, who immediately concealed it in his bosom. But when morning was come, Brendan awoke the brethren to prepare and continue their voyage; and once more they found the table ready, and an abundant meal prepared for all. At their departure the holy man once more cautioned them not to touch anything beyond what God had given them, and all promised to obey. "Ah!" said Brendan, "one of you has in his bosom a silver bit, which the devil gave him last night." The wretched man thereupon confessed his sin, and threw himself at the feet of Brendan, imploring pardon for his crime. Then the holy man visibly expelled the demon, before them all, from the penitent sinner; but the saint at the same time told him to prepare to receive the Viaticum, for that his death was nigh, as a penalty for his sin. And so he died, and was buried on the island; but his soul was carried to heaven by the angels of God. Then the saint re-embarked with his companions; and as they were setting out there came to the shore a young man, but they knew not whence he came, who gave them a basket of bread and a jar of water, to be their food on the sea until Pentecost; and so they departed from the High Island.

There may have been hermits living on this island at the time of St. Brendan's voyage, about A. D. 540; but it was, as O'Flaherty tells us, St. Fechin and his monks who founded the "abbey" on Ardilaun, the remains of which are still visible there.

This saint flourished during the first half of the seventh century, for his death is noticed in A. D. 664. He was a native of Bile, in the County Sligo, but in the spirit of missionary enterprise, so characteristic of our early Irish saints, he preached the Gospel and founded monasteries in

various remote parts of the country, especially at Fore, in Westmeath, and at Termon-fechin, in the County Louth. It was probably at the request of King Guaire that he undertook the conversion of the pagan inhabitants who still lingered in some of those remote islands of the West, especially in the island of Omey. And it was, doubtless, with a view to his own greater seclusion that he betook himself from Omey to Ardilaun, and there founded the oratory and the bee-hive cells which we have been describing. After his own departure for Meath, it is quite clear that Ardilaun still continued to be the penitential retreat of his disciples. We find, however, no reference made to any of his successors until A. D. 1017, when, according to *The Four Masters*, Gormhgal of Ard-Oilean, chief annchara of Ireland, died. O'Flaherty describes him as "a very spirituall person of renowned sanctity, who made in this island his hermitical retirement."

Besides Gormhgal, Colgan gives the names of the following saints as interred in Ardilaun:—Maelsuthunius, Celecharius, Tressachus, Dubthacus, Dunadach, Cellochus, Ultanus, Cormacchus, Conmachus. But it is quite evident that Colgan mistook Ardilaun for Inishere, the eastern of the three Isles of Aran; for it is in Inishere, not in Ardilaun, that all those holy men, with the exception of St. Gormhgal, are buried.

Mr. G. H. Kinahan, read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy, in 1869, in which he gives a short account of the ancient buildings on the island, as they appeared at the time of his visit. He also gives a sketch-plan (see next page) of the south western extremity of the island, in which the monastic ruins are situated. It is quite evident from a comparison of Mr. Kinahan's account with the present state of these ancient buildings, that the ruins have suffered much within the last twenty years. The island abounds in rabbits, which naturally take refuge in the old walls. When the shepherd boys, who occasionally visit the island, hunt these rabbits they frequently tear down the old walls to come at their game; and there is at present no one to prevent them from rooting up these venerable structures as much as they please. It is

greatly to be regretted that the ruins of this island were not taken charge of by the Board of Works, as the present proprietors seem to be utterly indifferent about them, regarding them, doubtless, as nothing better than mere heaps of old stones.

We cannot, however, agree with all Mr. Kinahan's conclusions, in his brief but interesting paper.

His plan shows at least three gates in the original cashel.



There possibly may have been two—one at the south-western, and the other at the south-eastern angle adjoining the lake. But neither in this nor in any similar structure that we have seen, will the most careful inquiry show more than two gates; and, generally speaking, they will be found at opposite points of the enclosure—one for ordinary use, and the other, probably, for escape in case of sudden attack.

Again, Mr. Kinahan's plan shows three of the cloghauns

as outside the monastic enclosure. It may be assumed with perfect certainty, that if they were really outside the cashel, they were not cloghauns or monastic cells, in the ordinary acceptation of the word. It appears to us quite clear that these three cells were built adjoining the wall or the enclosure, probably for want of space within it, but in such a way that the entrance to the cell opened on the enclosure, and practically formed a part of it. And the peculiar feature in these cells, not clearly brought out by Mr. Kinahan, is, that they were square or rectangular within, with a dome-shaped roof, but outside they were certainly circular, so far as we can judge from the one whose walls are still in a fair state of preservation. It would seem that St. Fechin and his monks, though for convenience sake they adopted the rectangular shape within, were yet unwilling to discard the traditional form of the bee hive cell which was handed down to them by their sainted masters of the sixth century.

We think, too, that the building marked No. 1 on Mr. Kinahan's plan, and which he describes as a circular cloghaun, twenty-seven feet in diameter, was an unroofed enclosure, either for the temporary accommodation of guests, or for the cattle of the monastery. It was without the cashel, but within the outer wall, which seems to have run north and south, from cliff to cliff, both sheltering and defending the monastery proper as well as all its adjacent grounds and buildings. At the northern and southern extremities of this wall there were two strong buildings, marked No. 2 and 13 on the plan, which were, doubtless, employed to shelter those whose duty it was to watch and defend the approaches to the monastery.

We could find no trace of the cross which is figured by Mr. Kinahan, and which he saw near the landing-place on the eastern shore of the island. The cross at the well, which he has also sketched is now broken, and, doubtless, the fragments will also disappear in a short time.

This remote island is certainly worthy of a visit from those who take an interest in our early Christian antiquities; but the only way in which it can be safely accomplished is under the guidance of the brave and hardy fishermen, who

dwell on the mainland at Aghros Point. The surrounding sea is full of rocks; the cliffs are almost inaccessible; and it would be well-nigh impossible for a stranger to find the exact place where it would be practicable to effect a landing. Doubtless this is also the reason why no family has dwelt on the island within the memory of man, although the soil seems to be fertile, and there is abundance of water, and probably as much peat as would suffice for fuel. Will the day ever come again when holy men, flying from the vanities and deceits of the world, will people once more those holy islands of the west? Will the sound of the Angelus bell be ever heard again over these wild seas, and the chant of sacred psalmody once more awake the echoes of the ocean caves? Who can tell. This we know, that if we had to make the choice, we should prefer a cloghaun on this lonely but beautiful island, to a cell in some dark attic over a dirty street, where the sights and sounds and smells, by day and by night, are a perpetual abomination.

✠ J. HEALY.

THOUGHTS ON THE SIMPLICITY OF GOD.

“ Simplex esse, simplex posse
 Simplex velle, simplex nosse
 Cuncta sunt simplicia.”—BOËTH, *Hymn*.

“ Nach der Lehre der Offenbarung, wie nach der Vernunft, ist Gott absolut, d. h. nicht bloss physisch, sondern auch metaphysisch einfach, so das in Ihm keine Zusammensetzung irgend welcher Art stattfindet, stattfinden kam und gedacht werden darf.”—DR. SCHEEBEN.

HOW few persons there are, even among the good and fervent, who love to dwell upon that which, after all, is the grandest and most sublime of all subjects—viz., the nature and attributes of God. Men may think often and devoutly of Jesus Christ; and Jesus Christ is, of course, God as well as man; but, even in contemplating Him, they are wont to dwell almost exclusively on the human side of His

character. They muse upon His sufferings, humiliations, labours, and journeyings ; they weep over His passion, death, and burial ; they picture to themselves His gentleness, condescension, patience, and love ; but the thought of His divinity, His awful power, irresistible omnipotence, and uncreated wisdom, His mysterious eternity, infinity, and inaccessible purity and sanctity, seldom occupies the prominent place in their minds which it assuredly deserves.

In fact, His human nature is so much more easy to conceive, and His created soul is so far more intelligible an object, that some persons are really in danger of altogether overlooking the divine nature which was His from all eternity.

Now, in contemplating God, the very first thought that naturally arises before us is His unity. So soon as we begin to exercise our reason on the subject, we find ourselves exclaiming: "God is one." One in nature, and, as faith teaches, three in persons ; one in essence, three in relation. The Trinity in God is a subject we must reserve for some future essay ; but let us now attempt to put down a few thoughts concerning the unity of God.

God is one in the strictest sense of the word : one intrinsically and in His own nature, and one in the sense of being without an equal.

The unity of God, considered in His own nature, we may speak of as the simplicity of God ; thereby drawing out the contrast between His oneness and the multiplicity and complexity existing in creatures. For, in every being, save in God, there is a greater or less degree of complexity. Thus, man himself is composed of body and soul. The human body is made up of various parts. Each part is distinct. The head is not the hand ; the hand is not the foot ; the foot is not the arm. So, too, as regards the soul. Though not a material substance—though not possessed of distinct organs or physical parts—still it is by no means simple, in the sense in which God is simple. The soul has various powers and attributes, and they are all distinct. The memory is not the will ; the will is not the understanding ; the understanding is not the imagination. And none of these is the soul

itself. Each is merely a faculty of the soul. We cannot say that the soul *is* reason, or justice, &c. We can say only that the soul *has* or exercises reason, justice, &c. They are attributes of the soul, and distinct from the soul itself; so that there is a real difference between the soul and its faculties and powers, and no strict unity or absolute ontological identity exists between them.

God, on the contrary, is absolutely one and indivisible. It is true that we speak of the attributes of God; for this we are compelled to do owing to the exigencies of language. But God has no attributes in the ordinary sense of that term. We say God is "good." But to speak of a being as good, is to speak of him as possessing a certain quality; hence, if we wish to be exact, we cannot so speak of God. He does not possess goodness, as something added to His essence; He *is* goodness. It is His very being. *Deus simplex, quia, quod habet, hoc est.* So of every other quality, which, by the necessity of human speech, we attribute to Him. He is not wise; He is wisdom. His wisdom is indistinguishable from Himself. The same must be said of His power, patience, sanctity, mercy, providence, and of all else. Such qualities are not *of* God, nor *in* God; they *are* God. This is why the Scripture does not inform us that God loves, nor that He has love; but that He is love. *Deus caritas est.*

God is love; and, as He is love, so is He also wisdom, power, omnipotence, beauty, sanctity, and all else; and yet His wisdom is but another name for His power; and His power is but another name for His love; and His love is but another name for His justice; and His justice but another name for His beauty. In the Deity, goodness, beauty, truth, wisdom, &c., do not exist as distinct attributes; they are all so many different names for His very essence, according to the different manner in which that essence is conceived and regarded by creatures. These, and the innumerable other terms which we employ, indicate, not an innumerable number of perfections, but an innumerable number of different aspects of the one infinite and indivisible perfection. The distinction we make between one divine perfection and another, is not a real intrinsic distinction, but merely

an ideal one; or, as theologians put it, not a *distinctio realis*, but a *distinctio rationis*. We employ different words, not to indicate any objective change on the part of God, but simply to indicate the selfsame indivisible and changeless essence of God, as it presents itself, new in one way, now in another, to our limited understandings. In fact, we do very much what we do when speaking of terrestrial things. We speak, for example, of the sun *rising*, and the sun *setting*. There is no real distinction between the setting and the rising sun; for the sun neither rises nor sets. It is the earth alone that is responsible for the phenomena. It is the earth, not the sun, that changes its position. This terrestrial movement, however, gives to the sun a different appearance in our eyes; and, to indicate this difference, we call it by a distinct name. We speak of the altered relation as though it were the sun itself that varied and shifted its position. The same may be said of the moon, which we describe as full, half, &c.

Unity, as it exists in God, is so absolute, that it admits of no modification or alteration whatsoever. In fact, change is metaphysically impossible, except in a finite being. For what does every change necessarily imply? Either an addition of some kind, or a privation of some kind. In fact, change cannot be accounted for on any other hypothesis. Take a familiar example. To-day, I am beaming with happiness; to-morrow, I am a prey to the most acute sorrow. Why the change? Perhaps, because news reaches me of the death of a devoted friend; *i. e.*, my knowledge has been increased: or, again, it may be because I have lost my riches, my reputation, or my health; *i. e.*, something has been withdrawn from me, which before I possessed and enjoyed. But, since every change supposes an accession or a privation, God must be changeless. For He is infinite in every respect; and He who is infinite in every respect cannot receive increase, for what is capable of increase is necessarily limited. So, for a similar reason, neither can the infinite suffer any privation. For, so soon as anything is wanting, the infinite ceases to be infinite; or, in other words, God must cease to be God—which is, of all impossible things, the most impossible.

It may help somewhat to clear our views on this subject, if we here remark that even creatures enjoy a certain measure of unity. A man is the same man to-day and yesterday. That is to say, there is the same individual, the same *suppositum*; but still we cannot say that there is actual identity. He may be sometimes in one state, and sometimes in another: *e. g.*, at one time discouraged, downcast, and in despair; at another, bright, cheery, and full of hope. But there is nothing to correspond to this in God, who knows no change or shadow of alteration, but is ever the infinitely perfect throughout all ages, times, and periods. “Yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever.”

Hence all that seems to imply change in the Creator, must be understood to mean, in sober truth, nothing more than a change in the creature. What looks like change in God is really the simple and divine act of omnipotence, changeless in itself, producing change in all things else. We say God loves and hates; that He is angered and pacified; now roused to indignation, now induced to relent and to pardon: that He punishes and rewards, &c. And when we hear such things said, and read such expressions in the Bible, we are sometimes apt to forget the calm, consistent, and passionless nature of God, “with whom there is no change, nor shadow of alteration.” (James i. 17.)

In all such cases, the change which we attribute to God, must really be referred to that which is external to God. In such a matter, it is not easy to find an example that may fittingly illustrate our theme; but let us make an attempt. Take, as an instance, the sun shining in the heavens. The sun casts a ray of heat upon the earth: this ray is precisely the same whether it fall on one object or another. But, observe, though the *ray* be the same, the *effect* of that ray may be not only different, but even opposite, according to the condition, quality, and character of the object on which it falls. If it fall on a piece of wax, it will soften it, and make it perfectly plastic and yielding; but if it fall on soft wet clay it will produce diametrically the opposite effect. It will harden and bake it, till it breaks up and crumbles away into dust. So God, as innocent of all change as the sun’s rays, by one

and the same act produces the most opposite results—*e. g.*, rewards the saint and punishes the sinner.

Take another example from the order of nature. What are more dissimilar than mid-winter and mid summer? Yet the contrast arises, not as most people would suppose, from any difference in the rays of heat falling from the sun, but solely from the difference in the angle at which the earth presents itself to those rays. If we study the seasons, for instance, in the northern hemisphere, we shall find that the earth is no nearer the sun in the heats of summer, than in the frosts of winter; on the contrary, it is appreciably further off; the difference of the seasons being due to the greater or less inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic, or plane in which the earth revolves around the sun. When the earth assumes a position so that the rays fall almost perpendicularly, we experience the heat of summer; when it assumes a position so that these same rays fall at an acute angle, we have the piercing cold of winter. The ray, so to speak, is immutable, and the wholly opposite effects, observable, are owing, not to any alteration in the sun, but to an alteration on the part of the earth. The sun—a figure of God—undergoes no alteration; yet, though this great source of heat rests unaffected, the earth will enjoy summer or endure winter according as it presents itself to the sun's glance.

These may be taken as imperfect similitudes of God's action upon different creatures. The changelessness of the ray suggests the immutability and simplicity existing on the part of God; its different effects upon different objects suggests the mutability and the varied conditions existing on the part of creatures. God is said to love one soul, and to reward it with the imperishable joys of heaven; He is said to hate another, and to pour out His wrath upon it, and to thrust it into the eternal fires of hell—and, of course, God does really detest sin and love virtue. Yet the one act and the other, though totally different, so far as the two souls are concerned, are absolutely one and the same in God—and can bear no evidence of any mutability in the immutable. His act is one and the same, for the simple reason that it is Himself; He *is* His act—"actus

purissimus." Yet the selfsame act will produce different and even opposite effects upon unlike objects, or upon the same object in different conditions. To illustrate this yet more fully, let us make use of an analogy. Instead of the soul (1) made for God, (2) made to enjoy God, and (3) to bask in the brightness of His presence, let us take the human eye (1) made for light, (2) made to enjoy light, and (3) to bask in the brightness of its presence.

Now a healthy eye, an eye which is sound and perfect, rejoices in the light. The presence of the light is a source of perennial contentment and satisfaction to it. But, suppose a change to come over this delicate organ; suppose the eye to be diseased, inflamed, injured. Then, what was before a source of pleasure, is changed into a source of pain, annoyance, irritation, and suffering. The sore blood-shot eye now shuns the light; its brightness becomes insupportable; its only escape from pain is in darkness; and the blinds are drawn, and the shutters closed, and the rays of the sun are not allowed to fall upon the dilated pupil. Whence this difference? It is not to be found in the light itself, but in the altered state of the eye. The light is ever the same—ever pure, clear, cheery, bright, glorious; but the eye, because diseased, *because fallen from its perfect state*, now finds intolerable what once it sought; now finds pain, where it once found pleasure.

So is it, in so far as a similitude can be applied, with the soul rejoicing in heaven, and the soul tortured in hell. By the selfsame act God rewards the good and punishes the bad. It is not God who has changed, it is the soul. Let us attempt to explain: God is not merely good, He is infinite goodness; to the good, infinite goodness will be in harmony; but goodness will never harmonize with evil. It will be in opposition with it; and if it is eternal goodness, it will be in eternal opposition; and if infinite goodness, it will be in infinite opposition. Thus, it is the very goodness of God, the selfsame immutable attribute which, without any shadow of change, constitutes at once the heaven of the saint and the hell of the sinner. Men talk as though God had changed towards them; but it is they who have changed towards

Him. In a word, it is not the light that has lost its brightness and withholds its cheering rays; it is the disease the eye has contracted which has made the presence of the selfsame rays, once so delightful and joy-giving, now so agonizing and intolerable.

So with regard to every divine act *ad extra*. God seems to act differently at different times, and differently towards different persons and objects at the same time; yet faith assures us that on the part of God there is no change whatsoever, and that His state being one of infinite perfection, cannot suffer the slightest alteration. To alter would be to grow less perfect; for being already infinite in all perfection, He cannot alter in the direction of *greater* perfection; if He alter at all, it must be in the direction of *less* perfection—which is absolutely impossible with God: “Ego Dominus et non mutor;” “I am the Lord, and I change not.”—Malac. iii. 6.

When God, therefore, *appears* to act in an infinite variety of ways, it is in reality but the one infinitely perfect act, in itself absolutely simple, which is producing innumerable different effects, and manifesting itself in an infinite variety of forms.

Let us, in illustration, refer once again to the sunlight. The rays of the sun are (practically) ever the same, but see how differently they affect the different objects on which they fall; *e. g.*—(a) We watch them fall on the ocean, and we see the waters rising by evaporation and the clouds forming till the arching heavens are filled with them; (b) or, again, we watch them fall on the snow-capped mountains, and behold! the glaciers, and the ice and snow melt, and the torrents are let loose, and bound down their rugged rocky beds, and over the gigantic cliffs on their way to the sea with the sound of thunder; (c) or, we see them shining upon the broad stretching plains and valleys, and at once stirring the fresh-sown seed with a sense of awakening life, till the blades of grass appear, and the soft green velvety verdure spreads itself like a carpet over the land; (d) or they fall on the bare corn-fields and (e) the leafless vineyards, and in a few months the sunny earth smiles in golden

harvests, and glows with the innumerable clusters of purple grapes.

It is the same sun, the same rays; yet how varied are the effects, according to circumstances of place, of time, and of distance! Or, to descend into minuter particulars: All colour on earth is due to the action of the sun. It is the one sun that (*f*) paints the lily, that (*g*) gilds the pistils in its chalice-cup till they look like points of burnished gold, that (*h*) lends to the heather-bell its fairy-like hues, and (*i*) makes the hawberries glow like fire in the autumn hedgerows. A single ray falls like a pure white arrow from the eastern sky, yet, seen through a prism, it seems to the observer wholly transformed, and aglow with all the colours of the solar spectrum. It is red and orange, purple and violet, blue, green, and gold, and changes like a witch's oils.

Throughout all these variations, the ray remains unaffected. It is the same sun, the same light, the same strange power, that, falling upon different bodies, exhibits itself in such an endless variety of ways. Men ask, in their ignorance, why God changes His attitude towards one and towards another. But with as much reason they might ask why the sun changes its attitude towards the soft damp clay, which it hardens and pulverizes, and towards the hard wax, which it softens and melts like water. As well ask why the sun paints the lily white, the rose red, and the violet purple; or why it leaves the dry twig unadorned, while it clothes the lily of the field in a wealth of glory and splendour unknown to Solomon in the zenith of his power. The difference is not to be sought in the sun, but in the objects with which the sun is called upon to deal. It would be manifestly absurd to say that the sun shows partiality, or that it is differently affected towards different objects. No, the sun is the same. The source of the difference is not attributable to the glorious orb of day, but to the unlike condition of terrestrial things.

This, though necessarily an imperfect and unsatisfying illustration, is yet the best we can offer, and may help in some measure to enable us to conceive, at least *what is meant* by the immutable unity of God within Himself, throughout

all the changes and vicissitudes that are the result of His action upon creatures.

But if God is one in His own nature, one in the sense of being free from all complexity and multiplicity of parts and attributes and faculties, *i.e.*, the essentially simple, He is, of course, equally one in the more ordinary sense—that is to say, in the sense of being without a rival, without an equal, without any other to compare with Himself.

“See ye, that I alone am, and there is no other God besides me: I will kill, and I will make to live; I will strike, and I will heal: and there is none who can deliver out of my hand.” (Deut. xxxii. 39.)

“*I alone am.*” Compared with God, all other beings can scarcely be said to exist at all. He alone exists necessarily and essentially. He alone always was; He alone had no beginning. He alone exists of Himself. Not only is God a being above all others; He is a being so essentially apart—alone, and *sui generis*, that we cannot even compare any other to Him. No comparison is so much as possible.

If we take the tiniest atom, invisible to the naked eye, we may compare it with the bulk of the earth—nay, more, however unmeasurable the contrast we may, nevertheless, institute a comparison between it on the one hand, and the entire creation, earth, moon, sun and stars, on the other; but we cannot even compare in any way a creature, nor all creatures together, with the infinite, uncreated, and ineffable being of God. He is not alone superior to all creatures, but all creatures are in His sight as though they were not. Though nothing that we have ever known can equal the magnificence and dazzling grandeur of the least saint in heaven, yet the splendour and glory and beauty of all saints and angels, of cherubim and seraphim, principalities and powers, united and multiplied a billion times over, are less as compared with the glory of God, than a glow-worm’s spark as compared with the brilliance of the noonday’s sun—and not merely less, but infinitely less. Here, surely, is food enough for a life’s reflection!

Unhappily, men do not think enough of the grandeur and incomparable splendour of Him who rules the world: if they

did, not only would they dare not offend Him as they do, but they would love to lose themselves in the thought of Him, and of His marvellous attributes. The pettiness of earthly gains, the poor tawdry rewards offered by the world; the hollowness and emptiness of transitory things, the foolish ambition and vain struggles for worldly honours, dignities, wealth, &c., would excite nothing but disdain; and man's one ambition and aim would be to secure possession of the infinite and the incomparable.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to dwell upon all the attributes into which, for the sake of clearness, we are accustomed to divide the indivisible perfection of God. But let us take one, as an example of all the rest.

The omnipotence of God. God is not merely powerful and omnipotent—He does not possess power as an attribute, as something added. He is omnipotence itself. He is omnipotence, just as He is charity, or wisdom, or sanctity: it is His very nature. His power is not acquired, as the power of an angel; it is His very being; nor is it dependent on another, as the power of a creature depends on God; it is self-existent. His power is not circumscribed as the power of other beings is; it is without bound, or limit, or restriction. It is absolutely infinite. To the most powerful creatures some acts are more difficult than others; but with God there can be no “more or less difficulty,” because there is no difficulty whatsoever. To create a grain of dust or to create a thousand worlds, is equally easy to Him who can do all things by a word: to lay the glistening dew-drop in the flower cup, or to fashion the fathomless sea is equally easy to God. Difficulty is a word which has no meaning when applied to omnipotence.

He has given us some slight glimpse of His might in the visible creation. The earth on which we dwell reveals to us something of His power. The sun shining down upon us, over 90,000,000 of miles away, and which is over a million times the bulk of our earth, tells us a little more; still more are we penetrated with a sense of God's power when we contemplate other planets, compared to which the sun itself is but a puny insignificant object—such as Sirius, which is

calculated to be a thousand times vaster than the sun, and a million times further off—and our knowledge will grow yet further, as we contemplate those stars, so far distant that their light, though travelling 180,000 miles in one second, yet takes years to reach us; and which (though they are really vaster than the whole world) appear but as microscopic grains of untold splendour.

Yet, immense as the universe is, its creation and preservation do not exhaust the power of God: He might, did He so please, call into being a universe so great, that the present universe would only compare with it as a grain of dust to a mountain; and then a third universe bearing the same proportion to the second, as the second to the first; and so on indefinitely and for ever. We lose ourselves in the effort to conceive it—and yet He would not have exhausted His power, nor have in any way strained it. And what we have said of size, we might also say of beauty—the present beauty of creation might be doubled; and the result doubled again; and so on throughout endless ages.

But nothing can really represent to our minds the magnitude of His power. All creation babbles of it. Every object on which the eye rests points to it. But it is after all but the merest babbling, but the merest pointing. We may learn more and more of it, but an infinite distance must ever separate us from its full realization. To understand an infinite object supposes an infinite capacity; but the power of God is infinite; therefore, to the extent in which our minds fall short of infinitude, to the same extent must they ever fall short of realizing the power of God. In fact, the created intelligence of man or angel is not merely *far* from understanding—not merely a *vast way off* understanding it, but an INFINITE way off understanding it.

And what we say of His power, is true of every attribute and divine perfection. Even in heaven itself; even when illuminated by the supernatural light of eternal glory, we shall not be able to fully understand, nor to adequately realize the infinite perfections of God. In fact, the higher a saint is in glory, and the more exalted he is in perfection, the more fully and completely he will under-

stand how absolutely and essentially incomprehensible God is.

Indeed, God is not incomprehensible to man only, but to *every created intelligence*, and not merely while existing in the order of nature, but even if raised to the order of grace and glory. In fact, theologians think not merely that no created mind can fully and adequately comprehend God, but that God could not even communicate such a power of comprehension, for the same reason that He could not create an infinite being, nor place any mere creature on a perfect level with Himself—which would involve a contradiction.

We shall know more of God than will satisfy us, when we get into His kingdom. Nay, we shall comprehend enough to intoxicate us with a happiness and a joy which no words can express; but we shall never, never exhaust His beauty, wisdom, and magnificence, &c. His infinite perfections will ever outstrip the utmost efforts of our finite minds; and our limited capacities will never be able to encompass His divine nature, nor to comprehend it adequately; or, in other words, to know Him as He knows Himself. If we could do that, we would be not men, but God.

Such, then, is the unity and unequalled excellence of Him whom we adore. We have said enough to show that He is one, without a rival, without a second to dispute His sovereignty; alone in the infinitude of His matchless nature. Hence the Church sings every day in the Mass, "*Tu solus sanctus; Tu solus dominus; Tu solus altissimus:*" "*Thou alone art holy; thou alone art the Lord; thou alone art the Most High.*"

The thought of the unrivalled majesty and omnipotence of God is very salutary. Indeed, it is by musing upon such themes that we come to realize—(1) our own nothingness and insufficiency; 2) the enormity of any sin committed against Him; and (3) the immeasurably greater value of the least act done for His sake than the greatest achievement performed under any other impulse.

To think seriously of the unapproachable beauty and glory of God is, indeed, to set one's very heart on fire with

the most insatiable longing to see the King in all His beauty and unveiled splendour.

In contemplating heaven, people are too apt to set before their minds the delights of sense, the sights, the society, the heavenly music, the clarity, the agility, the grace and perfection of outward form and colour. But all these joys, however true and intense they may be—and even they are, no doubt, intense beyond words—sink into insignificance when we come to think of the Giver. They bear no proportion to the ecstasy of delight arising from His presence. Who shall picture it? who describe it? When we have used up every comparison, and exhausted all language, and wearied our minds in our effort to image forth some feeble reflection of His beauty, we are as far off as when we began, and, like St. Jeremias, must exclaim:—"A. A. Domine, nescio loqui; puer sum." We can only say that it is unique, unparalleled, infinite and uncreated; we know not what it is now. But, in the words of inspired wisdom, "we shall be *satisfied* when His beauty shall appear."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

A SOUTHERN SUMMER.

I.

A COOL green winter was the prelude to our Victorian summer. For five long months the shifting season ran through a varying gamut of sleet and bluster and flaying winds, with brief snow-falls, and infrequent summer-like days when the bees came out from their hives and searched for blushing flowers to woo. Through all this moving change the rain dripped drearily down, soaking the thirsty earth, till its great red bosom waxed dropsical and oozy. The main roads were rutted and sloshy; and as for the bye-roads, and the unmade highways that led to school and church and sick-call, through the endless gum-tree¹ forests that have

¹ The *Eucalyptus*.

got the name of "bush,"—well, they were like long thin streaks of the Bog of Allen. Ah! even were your patient gray as wooden as Don Quixote's Clavileno, you would pity him as he bears you wearily over these deep, muddy, billowy tracks, that wind through growing timber, past fallen forest-giants, through treacherous stumps, down slippery gullies, up greasy hill-sides, and through swollen wintry creeks. We are glad, indeed, when the sun leaves your northern sky and begins his southward march towards Capricorn; for then our weary toiling through the red volcano mire is over: winter is past and summer come. Our spring is but a sowing time; not the aurora of summer, as in the north. It brings us none of your bright "growing" days, when the buds crackle in the hazy morning, and you sniff the summer coming from afar over the low blue southern hills. It brings us no gradual resurrection of green life in field and wold; for Australian trees shed not the leaf. The ungainly gum-tree, that covers the face of nature, here sheds its bark, instead, in long thin flakes, which stand for ever, like discarded rags, on its great straggling limbs. Thus we have no breath of your Irish spring in the air above, no touch of its fresh life on the earth beneath. Late in October, our winter rushes into the arms of summer. Then follows a brief period of "lightning change." The thermometer is a pendulum-beat between 56° and 156° Fah., and our "general man" growls, as he turns over the rich red garden mould: "Precious weather, to be sure! Laugh and cry in the same breath! Winter and summer, freeze and fry! Quicksilver down to the floor to-day, up to the ceiling to-morrow!"

This for a brief season. Then the last flaky clouds melts in the blue depths of air, the sun settles down to toast the patient earth, and the still brooding heat of the southern summer sets in. The deep winter roads of last July become firm and hard, and your flying buggy-wheels whirl up clouds of red dust, that settles down on your white summer suit, and fills your eyes, and loads your ears and nostrils, and gives you the complexion of a full-blood Iroquois. The spongy paddocks have given up their precious moisture to the thirsty air. The wintry creeks have ceased their babbling

song; for few are the brooks that "go on for ever" in this fated land. "Water, bright water!" is the direful summer cry of man and beast and bird. Australia were, indeed, an Amhara of bliss, had it but in equal plenty the sparkling brooks and the noble rivers that are running to such woful waste in green Eirinne of the streams.

Christmas comes. A broiling day. Your three Masses, so many weary miles apart, are but the beginning of your day's work. For all the world knows that to-morrow will take place the "grand annual demonstration" for the support of your Catholic schools. For this have your brave brother-priest and you been toiling ever since the summer days set in. Your central attraction to-morrow will be the much-loved sport of—horse-racing! None other will muster the gathering you need within the iron-fenced race-course paddock. And while men and horses run, and bands play, and people are merry and bright, your refreshment stalls and games and art-unions are working away, and a hundred innocent snares are laid to charm the chinking coins from bucolic pockets. Your Christmas afternoon is devoted to a grand final muster of your volunteers. There are endless conferences with committees and sub-committees; stump orations to boundary riders, ticket-collectors, stall-keepers; parleying, bullying, pouring yourself out like oil on the rippling wavelets of discontent and jealousy that disturb the calm, smooth onflow of all such movements. Then wearily home in the sweltering glow. And "blame not the bard" if, while he flicks at the clustering flies and mops his heated brow, his thoughts turn fondly to the cool associations of Christmas at home, and he longs for the bracing, marrow-finding whiffs that blow from the hoar crowns of Blackstairs or Lugnaquilla.

With what loving folly do we try to keep, under the Southern Cross, the old traditions of your cool, northern Christmas! For this the great, wild Australian turkey graces our festive-board to-day; for this we sober elders devour great slices of indigestible plum-pudding, while we bitterly think of the morrow. Even old Father Christmas and Santa Claus come hither, wrapped (in such weather, too!) in as

many furs as Laplanders, and bear their great fardels of Swiss toys to sceptical young Australians, who never *will* believe in the personal existence of such a strange, outlandish pair. And is not good Sister Euphrasia's pretty Christmas Crib bestrewn with snow and ice? "It is just like home," says she. Alas! the snow is a delusion, and the ice a snare. You know, for certain, that the one was brought from the flour-bag in the convent kitchen; you have reason to suspect that the other is but the pounded fragments of the tumbler that was broken in the refectory last Thursday.

Outside, in the sun, the moving needle of our Farenheit stands at 164°; and from the round knoll where the presbytery stands, we can see the smoke of three, six, ten bush-fires curling upward in tall, straight columns, and stagnating in the breezeless air. They are an every-day feature in the Australian summer landscape. A spark from a passing engine, the match of a careless smoker, the brand of an incendiary touches the dry, slippery grass, and on, on the flames go, robbing the thirsting sheep and cattle, year by year, of hundreds of thousands of acres of precious food, into the forest-land: the lapping tongues climb the gum-trees by the crisp, shrivelled rags of last year's discarded bark, and rush, with a hoarse roar, through the dense growth; burning rabbits and snakes in the hollow trees, roasting to death the farm-stock, brought to bay by the tall rail-fence; sweeping down homesteads, and gnawing great black furrows for miles through the dark-green bush. Right fearful havoc, truly! But yon grizzly old colonist, who has just brought us a sick call, laughs lightly at it all. "Why, bless your 'arts," says he, "them 'ere sparks ain't no more'n that (striking a match), to what I've seen in my day, and don't care to see no more." And then he tells us the oft-told tale of the great historic bush-fire of Black Thursday, in 1851, when the Victorian forests were nearly all in flames—countless cattle were burned, and homes destroyed. In Gippsland the sun was eclipsed by the smoke, and a thick darkness settled down on the earth at mid-day. Men tell how birds fell dead of heat on the decks of coasting-vessels, and clouds

of smoke and falling cinders went out for leagues over the waters of the Southern Ocean.

No, it is not pleasant when the smoke and heat of neighbouring bush-fires circle round your dwelling. Less pleasant still, when the north wind—rude as Boreas of old—flings in your face the glow of the Central Saharas, runs riot along the pavements, throws dust and grit by handfuls in your eyes, whisks umbrellas from the hands of helpless females, ruins clothes, spoils tempers, and settles down, like a thick cider-down, about you in the night. For the rest, our nights are passably cool from October to April. Scarcely have the last level bars of sunshine shot over the gum-clad western hills, when up steals a gentle *aura*, laden with a cool breath from the far-off ice-fields of the nether Pole. Then begins the too brief twilight of the South—the fleeting image of your northern *crépuscule*, that lingers far into the lap of night. It is our poetic hour; the hour when Edwin and Angelina go on a sentimental journey around the reedy pool we call a lake; when the cattle come down to drink after the long hot day; and the air is filled with the metallic rasping of the grasshopper, the chirr of cicada, and the buzzing sense of teeming insect-life that a southern sunset brings. This is the hour when the bell-bird¹ pipes his good-night to the sun—a sweet, flute-like *scherzetto*, in a major key; for a happy bird is he, with pretty, quaint ways, and as many poses as a ballerina. A welcome pet in garden or yard is this “artist in black-and-white;” for he can laugh, and sing, and mock, and whistle with marvellous power, and talk as well, if not as wisely, as fabled Bulbul-hezar of the *Arabian Nights*. But, alas! he *will* learn his English after the manner of the foreign tar—the expletives first. In civilized life, too, he gives himself bodily over to thieving, and quarrelling, and picking out eyes, and takes a keener relish in addressing shrill profanity to Bridget’s staid, matronly houdins, than in the sweet wild melody the Lord God taught him to sing from the branches of his native forest home.

¹ *Myzantha melanophrys*; has the size, shape, and habits of the jackdaw, and is vulgarly called the “magpie,” from his black and white coat.

II.

Till the close of 1889, it was an ordinary southern summer. But during January and February, 1890, there reigned in Victoria one of those violent spells of fever heat that continental climates are so often subject to. The sun rose red and fiery in a speckless sky, and looked down with angry eye on the scorching earth. At evening he lingered with swollen face in the scarlet western haze, and left an after-glow that cut your sleep into short naps, until he rose to pursue his glowing path again. The air was stagnant. Across the downs, where the mobile breeze had played, the trembling ether quivered and soared like a miasma over the dark-green forest, beyond which the far-off hills rose, gray and blurred, as in a mirage. Below our door the placid, yellow-faced, pig-tailed Chinaman melted in the glare, as he washed the mullock for stray grains of gold. Turbaned Hindoo and Persian hawkers longed for the cooler shores of Ormuz and of Ind. At Geelong, trade was almost paralyzed. At Williamstown the railway workshops were deserted when the thermometer rose to 130° in the shade. Strange it was, that in this southerly colony the heat raged more fiercely than in Port Darwin, by the distant shores of Carpentaria, on which the sun's eye looked almost perpendicularly down. It was glorious weather for a salamander. For white men it was deadly: sunstroke, "sunsickness," heat-apoplexy, and every form of human ill kept you, through the dull, hot hours, by the sick bed, or with the festering corpses by the open graveside—a thin silk umbrella between your bald crown and the deadly glare above.

Now, in these days there arose a prophet in Melbourne. He hired a hall, and thrice a-day told a wondering open-mouthed crowd that this hot spell was the beginning of the wrath to come; that precisely at four o'clock, on the 2nd of February, 1892, this old sin-sodden earth would be destroyed by fire. People began to wonder why their own salaried prophet spoke not—the Government astronomer—who lives alone in the tall tower, where he regulates the shifting seasons, and listens to the secrets of the moon and stars. Mayhap some hoped that, like the astronomer of

Amhara, he would "restrain the rage of the Dog-star, and mitigate the fervour of the Crab." After many days he spoke: the perfervid glow did not betoken the end of time. It was caused by a dislocation (so to speak) in the atmosphere; by an erratic heat-wave that had dropped down upon us out of its due stratification among the thermal lines of the Torrid Zone. Time would mellow the sweltering glow.

No need to visit the Turkish baths, my friends, so long as you live through a heat-wave in a weather-board house, with canvas lining and a corrugated iron roof. Ha! my portly friend, yon small room were better than all the leeches of Broussais to shrink your Louis-le-gros waist, and dissolve your supplementary chins. Alas, for our poor Cinderella of the kitchen! Many a care has she besides the heat; for has she not just discovered that her beautiful joint is "going;" and lo! the lovely butter she bought at 3s. a pound, one short half-hour ago, has it not collapsed on the dish in a bilious yellow pool! Ah! these are the days when perishable things corrupt their way, and flowers fade, and man's dumb friends sicken of the heat and die. Only the plagues of humanity love the red glare; the rag-tag-and-bobtail of insect and reptile villainy flourish—the ubiquitous house-fly, the poisonous tarantulas, centipedes, and black spiders; the deadly black and brown and tiger snakes; the stealthy mosquito, that settles with downy tread upon your face by night. And what shall I say of that chief plague of the dark and silent hours, our "harmless, necessary cat"—the white-furred Desdemona that purrs so meekly in the daytime? Oft in the stilly night she steals forth to interview her black Othello beneath my bed-room window, and together they rend the midnight silence with that wild fitful feline warbling that puts my wakeful nerves beyond the good offices of poppy and mandragora. Strange anti-climax to the happy nights of long ago, when I lay and listened to the wondrous song of the nightingale in the laurel groves of Brittany!

III.

'Tis not a time for exertion. The very clock ticks feebly on the ragged wall. Old dog Nero is stretched blinking on

the veranda bricks, lazily snapping at the circling flies. Can it be the lively, rampant Nero that played such merry gambols around your buggy on that bleak showery day last June, and embraced with muddy paws your new broad-cloth suit, that was to have figured in a few hours at the great episcopal dinner of the year? Not for the sweetest merino bone would he follow you now, as you sally out into the sunlit glow, with your white helmit of pith and your coat of almost impalpable yellow silk. For, have you not this week to visit the sick, shrive the dying, bless the dead of this city of 40,000 souls, and a great straggling district as large as Wexford or Armagh? Work enough, in good sooth, even had you the hundred hands of Aegeon, and the giant-killer's shoes of swiftness. But no matter: the worse the day the better the deed. So with a brave heart you plunge into the ocean of sweltering air to fish for human souls.

At the slab-hut by the wayside, or the farmer's neat veranda cottage, you are met with the familiar bush salute:

"Hello!"

"Hello!"

"Have a drink?"

"Don't care if I do:" for your throat is dry and dust-lined, and burns for a long, deep draught of something cool. Thanks, not whiskey. Better the brackish water from the weedy pool in yon rocky hollow; better the clammy boiled milk, or the light Colonial wines, or the bubbling things that go off with a pop and a fizz—anything, or nothing. But let not your deep, deep draught be either of the Sir John Barleycorn from "home," nor of the still viler Colonial brand, which (according to an old "bullocky"¹) feels like a live cat in your throat: "bite, and tear all the way down." For look ye, men and maidens all: it is written on the pavements of our streets, on the walls of hospital and jail, that this is not the climate for long, deep swills of brain-fire from the still.

Stay! here is a case in point: one that has befallen thousands of promising Irish boys that came over the sea to pick up golden nuggets by the Australian waysides. You knew

¹ A bullock team driver.

M——? No matter. He was always “well and doing well.” And this was his dreary round of life for years :—1°. Out on a farm, earning £1 a week, a good deal of which found its way into the village publican’s till. 2°. In the city, every three or six months, “knocking down his cheque” in a long wild carouse. 3°. In the hospital, recovering from the effects of his bout. And then, *da capo*—on and on, through the weary years, till he had “sapped the leaning wall of life,” and lay for the last time on an hospital bed, the mere ribs and timbers of a wrecked and broken man. “I’m a gone coon,” he whispered, as his throbbing head lay on my arm, his open hand in mine. ’Twas pity; but ’twas true. So I broached to him my sacred message of repentance and pardon and hope of heaven. But—no, sir-ee; he wasn’t built that way now. Knewed a deal too much for them sort o’ things, any way. He had lost his faith listening to the Atheist lectures that are delivered on Sunday afternoons on the wharves of Melbourne. So we dropped the subject (I would return to it again in the morning), and we talked old memories over; for had we not toiled through Gough, and coned our Murray side by side long years ago at school! Ah, here was a theme that caught his fancy’s eager ear! and right merrily he laughed and laughed on at our boyish pranks, till he seemed to live the old days over again in the gathering gloom of evening. Then a long pause, as he lay in my arms—thinking, perhaps. Heaven knows! But the pause was broken by a wild burst of sobbing. It was just as he used to sob long ago when the iron-tipped heels of the big rough boys seamed the green turf on his mother’s grave. The flood-tide of tears seemed to have washed away the viler growths of later years from his great, honest boyish heart; for now he eagerly pleaded for the Sacraments he had spurned one short half-hour ago. A few days later I stood by his grave—the only mourner—hopeful that his troubled spirit had found rest; grieving for the many brave young Irish hearts that drink has cut off in life’s fair noon in this fated land, where the thirst-compelling heat dries up the pure, sparkling fount of Nature’s breast, and drives men for assuagement to the bar of the public-house.

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So wore our summer on till March : two months of the glowing southern heat, two months of the sweltering "wave," during which we watched the sky for a cloud, as the shipwrecked sailor scans the horizon in search of a rescuing sail. At length the "turn" came. It was near the Kalends of March. A faint white cloud rose in the south--the first plume of a gray array that quickly gathered and spread, rank on rank, across the great blue field of heaven. Then up from the south came a welcome whiff of cool air. It played with a metallic sound through the dark dry tresses of the gum-tree, and trickled through your hair like a spray of cooling ether. A fringe of rain hid the horizon to the south : the lightning leaped forth ; bang went heaven's artillery, and people rushed to their doors to watch the rain come down. The hot, steaming earth drank and drank on, till at length the brooks ran, and the naked gullies gurgled with a merrier song than ever Southey heard by the waters of Lodore. All night long the raindrops played with a cool swish on the window-panes, and our lives flowed on till the fresh gray dawn in a calm deep sleep, whose surface was unbroken by the ripple of a dream.

H. W. CLEARY.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—I.

IN this essay the writer proposes, under correction, to treat of one of the two great divisions of the Scriptural sense. As however in comparison with the other division, viz., the literal or primary sense which it pre-supposes, his subject is the further or recondite one, he is obliged in the course of this introductory section (No. 4), to discuss briefly the literal meaning. In order to reach the second, he has to pass through the first. This will explain also, why at the outset (Nos. 1, 2, 3) he notices in passing some kindred matters, which just claim a few prefatory remarks.

1. The meaning of Scripture is, in a word, that body of

truth which its Author intends it to convey. Hence, the meaning or true sense of any one of the passages of the holy book is exclusively that particular truth, be it revealed or unrevealed, historical, moral, or prophetic, mysterious or within our comprehension, which is the subject there of the divine thought and expression.

Not the ideas independent of inspiration, or the purely subjective view of what he was instrumental in expressing, which may be conceived as possibly present to the mind of the sacred writer while he penned the sacred page,—for that is not the thought of God, nay does not necessarily even agree with it. If, for instance, an inspired writer did not understand, or even misunderstood, what he was writing, Scripture would nevertheless be the word of God, and bear the same unaltered meaning.

To pass for the present from the canonical writers. In one well-known instance, a high priest speaking under the influence of the Holy Ghost expressed what was far from his thoughts, and diametrically opposed to his habitual sentiments. There were two meanings in the words of Caiaphas (St. John, xi. 49-52) : one the speaker's *own*, originating in his guilty heart, and so sinful and fallacious as to be the very cause of incurring that dire calamity which he proposed to avert by means of it; the *other*, of which he was totally unconscious, coming from heaven, and being the source of all blessings to the children of God. (See Card. Newman, *On the Inspiration of Scripture*, n. 20.)

Not alone on human word, but on human deed has this over-ruling direction been exercised, while the subject of it remained unaware. When Mary Magdalen in tearful gratitude anointed the feet of Him, the only one that had ever given peace to her soul, she performed, it is true, a supernatural and highly meritorious work; yet not in this purely personal aspect, but in the far higher one manifested through her instrumentality by the Holy Ghost, is the act what is told in memory of her wherever the Gospel is preached. For the anointing was, little as she then knew it, a real prophecy of the Resurrection, for such did Christ declare it to be by its inspired import, when He said : " What she had, she

hath done: she is come beforehand to anoint My body for the burial," Mark xiv. 8 (where "had" is equivalent to "could do" by a well-known Syriac idiom.¹) Beyond her fondest wish, was the penitent enabled to testify her faith and love, by thus bearing antecedent witness to the glorious triumph of the Incarnate God. That she did not perceive this divine meaning, that she saw only the subjective aspect of the anointing, is evident from Mark xiv. 1; but what on account of the Resurrection she could not do when she went to His tomb, she had already been privileged to perform in a supreme degree.

To return. Certainly the canonical writers did understand the immediate product of inspiration; but what in this eliminating process attention is here invited to is, that if in the case contemplated "a holy man of God" were to affix to his own words a meaning other than the divine, such an apprehension of his words on the writer's own part would not concern us, as not being the sense of Scripture, and it is noticed here merely to be put aside. Still its mention has a purpose, for the hypothetical case serves as a background to bring out in relief a real one of every-day occurrence.

2. People, certainly not inspired, sometimes treat the word of God as if, within certain very wide limits, they were free to make what they liked of it. They deal with it as they would not deal with the work of a great man: they quote it, as if in some parts it really had no meaning. Hence, the outcome of their thought is commonly a misinterpretation arising from sheer ignorance or error. Surely the Author of Scripture did not wait for such people to give a meaning to His word, nor so deliver it to Prophet and Evangelist, that all the future or possible constructions put on it by mere men were to determine what it should really signify. Scripture is God's message to us, not ours to Him. "Prudens lector," says St. Jerome, "cave semper, ut non tuo sensui

¹ Found also in Greek.

² St. Thomas ascribes, on account of the concomitant "*nescientia*" existing in like cases in minds not completely under the control of the Holy Ghost, all such utterances to an "*instinctus propheticus*," but not to "*prophetia*" properly so called. (2^a 2^{ae} g. clxxi. art. 5.)

attemperes Scripturas, sed Scripturis jungas sensum tuum." And to St. Paulinus he writes :

"Taceo de mei similibus, qui si forte ad Scripturas sanctas, post seculares litteras venerint, et sermone composito auram populi mulserint, quidquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant ; nec scire dignantur quid prophetæ, quid apostoli senserint ; sed ad sensum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi grande sit, et non vitiosissimum docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem."

No doubt, under certain circumstances, and with due regard and reverence, Scripture may lawfully be applied to what is beside its own scope. This is technically called "*sensus accomodatus*." A devout and enlightened mind will naturally express its own thoughts on sacred mysteries, or on occurrences viewed in direct relation to the supernatural, in the awful language of God, deeply conscious as such a mind must be of the inadequacy of human words to describe what it feels or contemplates. It had rather that its own thought fell short of the words employed, than that the words should be unworthy of the subject.

For instance, how apposite and how exquisitely beautiful was the application of Scripture made by the bishop who, when the Blessed Sacrament had been stolen from his church, took for the text of the sermon preached before he went barefoot in procession to search: "They have taken Him away, and I know not where they have laid Him." Again, John XXII., in the canonization sermon of St. Thomas, commenced with "*Ecce plus quam Salomon hic*;" and St. Pius V., in his thanksgiving for the victory gained by Don John of Austria at Lepanto, wrote: "*Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes*." Another happy illustration of this legitimate use of the inspired word was afforded by Father Burke (who on innumerable occasions showed himself to be a master of this *sensus accomodatus*), when for the text of his great panegyric on St. Bonaventure (1874), in allusion to St. Thomas, on whose centenary he had preached a short time before, he quoted from the Apocalypse: "And I saw another angel coming down from heaven." In a room of the Birmingham Oratory is said to hang a print of Oriel College with the inscription,

“Fili hominis putasne vivent ossa ista? Et dixi: Domine Deus, tu nosti;” and elsewhere, in loving memory of one who died in early youth, a brother's hand has traced the words, “Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi. Quia eripuit animam meam de morte, oculos meos a lacrymis, pedes meos a lapsu.”

If her children may so speak, much more, but for a different reason, may the Spouse of Christ: much more may the heart of the Catholic Church full to overflowing, pour itself out in the language of heaven. In her liturgy, where so much has to be expressed in inspired language, the Church frequently employs the accommodated sense. Thus many passages of the Old Testament, and in particular of the Sapiential books (for instance, in Mass, the lesson “Dominus possedit me”), which properly refer to the Eternal Wisdom, are applied to the Blessed Virgin: while with regard to the saints, from many instances of this usage to select two occurring at this season, the touching lament of David over Saul and Jonathan finds a suitable place in the office of SS. Peter and Paul (“Benedictus,” Octave): “Quomodo in vita sua dilexerunt se, ita et in morte non sunt separati;” and in the office of SS. John and Paul, “Isti sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum” (Magnificat, 2nd. Vesp.) is from Apoc. xi. 4. “Ili sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra in conspectu Domini terrae stantes” (there, of Enoch and Elias). While, according to many commentators, this is in turn similarly taken from Zach. iv. 2: “Quid sunt duae olivae istae, ad dexteram candelabri et ad sinistram ejus” (of Zorobabel and Josue, considered probably as the respective representatives of the regal and the sacerdotal power), which if true gives to this adaptation of Scripture the highest possible sanction.²

The Church never does, nor can, imply that such employment is in any sense an interpretation. It is not to be found in

¹ “Ipsissima verba, quibus divinae Scripturae de increata Sapientia loquuntur, ejusque sempiternas origines repraesentant, consuevit (*Ecclesia*) tum in ecclesiasticis officiis, tum in sacrosancta Liturgia adhibere et ad illius Virginis primordia transferre.”—(Bull of the Immaculate Conception.)

² Thalhofer takes quite another view of this ecclesiastical usage. Erklärung der Psalmen, S. 775.

her decrees, chapters, or canons ; it would be as much out of place in a council, as it is appropriate in the pulpit ; it befits the preacher, but not the theologian ; it is the emotional language of piety, not the precise one of dogma. The greatest of interpreters, speaking of some who asserted that there was in the words "*farinae satis tribus*" (Matt. xiii. 33), an argument for belief in the Trinity, remarks : "*Pius quidem sensus, sed nunquam parabola et dubia aenigmatum intelligentia potest ad auctoritatem dogmatum proficere.*" The conventional treatment of Scripture is edifying : "*dummodo veritas patrocinetur, et charitas cui Scripturas servire oportet.*" So St. Bernard wrote on the Canticle of Canticles ; but when the gentle mystic came forth as the champion of faith, the "two-edged sword of the word" was no longer wreathed with myrtle, and Abelard soon felt its keenness.

Granted that our ideas, thus clothed in words of unapproachable grandeur, are in themselves beautiful, useful, and true, still they are but human. This is ever to be borne in mind. We may, indeed, express them in language which we reverently make our own for the occasion, and if we are conscious of so acting, if we remember that it is borrowed, there will be no mistake, no harm done ; what is reprehensible, is the abuse of "*sensus accommodatus*,"¹ the employing Scripture for purposes in themselves unworthy, or to which it is inapplicable ; or the quoting it which is due to erroneous

¹ There is also what is called "*sensus consequens*." Father Cornely in his admirable exposition of its nature, by far the best which has come under the writer's notice, divides it into two species. First, the amplification and development of what is latent in the sacred text ; second, the inference, similar to a "*conclusio theologica*," obtained from the union of a text, and another premise (possibly uninspired). (*In other words: as canonists speak, one is "expositio comprehensiva," the other is "expositio extensiva."*) Neither, as he explains, is really what it is styled. The first is not "*consequens*," because it is the full meaning itself ; the second is not "*sensus*," because it is not inspired (on account either of the one premise, or of the logical process). If, however, the author foresaw it, then it has authority. So St. Augustine teaches, *De Doct. Christ.*, iii. 27 ; and examples of this "*sensus consequens*" are, according to the learned Jesuit, found in Scripture (1 Cor. i. 31, with Jer. ix. 23, 24—1 Cor. ix. 10, 11, and 1 Tim. v. 18, with Deut. xxv. 4), and only on this supposition are Rom. xv. 4, and 2 Tim. iii. 16, true. ("*Sensus consequens*, No. 2," and "*sensus accommodatus*" if not misnomers, are at best courtesy titles. Such meaning may be in itself true and profitable, but the sense of Scripture it never is.)

opinions on its meaning: or lastly, the maintaining that the purely subjective construction not unfrequently put on it, is its inspired sense.

3. In countless passages a veil of obscurity rests on this, the true and only meaning, and various tentative interpretations are put forward by Fathers of the Church and commentators. This is unavoidable, because the hidden things of God lie so deep, that our guesses at the truth are necessarily uncertain and manifold.¹ There is much more in Scripture than we shall ever fathom in this life, and the conviction should keep us from implying (or perhaps even asserting—unwittingly of course) our concepts to be adequate, and from calling these poor notions of ours—so many senses of Scripture. “Our curiosity often hinders us in reading the Scriptures when we attempt to understand and discuss that which should be simply passed over.” Not only Christians, but all reasonable men would spontaneously reject as absurd the saying of Cocceius, or “canon of interpretation” as he complacently styled it, viz., that “Scripture has just whatever meaning one likes to give it,” if the dictum were put before them on paper: yet there are Catholics, nay, even some ecclesiastics, who closely as they may resemble Saint Spiridion in zeal for verbal accuracy in quotations of Scripture, sometimes in their practice treat it as if it had not a definite and all-perfect meaning—a knowledge of which, where feasible, they are in duty bound to acquire. And now we have cleared the ground.

4. The true sense of Scripture is two-fold—literal and mystical. A literal sense in general is that signified by words, and obviously is not confined to the inspired books, for all reasonable utterances must have a meaning.² Hence

¹ Ἀβυσσος γὰρ ἐστὶ ζήτημάτων ἡ Γραφή. Ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐπιζητεῖτε ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸ λυσιπ ζῆτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ζῆτειν.—Οὐτε γὰρ, εἰαν λυσιπῶμεν, παντὶ εἰλυσαμεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμόν οἰκεῖ τῶν τοιούτων λυσις ἡ πιστις ἐστὶ—Μία λυσις αὕτη, καὶ ταύτης ἀμείνων ἑτέρα οὐκ ἐστὶ. (S. Chrys., *Hom.* xxiii. on Acts.)

² Origen seemingly held (*De princ.*, iv. 11) that there was no literal sense in certain passages, notwithstanding the well-meant efforts of some writers to explain away his words; but this singular opinion of the “allegoricus semper interpretes” need not detain us. If St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, appear to agree with him, by saying that

many of the rules of literal interpretation apply equally to profane and sacred literature. With regard to this sense, one only, and that a necessary remark, will here be made.

Interpreters of eminence have held that in certain passages of Scripture, some six or seven in all, the literal sense itself was two-fold; that, for instance, "*Generationem ejus quis enarrabit,*" *Isaias liii. 8*, referred to both the eternal and temporal generation of the Messias; His procession from the Father, and His birth from the Virgin Mary, both being mysteries.¹ However, with all respect be it said, that the literal sense of the words, that intended and expressed by the Author is very different. The best interpretation seems to be: "*(Quod attinet ad) generationem ejus quis enarrabit,*" &c. "Of His generation (*i. e.* the contemporaries of the Messias), who shall understand that He has died for the sins of the people?" Queen Candace's treasurer felt the need of an interpreter here, and one would be glad to know how St. Philip answered him.

The other texts adduced in support of a manifold literal sense of Scripture also fail, on examination, to bear out the assertion; and St. Augustine and St. Thomas, to whom those writers appealed in favour of their opinion, appear to hold the opposite. Whatever we may think of St. Augustine, the latter clearly teaches in the *Summa* and *De Potent*, q. iv., art. 1, &c., that the literal sense is *one*, and in his voluminous commentaries on Scripture he nowhere implies that a text has two literal meanings, though on obscure texts he commonly gives alternative expositions. Scholars are now agreed (see Ubaldi, Kohlgrueber, Lamy, Patrizi, Ranolder, Dixon, Thüring, Cornely, &c.) that a manifold literal sense is "not proven," and so far the old contention may be considered

some texts are not to be taken literally, it is only in appearance; they mean simply that the language there is figurative, not plain and devoid of ornament.

¹ Father Patrizi says he read on this text the explanations given by more than sixty-seven Fathers and writers prior to the sixteenth century:—only seventeen explain it of both generations (S. Ephrem is of this opinion, see Lamy's ed., tom. ii., p. 146): of the remainder, three explain it of either generation, four of the human, forty of the divine, and one of generation in general, while three more "*aliud omnino senserunt.*" (*Inst.*, cap. iii., q. 2, n. 35.)

as settled by Beelen's masterly treatise on the subject. It is to be noted here, that on the *one* literal sense, and on its *unity* rests all that which in its *threefold* species forms the subject of this essay (Sum. 1^a, 1 q. 10 art. ad 1^m).

5. We considered the literal sense not for its own sake, but as the basis of the higher or mystical one. The reader will observe, that the latter necessarily presupposes the former, and that, in consequence, he who does not understand a text taken literally, cannot consistently know its mystical meaning. He may indeed stumble by good luck on this hidden sense; but he has, at all events, set out on the wrong path. Nay, he is not in a position to see whether there exists a mystical sense there. For though every passage in the Bible must have a literal sense, yet "with certain obvious exceptions," as Cardinal Newman says, it is not known whether or no every passage has a mystical one; so that, in order to form on this an opinion where possible, not of its contents but of its very existence, we need to apprehend the direct meaning of the passage.¹ We cannot be sure of the existence of the secondary, before we have a knowledge of the primary meaning; while, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that such knowledge alone is not sufficient.

The words signify the literal meaning and nothing more; but that literal meaning is in its turn a sign and represents something beyond. The first signification is *verbal*,² the second is *real*. For a spiritual or mystical³ sense, this is essentially requisite; in its own sub-divisions it matters not whether the "signum reale" be a person, place, thing, or event; but an objective reality, distinct from the words of the inspired writer, it must be. As standing midway it has a two-fold aspect: in the one it is immediately and exclusively designated by the words; in the other, it is a figure or *type*, and bears direct

¹ "Cum igitur res illae quas littera significat, spiritualis intelligentiae signa sunt, quomodo signa tibi esse possunt, quae necdum tibi significata sunt? Noli ergo saltum facere, ne in praecipitium incidas." (Hugh of St. Victor, *De Scripturis et Scripturae Sacris*.)

² Similes, metaphors, and parables have but the literal sense, being themselves only figures of speech.

³ From *μυσ*, I conceal; but the Greek Fathers call this sense, *κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν, ἀναγωγὴν, διανοίαν*, in contrast to the literal, *κατὰ τὴν ῥῆσιν, το γράμμα*.

relation to that higher and further reality which in hermeneutics is with special fitness called its *anti-type*. The use perhaps originated with St. Peter, who calls baptism the *ἀντίτυπον* of the ark, or the higher reality which the ark prefigured (1 Pet. iii. 21);¹ while conversely, St. Paul calls our first parent *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*, or of the second Adam (Rom. v. 14). In the Alexandrine version both words occur, but not with this meaning, which is peculiar to the fulness of revelation. But of types, and the difference between them and symbols, we shall have much to say hereafter, and must now conclude with one remark, viz., that in Scripture "which partakes of the nature of a sacrament," words are "*signum tantum*," the literal sense "*signum et res*," and the mystical sense "*res tantum*."

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

(To be continued.)

HOW TO MAKE A SUNDAY SCHOOL SUCCESSFUL.

IT is generally admitted that Sunday Schools constitute a very important part of our pastoral duty as priests. They are intended to supply instruction to the children, and are as necessary to them as the sermon is to adults. Our children usually attend a Low Mass; and without catechetical instruction, such as they receive in the Sunday School, they would be deprived of the opportunity of fulfilling one important part of their Sunday obligation.

But we often hear the complaint, and it is one unhappily which is daily becoming more and more common, that Sunday Schools seldom answer our expectations; and, indeed, in very many cases they prove failures. How is this to be accounted for? With whom does the blame rest? I believe the secret of failure lies in the want of plan or method.

Some years ago, when at Milan, I made it a special object, on the Sunday I was there, to visit in the afternoon several of the parish churches, to observe the way in which the Sunday Schools were conducted. The tradition of plan

¹ Cp. *ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν*, "*exemplaria verorum*," Heb. ix. 24, and see Dr. Richard's able article on the typical nature of the Covenant Sacrifice, (*Dublin Review*, April, 1890.)

or method established by St. Charles Borromeo still remained. The suggestions, therefore, which I now propose to make, are drawn in part from what I then observed, as also from my own personal experience.

For the success of a Sunday School, certain conditions are required. These are—order and discipline; punctuality and regularity; personal influence of the teacher; and lastly, the zealous interest of the priest. Order and discipline apply to the general conduct of the children and to the arrangement of the classes according to proficiency. The classes should be kept sufficiently apart to prevent their being a source of distraction to one another. The numbers in each class should not exceed at most ten. This number will enable the teacher the better to control the children, and to keep them under easy supervision.

Order and discipline regulate the voice of the teacher, when teaching; the conduct of the children on entering and leaving the Church; and applies to the way they make their genuflections, and to their behaviour in class, and during the instruction and Benediction. It may be well here to observe, that a hymn should be sung immediately before the Catechism and immediately after the instruction, and the children should be made to stand erect when they sing them. They should also be encouraged to provide themselves with hymn books; or, what would perhaps be better, the books might be given to them, as a reward for good conduct.

Punctuality and regularity, both on the part of the Sunday School teachers, and on that of the children, are most vital to the success of the work of a Sunday School. The teachers, above all others, must be punctual and regular in their attendance; and ought to be the first to enter the Church and the last to leave it. Indeed, they should be recommended to be present, at least a quarter of an hour before the time for Catechism, to arrange the children in their respective classes, and to preserve order. Each teacher should be provided with a book to register the attendances of their children. Punctuality and regularity on the part of the teachers, and a few words of encouragement, and a

promise of some little reward from time to time, will soon produce punctuality and regularity of attendance in the children. Should, however, these efforts fail, a kindly visit to the parents, either from the priest or from the teacher, and a few gentle and prudent words, would generally prove effectual. An entertainment at Christmas and at Midsummer, for those whose names stand well on the attendance books, would create emulation amongst the children, and would greatly help to secure punctuality and regularity.

The personal influence of the teacher is a matter of great importance. It can alone be exercised by one who has the love of God at heart, and a zeal for His glory in the salvation of souls, and whose life is marked by piety and the frequentation of the Sacraments. Children by nature are creatures of imitation, and the influence of a teacher, such as I have described, will do much to regulate and to sweeten the undeveloped character or disposition of the children. They will naturally imitate their teachers in the way they kneel, and in the way they join their hands and bow their heads at prayer and at Benediction. Good example is the best educator. A light and frivolous teacher will do little or no good, and may do much harm.

But that which is of the very utmost importance, and is indeed the very mainspring of the work, is the zealous interest and hearty co-operation of the priest. He must be the motive power of all that takes place. If he be wanting in sympathy, the teachers and children will soon begin to fall away ; interest in the work, punctuality and regularity in attendance will gradually die out ; and the Sunday School, in a short time, will prove a failure.

What, then, is the duty of the priest in the matter? His first duty, I should conceive, would be to choose good teachers. His knowledge of his people will enable him to do this ; and with a little effort, he may easily find a certain number of male and female helpers. They should not be school-children, but adults. There are always some such persons to be found in every mission, who are willing and pleased to undertake a work of this kind. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the League of the Cross, the Holy

Family, and the Confraternity of the Children of Mary, would, no doubt, supply some efficient workers.

When, after a fair trial, the Sunday School teachers have given evidence of tact, and of perseverance and regularity of attendance, it will be the duty of the priest to enrol them in the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. The ceremony of enrolment should be performed with a certain amount of solemnity. Their act of consecration might be received by the priest vested in cope, just before the Benediction, and immediately after the Catechism, so as to impress the teachers and the children with the privilege and importance of the office of teacher.

The teachers should also receive a medal at the ceremony of enrolment, which they should be privileged to wear externally, when engaged in teaching the Catechism, and also at their monthly Communion, and in processions. A notice of the ceremony of enrolment in the Confraternity, as often as they occur, and the monthly Communion, should be published on the previous Sunday, with the other parish notices, at all the services. This will tend to give influence to their position as teachers; and a Mass offered for them, from time to time, would afford them great encouragement.

The priest's next duty is to the children. Like his divine Master, he should rejoice to gather them around him, remembering that of such is the kingdom of heaven. He must move amongst them, showing a deep interest in their work, being ready to help and to encourage, and should try to make the children feel at their ease and happy in his presence. He must examine the children, when they are presented to him by the teachers for advancement to a higher class; and when a child passes to a higher class, he should show a special interest in the event, for the sake not only of the teachers, but also of the children. Both are pleased with this recognition and approbation. The time occupied in teaching the Catechism should not exceed half-an-hour.

But the most important duty of the priest, and that upon which so much depends, is the catechetical instruction. It requires preparation quite as much, and perhaps even more.

than a sermon. It is a very difficult thing to do well, and implies study. To win the attention of children is no easy task. Some priests possess this power more than others; but all may cultivate it. A ponderous and heavy style will never engage their attention. An instruction, to be attractive to children, must be in its subject-matter very clear, very much to the point, and very concise, and must be brightened with one or two short anecdotes or tales illustrative of the subject treated.

Great attention must be paid to delivery: it must be very articulate, bright, and cheerful; and with a certain amount of action, as this attracts the eye.

The instruction should not last more than twenty minutes, as children soon grow weary and tire. The instruction should be immediately followed by a hymn and short Benediction.

In addressing his clergy on the subject of catechetical instruction, the late Cardinal Wiseman once said, that a good catechist would make a good preacher. Because, by giving properly-prepared catechetical instructions, we become thoroughly masters of our subject, and acquire great clearness of ideas, which, I fear, many of our sermons greatly lack.

There remains but one other observation to make. The Sunday School should be held in the church, and the children should be taught to feel that the Sunday afternoon Catechism is specially their service, and they should be encouraged to love it. This they will surely do, if it be made for them interesting, and bright, and cheerful.

The whole service, beginning with the invocation of the Holy Spirit and a Hail Mary, and ending with Benediction, should not exceed an hour and a-quarter.

Such are the suggestions which have occurred to my mind, and which, I feel, will enable us to make our Sunday Schools successful.

The life of a priest in England, particularly when he stands alone, is so filled up with work, and its strain is so continually upon him, that it requires an almost superhuman energy to be always equally in earnest in every feature of

his pastoral duty. Even so, he must do his best; and his divine Master will not fail to help him. But where there are two or more priests, the work can be more easily and more efficiently accomplished.

C. J. CANON KEENS.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.—II.

THE COMMONEST RELATION BETWEEN THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF TRUTH: VIZ., THAT OF DOUBT, OR THE RELATION CONSISTING OF PARTIAL IGNORANCE AND OF PARTIAL KNOWLEDGE. FREEDOM FROM DOUBT OBTAINED ONLY FROM A DIVINE WITNESS: SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF A DIVINE WITNESS TO MAN.

THE last relation between the intellect and truth is one which is the most familiar, at least in phrase, to persons living in the world. It is that in which the balance trembles and oscillates hither and thither. It consists of a state of partial ignorance and of partial knowledge. In this commixture of opposites is constituted that relation of man towards divinely revealed truth which we commonly call a state of doubt.

It is a plausible, but a shallow objection against accepting the literal and verbal decisions of dogmatic truth, to affirm of theology that it is not an exact science. Yet, theology rejoices in the title of the Queen of Sciences; and under conditions, she is so. How are these apparently conflicting opinions to be reconciled? That theology is not an exact science in the same way as, and in like manner in which mathematical and geometric truths are exact, may be fully admitted. But, in other ways, and in a different manner, it is more exact than either. Theology and the science of numbers do not occupy the same plane of thought and do not move in the same sphere of action. The former is mainly a moral science, in a wide sense of the term; the

latter is purely physical. And one great difference between the two sciences consists in this, that, whilst the terminology of the numerical sciences is conventional and arbitrary, the language of theology represents facts that have been, mysteries that are, and truths which must be believed. In our time, scientific terms have been both invented and changed; but, the language of the divine science, once lawfully determined, cannot be altered even with general human approval. In this aspect, theological words and theological phrases resemble the names, titles and attributes of God—or, in a more remote degree, the declarations and commands of God—which are real, and absolute, and creative in themselves. Nay, so far as human language and human understanding permit, they at once indicate and reveal to man who God is and what God does.

A further difference between the two kinds of science depends in part upon this: that, whilst the science of numbers (speaking, of course, in general terms) looks more to the result than to the process of attaining the result, theology is equally jealous both of the means and of the end. A mistake made at the beginning of a figure calculation may possibly be rectified before the conclusion be reached; or, one mistake may by chance be counteracted by another. But, no vital error in the definitions of faith, or in a decision affecting morals, can be overlooked at any stage, or under any conditions, in the course of a religious inquiry. Obviously, the interests of the two sciences are as wide apart as their methods and conclusions are diverse, and are as different in their relative importance as time is different from eternity. Not even in worldly dignity can theology yield to mathematics. The distinction between *plus* and *minus* has never yet shaken a kingdom; but an *iota* more, or an *iota* less, has convulsed the world; and heresy and schism, with their attendant evils, have inflicted otherwise unequalled national and local troubles. Moreover, theology is not an exact science in this sense, that, whilst to secure a required result in mathematics, well-defined and foreknown means must be invariably taken; and whilst the same cause, under the like conditions, invariably produces the same result—in theology

it is, or it may be, otherwise. A common end in theology may be obtained by many different means: and the same facts and truths, the same reasons and arguments produce divers effects in minds variously constituted or trained, or in the same mental organism at various times. Theology is not only a message from God to man, on one face of its many-sided aspects in its human relations: it is a message delivered to God's image, man, which, by more or less of human agency, has to deal with and to subdue man's incalculable and unaccountable free-will, with man's immaterial and immeasurable powers of thought, with man's degrees of intellect, with man's variety of temperament. Physical science, on the other hand, is concerned with dry, hard, invariable, unchangeable facts, figures and formulas. Hence, submission of the human intellect and will may be made through endless means which fall short of humbly yielding to authority, to such an elementary doctrine, we will suppose, as a belief in the Catholic Church. But in arithmetic, there is a single way only (with its converse) to discover, let us say, the half of a miscellaneous collection of composite sums of money: namely, by adding together the several amounts and by halving the aggregate. The Queen of Sciences, therefore, may be said both to be, and not to be, an exact science. It is absolutely exact within the boundaries of its own special domain of thought and expression, in fact and dogma, in definition, in precept and in promise; and no merely physical science is or can be more rigorously and scrupulously exact. It is in-exact, or rather is non-exact, in a sphere only which is not its own.

These thoughts lead us to the consideration of a still wider difference between the religious and physical sciences, which is apposite to our present theme. In mathematical or geometric truth, there may be ignorance though, strictly speaking, there cannot be doubt. In any case, there cannot be doubt in the form in which doubt meets us in theology; namely, as a mental state of part ignorance and part knowledge. In working out a scientific physical problem, for example, a theory, or a formula, half forgotten and half remembered were worse than valueless: it would

be wholly misleading. But, in the truths of revelation, as divinely offered for acceptance by human agencies to the human mind, there may exist, not ignorance alone, but also logical, intellectual, argumentative, historical, moral doubt. Indeed, from the nature of the case, and in order of time, saving in instances of miraculous and instantaneous conversion, which need not be contemplated, there must be a period, in most men's mental history, of *bond fide* doubt. And, in matters of religious faith, doubt may exist in the mind of man, under three several and different conditions:—

1. As to what he believes, or Catholic doctrine in event, or mystery, or dogma; until it be accurately made known to him, and until it be *ex animo* accepted by him.

2. As to why he believes, or the grounds of Catholic doctrine; until he knows either the full evidence of the truth proposed for belief, or the teaching of authority to which he can defer.

3. As to the result of his belief, or what it is his plain positive duty to do, or to abstain from doing, in consequence of believing; until full knowledge be obtained, sufficient authority be accepted, and man's personal will be placed in conformity with both.

The statement of these three elements in analysing the moralities of doubt, viz., the object of doubt, the reasons of doubt, and the end of our doubts, will involve us in a brief argument from analogy. The relation between nature and grace is as clear, to a logical mind, in these points, as in some others. For example:—

1. It is admitted, nearly on all hands, and inspiration both teaches and illustrates the theorem, that God has revealed Himself and many of His attributes to the reason of man, in a lower but still sufficiently clear degree, by the light only of nature. Hence, God may be certainly known through these means, at least as to His existence, His Godhead, His power, His love, His goodness. Men, therefore, the Apostle assures us, are inexcusable for not knowing God; and, if they know Him, are inexcusable for not serving God by the light and by the teaching of nature alone. The certainty here exhibited, in the first place, is an infallibility in the natural order.

2. It is not admitted on all hands, but, it is nevertheless true, that God has further revealed Himself and the truths of salvation, in like manner but in a higher degree, under the Christian dispensation. He has herein revealed Himself by an evidence sufficient to lay the reason of men under the responsibility of knowing, of believing, of acting up to God's fuller and final revelation of Himself and of His will. This God has been pleased to do, in the second place, in the Catholic Church, by a certitude of faith resting upon the infallible witness which God has given of Himself in the supernatural order.

3. Not only, however, has God given us, by varied means infallible witness, both in the natural and lower order, of His existence and attributes; not only has He given us the like witness in the higher and supernatural order, of the verities of faith and the reality of grace; but, in the third place, God has done more. He has allowed us, by a divine permission, which is equivalent to a divine command, to exercise our individual will in both orders, lower and higher, in a similar manner in either case. In both cases, a man is called upon to take action, to do something as a consequence of accepting the infallible witnesses respectively vouchsafed to him. By the light of nature, he is bound not only to acknowledge and worship God, but also to live—in somewhat indefinite relations, it is true; but still, to live—under very real and true obedience towards the precepts of uncovenanted morality. In a state of grace, man is definitely called upon to do deeds that are holier, loftier, better, more self-sacrificing, more altruistic. He is called upon to submit himself to, and to follow the lead of an infallible, though an impersonal teacher, master, lord, and guide. He is bound to be led, ordered, and taught on all points, and to act in all ways, by God's Church, accordingly to His sanctions, under the dictates either of direct inspiration, or mediately of grace. In either case, consequent action is of absolute obligation, after the human subject has been placed in contact with full knowledge of the truth, and when the human will has made entire submission of its God-given freedom to a sufficient authority.

Now, there exists but one obstacle which causes, or ought to cause, a non-fulfilment by man of submission of the intellect, or of submission of the will, in the order either of nature, or of grace, to both these infallible witnesses. That obstacle is doubt: doubt as to what we believe; doubt as to why we believe; doubt as to the final end of our belief, in our taking due and proper action upon the strength of it.

Here it is not unnecessary to remark, that doubt, according to the definition above attempted of the term, arises solely on the side of man. Doubt, in regard to the scheme of redemption, and to the revelation of its terms and conditions, of its hopes and promises to the human race, has neither co-relation nor counterpart in the mind or in the will of God. It does not ensue from any flaw in the divine plan of the Christian religion. It does not come from any defect or failure in the evidence which God has given to man. It is not born of any inadequacy in the promulgation of such plan, or in the offering of such evidence. Nor, again, does doubt arise from any difficulty touching the authority to which God has been pleased to entrust the enunciation of divine truth, or from any question relating to the ways and means of exercising such authority. To venture to gainsay this, were, in effect, to declare one or more of three propositions, which few religious-minded persons, perhaps, are prepared seriously to defend. The first proposition would affirm that the Maker and Ruler of man is powerless to perceive the amount or the kind of evidence which, in any given case, the soul of His creature and servant demands. He is powerless, also, to provide that kind and that amount of evidence, in order to produce conviction to the soul of man. The second proposition advances a step further in the downward direction. It would declare that the Creator is unable to establish, or, under any circumstances, that He has failed to establish upon earth, an authority which shall infallibly represent His sacred Majesty, and announce His divine will. God is unable, or God has practically failed, to create such an authority as His human creation is prepared to welcome, to listen to, and to obey. Or, thirdly, the gainsayer must be ready to hold this last paradox—namely, that a separate

revelation of God's truth, dogmatic or moral, and a separate authority to teach and enforce God's truth, is required to correspond to the mental idiosyncracies, or to be adapted to the wants, powers, weakness, feelings, of each individual unit of the human family. No; the fault of doubt, if it be a fault, or the cause and reason of doubt, in any case, originates, not with God, but with man. It arises in the human mind from one of two causes, or from the union of both. Doubt is caused either from ignorance of truth, in the mind and intellect of man; or from hesitancy and disinclination to receive truth, and to act in conformity with it, in the heart and in the will of man; or, from the conjunction of both human causes, of ignorance and of intention, in various degrees, and with different effects, in each several instance.

This position will meet with a tardy acceptance in some quarters. But, the next position, to be formulated in the following terms, will be denied even by a larger number of professing Christians. Both positions, however, are held by the present writer as more or less axiomatic in character; and, with the reader's leave, they will be taken for granted in this place, in order not to unduly lengthen the argument. The next contentious statement, therefore, to be made on the question of doubt is this—that where the evidence of His truth which God has given, or where the authority for teaching which God has established, are physically or morally within man's reach—then, in such cases, they are blameworthy and culpable who permit themselves to doubt. Doubt then becomes both an intellectual and a moral fault in man, when there remains, or if there remains, deliberate ignorance in his mind, or when, if there be cultivated a wanton hesitancy in his will, in honestly accepting the divine revelation, and in heartily doing the divine command. And this fault is enhanced, in direct proportion as men's opportunities are increased, within the range of the influence of God's Holy Church, for removing their human ignorance, and for stimulating their human will. For, where doubt exists, in any religious matter, faith cannot be: and, in like manner, where faith obtains, doubt is cast away. Indeed, an old-fashioned writer, who is not yet totally discredited,

tells us, upon an authority not his own, that "the just shall live by faith;" in other terms, that if the just possess not the divine gift of faith, they are spiritually dead. But, for this escape from moral guilt, for this absence of doubtfulness, for this strength and fixity of purpose to do God's will, for this enlightenment of belief in God's word, another factor is required, which has not yet been described. A witness is necessary; and the witness that is demanded, to meet the requirements of the position, is one which has been neither originated by man, nor established by man—which shall not be dependent upon, nor be sustained by man. In a word, the witness must be one which is divine, and not human. Can it be truthfully said that such a witness may be found in the existing Reformed Protestant Church of England? If not—if the witness of the Church of England be human, and not divine—the teaching of the Established Religion, on questions of Christian dogma and Christian ethics, must partake, not of characteristics which are divine, but of those that are human. Its teaching cannot possibly rise above the level of what we have agreed to call doubt: a level which, on the intellectual and religious barometer of its disciples, registers, at one time, a certain degree of human ignorance, and, at another time, a certain degree of divine knowledge.

So far as the present inquiry on the moralities of Anglican doubt demands a reply, the question may now be asked: What are the characteristics of a witness to man which is divine? Some of them may be formulated in these terms:—

I. In the first place, the witness, be it a single teacher sent from God, or a corporate organization created and commissioned by God, will not fail to realize its own mission, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. It will know itself to be divine, feel itself to be divine, act as if it were divine. It will practically lay claim to infallibility, apart from any formal or reiterated assertion of this gift—like trees in spring-time lay claim to the leaves of summer—simply as a matter of course, as being incapable of argument or proof, as something lacking which its *raison*

d'être had no existence. On this hypothesis, the divine teacher will lead men into the way of truth, on the strength alone of its own God-given authority. Anything which falls short of this active, instant realization would bear on its forefront the plain evidence of an origin that was not divine. For, if a teacher of a supernatural religion is consciously doubtful and uncertain of the authority of his own commission, whether or not it be divine, it will be hard to persuade the world that his credentials are more than absolutely and unquestionably human.

II. Next : a divine witness will not only in practice claim the gift of infallibility for its message to men, but it will also dogmatically exhibit its claim before the world. It cannot consistently, and in view of the supernatural commission entrusted to its keeping, ignore or disuse such a prerogative ; nor can it willingly consent to hide its Apostolic light under a State-made bushel. Neither, in the nature of things, can such a teacher assume the high dignity of infallibility at one period of its career, and affect the lowliness of fallibility at another period. This, indeed, were an affectation which could only be true, if the assumption originally made were false. For one and the same presumably divine teacher, being a corporate body—since the case of the individual prophet need not be entertained—to pretend to teach without authority at a given period of its career, would introduce an element of uncertainty where certitude alone should obtain. Such vacillation and such inconsistency of conduct in dealing with the supernatural, at once creates, and creating justifies, the element of doubt. Indeed, it necessarily involves a contradiction of terms, which logical and thoughtful men will not be slow to observe, to interpret, and to act upon in their relations with the teacher.

III. In one way pre-eminently a divine witness will exhibit its authority in the face of the world. This characteristic, to speak in general terms, may be defined thus : the divine witness, in contradistinction to one of human origin, will always teach, by the lips of its licensed and accredited agents, one and the selfsame truth. Moreover, as a teaching body, it will never deny that to which it has

once formally committed itself, as a revelation from the God of truth. To prevent misapprehension, however, this assertion requires a certain amount of qualification. In spite of this positive oneness in the essential teaching of the witness, there must of necessity reside with a divine teacher of men, the freedom of making, and a power of developing, and a discretion as to time, place and circumstance in enunciating, the accidental definitions of truth. Such discretion, power and freedom in moulding the outward aspect of a revelation—to place the qualification on the lowest level—essentially adheres in the claim of the witness in one direction to exercise divine authority. Otherwise, God's truth would be placed at a serious disadvantage in meeting the overt attacks of human error, or even silently counteracting the infection of falsehood which pervades the atmosphere of modern civilization. The divine witness must be both empowered and enabled to deal with heresy after its kind, and according to its manner, so often and to the like extent as heresy, conscious or unconscious, wilful or hereditary, becomes self-developed and self-deteriorated, in various directions.

IV. Lastly, the witness which, firstly, is conscious of its mission; which, secondly, claims infallibility; and which, thirdly, uniformly is the teacher of truth, must also be able, fourthly, and finally, to use and exercise its supernatural authority, and to use and exercise its authority freely. Hence, the fourth and last characteristic to be named of a divine witness is this, a capacity to fulfil its mission; and this capacity, under existing human relations, involves not only the power to guide and instruct the good, but, also the power to reprove and restrain the bad. That witness, it cannot be too earnestly urged with non-Catholic inquirers, were incomplete in its own inner relations and incompetent in its external organization, which is powerless to enforce, not, indeed, with the temporal sword of justice, but with spiritual weapons of censure and anathema, its authority *argumentative* divinely given.

Of course, these four characteristics touch the fringe only of a vast and complicated subject. Their bare enumeration takes for granted a wide field of contentious matter.

But, the disputable ground, on this topic, between Protestant Anglicans and Catholics, may be narrowed to a very limited area; and a discussion on these four points alone is more than sufficient to present the argument on the ethics of Anglican doubt in a logical form. For, in terms at the least, Protestant Episcopalians frankly accept large areas, so to say, of Catholic belief and Catholic duty. They admit, for instance, the miraculous and supernatural origin of the Church. They assert, clearly with mental reservation, the Church's unity, her sanctity, her universality, her apostolicity. They declare also, with what seems to Catholics a purely non-natural interpretation of facts, not less than of texts, her indefectibility in theory. It is only when Protestants translate into the language of history these great notes of the Church, or when their adversaries draw their admissions and force them to bow to legitimate conclusions, that it becomes apparent to the spectator who stands apart from both opponents, how largely Protestants differ from Catholic principles and Catholic practice as exhibited by nineteen centuries of the Church's corporate work.

How, then, do these four-fold characteristics of a divine witness of truth to man, illustrate the story of the Catholic Church, and of its humble, but sincere imitator, the English Episcopal communion? Categorically, the four notes are these: consciousness of a divine source; a continuous exhibition of supernatural claims: consistency and uniformity in dogmatic teaching: and the spiritual power of enacting coercive decrees and of exercising coercive discipline. On the part of the Catholic Church, and against its comprehensive system, all contentious argument will be confined, probably, to the penultimate term of this proposition—namely, to the characteristic of uniformity of teaching. The other three propositions will be accepted by Anglican Episcopalians almost as a matter of course.

For instance: the first-named characteristic of a divine teacher will not be seriously contended by Anglicans. It will not be denied that the Catholic Church has, at all times, and in all places, and to all persons, in one form or another, claimed and proclaimed, announced and enforced its own

inherent and essential infallibility, and all that flows by legitimate deduction from this attribute of God's instrument of salvation. The See of St. Peter, at the least, has ever realized its own singular and unapproachable position amongst the teachers of mankind, who flourished as well before as after its own divine creation. That august See has never, in half-hearted doubtfulness of its own claims, allowed itself to appeal from the present to the future on the one hand, nor to appeal to the past from the present on the other. Rome, indeed, has appealed to no witness, existent or inexistent, real or imaginary, historical or prophetic, saving only to the divinely-instituted infallibility of an ever-present, ever-living, ever-inspired entity, itself—the great I Am, if the expression may be allowed, amongst the religious teachers of the universe. To appeal from itself to a hazy, vague and uncertain past, or to a problematical, indefinite and still more uncertain future, were traitorous to itself, to its origin, and to the indwelling presence which supports as well as creates, and enlightens as well as imparts the authority of mission. To appeal, again, to a General Council not yet held, inspired though it would be and preserved from error; or to appeal to the mere records of secular history, uninspired, and hence imperfect as they must be, and, honey-combed with errors both of omission and commission as they cannot help being untrustworthy; both these alternatives were plainly to acknowledge the failure of God's promise of indefectibility, and to affirm in the completest manner the right of private judgment. Again, the See of Peter cannot be said, even by its foes, to have ever hesitated to adhere to its claim of infallibility, even at the risk of not regaining a national Church once lost to the obedience of faith; or with the certainty that its firm adhesion to principle would cause the future loss of provinces and patriarchates. Nor, once more, has the See of Peter ever failed to enact its own spiritual decrees, or to enforce its spiritual discipline. The convictions and decisions of Rome have not remained a dead letter; nor has Rome ever feared to pronounce its anathemas, be they general or particular, howsoever they might be braved or accepted, and whether the offender

against Catholic belief be a peasant or a prince, a priest or a prelate, a self-willed queen, or an emperor who could not learn to command himself.

On these three points, probably, all Anglican students of history and theology, and other reasonable beings, though they may not be reckoned amongst the learned, will be practically agreed. The only seriously contentious point is surrounded by the endless insoluble question, whether or not the See of Peter has always and ever exhibited its wonted divine authority on the third of the four above-named marks of supernatural origin: viz., by the uniformity of its teaching—and that, probably, in one specific direction only. The answer to this question involves a discussion of the theory of development, and turns on the adhesion, or the denial, of the disputant to that dogmatic principle. But, whatsoever view may be taken of the technical range and philosophic limits of this Catholic force, which is at once both an instinct and an inspiration, both a weapon in dealing with error, and a shield in guarding the truth, no argument can be raised against another of Rome's prerogatives in defence and warfare. No valid argument can be sustained against the unchangeable nature of the decrees of the Holy Roman Church, once formulated; nor against the practical teaching of her priesthood once instructed, ordained, and supplied with jurisdiction from the source of all Catholic jurisdiction. Indeed, so notorious is this fact, and so well authenticated, that it may not be amiss, in passing, to note the line of argument adopted by Ritualistic controversialists to disparage and belittle what they cannot disprove. Following the lead of a well-known apologist for their short-comings and misbelief, they affect to condemn this world-wide unanimity of the two or three hundred thousand members of the Catholic priesthood. They seek to cast ridicule on such "cast-iron uniformity of the well-drilled soldiers of the Roman Curia." Such ridicule is natural from the lips of a body of teachers whose variations, if not whose vacillations, of doctrinal opinion are almost endless in number. But, whatsoever may be uncritically said, by those who have the opportunity of knowing better, of "new dogmas" of faith, or may be im-

piously said—for it can hardly be said in honest ignorance—by those who repeat the slander, of “the newest fashions in religion” at the centre of Christendom, Rome’s changelessness is proverbial. Her adhesion to a doctrine once lawfully promulgated is as firm, as sure, and as immovable as her own eternal hills are solid and stationary. No dogma of faith, once officially declared by the Catholic Church to be binding and irreformable has, as a matter of fact, ever been withdrawn. Nay, more may be said with truth. No such article of faith, thus announced, has in any conceivable way been tampered with or minimized, has been withdrawn or shelved, has been denied, altered by so much as a hair’s breadth, or amended, or has been silently allowed to lapse in course of time by what may be termed theological non-usage. If there be such, the Anglican or Ritualistic controversialist may be challenged to quote the discarded or changed point of faith once authoritatively taught by the Catholic Church.

But, what is the principle of teaching avowed in her formularies, and declared in her life-long practice of three centuries, by the Established Religion of England? It is difficult, in few words, to formulate the ecclesiastical position adopted by that communion at the time of the Reformation. Short of giving an exhaustive statement, however, of that position, the following facts are indisputable. For the first time in the history of sixteen centuries, the Anglican body at the epoch named originated a novel idea in the religion of the Christ. The novel idea consisted in this, that a mere provincial Church—albeit a national Communion—was at liberty, under any conditions, to dissociate itself from universal Christendom, in belief, in morals, in polity. This was the first mark of singularity. As a natural consequence, a second peculiarity followed the first. The self-severed member of the ecclesiastical body corporate was held to be capable—again apart from the concurrence of the residue of Christendom—to create anew its own articles of faith, to legalize its own code of discipline, and to arrange its own form of public prayer, by disarranging, mutilating, enlarging, and reconstructing, in turn, the ancient forms of Catholic divine worship. Nor was this all. Perhaps more anomalous

in character, if not more fatal in effect, was the tampering of the Reformers with priestly jurisdiction. The hitherto unquestioned, and, on Catholic principles, unquestionable, prerogative of the spirituality in the Anglican body was incontinently abandoned. Its inherent jurisdiction, as an integral portion of the Christian system, was exchanged, both in theory and in practice, for one that was purely human and secular in character. The Church of England repudiated the old jurisdiction of Rome, and substituted for it a new jurisdiction: namely, that of the "Supreme Head of the Church," in the person of the Crown of England.

ORBY SIMPLEY.

(*To be completed next month.*)

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.—VI.

OUR LADY OF HAUSWYCK.¹

HAUSWYCK is a suburb of Mechlin, situated to the south-west of the city. In the tenth century it was but a hamlet. At that time the chapel at Hauswyck, dedicated to SS. Lambert and Catherine, was a dependency of the collegiate church of St. Rombaut in Mechlin, the present cathedral. Tradition says, that about the year 988, a boat, laden with merchandise, going up the Dyle, was mysteriously stopped opposite the chapel of Hauswyck. The boatmen threw some of the cargo overboard, and got horses to draw the boat, but all to no purpose, for it remained fast where it had stopped. After a while, a statue of our Lady which was in the boat was recollected, and those on board thought that this unaccountable stopping of the boat might be a sign that she wished it put on shore at this place. The idea was acted on, and the statue placed in the chapel; forthwith the resistance to the motion of the boat came to

¹ *Histoire du priauré de N. D. de Hauswyck, de la congrégation du Val-des-Ecoliers, à Malines, par G. Van Caster, Membre Correspondant de la Commission Royale des Monuments de Belgique. Malines. 1888.*

an end ; in fact, the vessel began to move of its own accord. To the great joy of the inhabitants, adds the tradition, the holy statue remained in their midst. One thing is certain, that the commencement of the devotion to our Lady of Hauswyck has always been assigned to the end of the tenth century.

In 1255 the parish of Muysen was formed, and the chapelry of Hauswyck was joined to it. At this time the pilgrimage was already well established ; and ten years later we find Thomas Cautimpré, a Dominican of note, who was afterwards auxiliary to the Bishop of Cambray, speaking of Hauswyck as “a glorious sanctuary of the Mother of God.” In 1286 a great number of the citizens of Mechlin petitioned that the church should be confided to some religious who should be specially devoted to the service of our Lady. The chapter of S. Rombaut and the parish-priest of Muysen consented, and ceded their rights to the canons regular of Leau, belonging to the Congregation of Vallis-Scolarium, subject to the consent of the Bishop of Cambray, to whose diocese Mechlin then belonged. The Bishop deputed the Archdeacon of Antwerp to examine the question, and after considerable delay, in 1289, issued letters-patent creating Hauswyck into a parish, and confiding it to the canons of Leau.¹

¹ The congregation of Vallis-Scolarium was founded in 1201 by four Doctors in Theology of the University of Paris, who, with thirty-seven of their scholars, retired to a valley near Langres in Champagne. Acting on the words “*Do not call yourselves masters,*” the founders took the name of scholars, and the first of their monasteries, being founded in a valley, was called the *Val-des-Ecoliers* ; hence the name of the congregation. The habit of these canons consisted of a white tunic and scapular with a black cincture ; in choir a rochet, and an aumuese made of black lamb's wool were worn, and during the winter a black cappa as well. The congregation maintained a separate existence till the year 1649, when the French houses consented to a union with the congregation of St. Genevieve ; the Belgian houses preserved their autonomy, under their own general, for another thirteen years. There were six of these houses ; the abbey of Mons, Geronsart and Liège, with the priories of Leau, Houffalize, and Hauswyck. In 1662 they too were united to the Genovefans. The congregation of St. Genevieve to which the priory of Hauswyck belonged for the last hundred and twenty years of its existence was an offshoot of the no less celebrated one of St. Victor, to which the old abbey of St. Thomas, in Dublin, belonged ; in 1148 Eugenius III. replaced the

The canons built a fine church and convent at Hauswyck, which were destroyed in 1578, during the Queux troubles. The religious retired to Mechlin, and in 1580 opened a chapel within the walls; but it was closed almost immediately by the Queux, and not re-opened till 1586. In the year 1599 there were but three religious left, and the municipal authorities cast covetous looks on their belongings. A petition was sent to the Archduchess Babel requesting her to suppress the priory, to send the canons to other convents, and to transfer their revenues to the municipality as a recompense for the disbursements made by the municipal authorities, during the twelve preceding years, on behalf of destitute priests. But the pious Archduchess was unwilling to deprive the municipality of the merit of its charity; and left the religious in peace. The canons did not return to Hauswyck again, but remained in Mechlin, where they built a church, which was consecrated in 1647. Sixteen years later was commenced the present church of our Lady of Hauswyck, which is situated at the end of the town nearest the suburb from which it derives its name; the foundation-stone was laid by Mgr. Creusen, Archbishop of Mechlin; in 1678 it was opened for public worship, and the venerated statue placed within its walls; nine years later it was blessed by the Dean of Mechlin; and finally, the munificence of the townsfolk, rich and poor, having rendered it possible, the church was consecrated by Cardinal Thomas of Alsace, Archbishop of Mechlin. But the canons did not serve the new church very long. In 1783 the priory was suppressed by his Apostolic Majesty, Joseph II.; and the religious were ejected in the following year. Since that time the parish of Hauswyck has been served by secular priests. In 1799 the church was sold, at Antwerp, by public auction, on Easter Sunday; but Mass was said up to the

chapter of secular canons in the church of St. Genevieve by some canons regular from the abbey of St. Victor. The Genovefans were reformed in 1618 by F. Faure, who came with twelve other canons from the abbey of St. Vincent at Senlis; the reform spread rapidly, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century more than a hundred houses recognized the abbey of St. Genevieve as their head.

feast of our Lady's Nativity in 1800, after which it ceased for two years.

The question will arise as to whether the old statue to which Hauswyck owed its celebrity has survived, or whether it perished in one of the various outbursts of revolution with which Belgium has been afflicted. The latter seems the more probable, as in the opinion of competent archæologists the existing statue is comparatively modern, and probably replaced the older one, in the sixteenth century. At the end of 1797 this statue was hidden, and passed from one guardian to another, till at length, on July 6th, 1802, it was replaced in the church. In 1875 the venerable parish priest, Rev. Rombaut Van Hammée, petitioned his Holiness Pius IX. to attend the solemn coronation of the statue; the desired permission was granted by a Brief, dated on S. Andrew's Day in the same year. On July 30th, 1876, the late Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, and Primate of Belgium, in the name of His Holiness, crowned the statue of our Lady of Hauswyck in presence of the Nuncio and the Belgian bishops, and of a large and recollected body of the faithful. The coronation took place in a large open space near the old gate of Hauswyck; when that ceremony was over, the statue was carried in procession to the cathedral, where Mass was sung by Mgr. Anthonis, Bishop of Constantia and auxiliary of Mechlin, and from the cathedral to its own church. The crown, which was made for the occasion, is of solid gold, set with a large number of diamonds and other precious stones. This was the third occasion on which Cardinal Dechamps had had the happiness of crowning a statue of our Lady, as he himself recalled in the beautiful address he delivered before the coronation of our Lady of Hauswyck; in which address he shortly explained why different names were given to our Lady, and why her statues were crowned. The coronation of the former was in 1872, and that of the latter in 1874, as has been related in the notices of those two shrines which have appeared in this series.

Annually, on Whit Monday, the statue is borne in solemn procession through the streets. Formerly the members of

the five guilds, two of crossbowmen and one each of archers, halberdiers, and arquebusiers, accompanied the procession, and the statue was borne by those belonging to the chief guild of crossbowmen, the *grand arbelete*. Each of those who now bear the statue carries a wand with an image at the end which in olden times was the distinguishing mark of the *grand arbelete*.

In addition to the annual processions, others have frequently been made in times of public need. The first was in 1272, when Mechlin was ravaged by the plague. Between 1636 and 1713 there were twenty-one of these processions, of which some were to obtain rain, others the cessation of rain, and two on account of the plague. In 1643 there was a procession during a novena made for his Most Catholic Majesty, and twelve years later to implore the delivery of Valenciennes. On the occasion of these public processions the statue was carried to the cathedral, where it sometimes remained for days or even weeks. In 1697 we find it taken to St. Rombaut twice, once on account of a public procession, and once because Charles II. of Spain had asked that a novena should be made for his intention in all the towns of his dominions, in a church or chapel dedicated to our Lady; but the Archbishop had the novena made in the cathedral instead of in the church of our Lady of Hauswyck on account of its greater size; and so the statue was taken there, and remained for nine days. In 1738 the canons arranged a jubilee procession to make the four hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of their coming to Hauswyck, and the seven hundred and fiftieth of that of the advent of the statue. In this historical procession were commemorated—(1) the conversion of Hauswyck by St. Lambert, the martyred Bishop of Maestricht; (2) the arrival of the statue in 988; (3) the favours received from our Lady by the town and province of Mechlin; (4) the Assumption; and (5) the devotion to our Lady of Hauswyck of the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabel, and of the whole house of Austria, the Archduchess Mary Elizabeth, who was then governing the Netherlands, being especially noticed. The jubilee processions have since been made

regularly every twenty-fifth year, with the exception of 1788, when the commemoration was confined to the church, because of the struggle which was going on against Joseph II.; but in 1790, the Imperialists having quitted Belgium, the public procession took place. For the most part the various invocations of the Litany of Loretto have furnished the subject of the procession; but in 1863 the Immaculate Conception was substituted. In 1888, the nine hundredth anniversary of the coming of the statue to Hauswyck, there was another historical procession, commemorating—(1) the arrival of the image; (2) the establishing of the Austen Canons; (3) the building of the present church; (4) the coronation of the statue; (5) various illustrious pilgrims; and (6) our Lady glorified by the religious orders, by writers, by artists, by earth and by heaven.

Frequent pilgrimages are made to the shrine. Many parishes and associations make an annual one; not a few of these present enormous and richly decorated candles during the month of May, at the end of which they are placed round the church and lighted on great feasts. It is a common practice of the Mechliners to visit the shrine on Saturday; and another practice is to make the “Way of our Lady of Hauswyck,” which consists in devoutly traversing the route anciently followed by the Whitsuntide procession.¹ Some begin the “Way” as early as 3 A.M. The farmers of the neighbourhood are accustomed to make it thrice on horseback, beginning at midnight; they generally fasten a little triangular flag to their horses’ heads.

As might be inferred from the devotion of the people, miracles have been of frequent occurrence at the shrine of our Lady of Hauswyck. Thomas Cautinpré, who has been already quoted, writing before 1269, said that “Many had worked many miracles in the sanctuary of Hauswyck.” From a manuscript dated 1355, which belonged to the old priory, we learn that “innumerable crowds of pilgrims went to our Lady of Hauswyck, highly celebrated for miracles,” and that these miracles were “so numerous that large

¹ Porte D’Hauswyck, Boulevards to Porte (nouvelle) de Bruxelles. Rue Haute, Marché au blé, Rue N. Dame to church.

volumes could be filled with them." Later writers also speak of the frequency with which miracles were worked at Hauswyck. The reports of them have perished almost entirely. Vranckx, writing in the year 1600, mentioned that a volume containing accounts of miracles had been destroyed by the Gueux "out of hatred to God, His dear Mother and the saints;" others were probably destroyed on various occasions when the convent was sacked; and others after its suppression by Joseph II. At the present time the details of but six of the old miracles are known, and even these shall be passed over for fear of wearying the reader. We will confine ourselves to two of very recent date, for the details of which we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Rombaut Van Hammée, P.P. of Hauswyck.

In August, 1877, Mary Schallenberg, of Bonheyden, a girl of eighteen, who was in domestic service, felt the first symptoms of a spinal disease which afterwards caused her atrocious suffering. In May, 1878, she was obliged to return home, and by the August following, her lower limbs were completely paralyzed, so that she was obliged to keep her bed. She was treated in turn by three doctors, and one after the other told her that her case was hopeless. Twice one of them found her in a condition which compelled him to send for the priest to administer the last sacraments. The girl, who had from her childhood been remarkable for her piety and for her devotion to our Lady, bore everything with great resignation, and never failed to say to those who pitied her—"May the will of God be done." For two years she cherished the idea that she would be cured if she could go to Hauswyck, and at last she spoke to the curate about it. He felt the gravity of the case, and would not take the responsibility of the decision; so he pointed out to Mary that the journey seemed tantamount to certain death, but that everything was possible to one with a firm faith in our Lady. The girl took some days for reflection, and then decided to go. This was in April, 1883. On May 1st she began a novena, and every day some of her friends said the Rosary with her. Before the novena began she dreaded the undertaking, but during it her confidence constantly

increased. She, however, got worse, and on May 8th she was so ill that she could not bear the Rosary being said in her presence; during the night she could neither sleep nor pray. At 4.45 A.M., on the 9th, she set out for Mechlin, lying on a mattress in a baker's cart. She arrived at the church about 5.30 and was placed in an arm-chair before the statue. She received Holy Communion, and Mass was said for her intention. At 6.30 there was a High Mass. After it was finished, Mary was carried three times round the statue in her chair. At her own request she was then taken from the chair, and dragged round. She gradually recovered the use of her limbs, and the ninth round she did alone—walking between her two sisters. The church was full of people, who, at the sight of this, with voices broken with emotion, cried aloud that a miracle had been worked. At this sound the parish priest ran forward, and, profoundly moved, as soon as the round was completed, fell on his knees before the statue, and, with Mary at his side, recited the Rosary, the people answering. When the Rosary was finished, the girl walked round the statue again, and then accompanied the priest to his house, where she made a good breakfast, though the night before she had been unable to take anything. At 11.30 a High Mass was sung in thanksgiving, and it was almost impossible for the girl to make her way through the crowd which the report of her cure had drawn to the church.

After the Mass she was examined by Dr. Van Battel, one of the chief doctors of Mechlin. He testified as follows:—

“Je soussigné, docteur en médecine, résidant à Malines, certifie qu'ayant examiné la nommée Schallenberg, Marie de Bonheyden, à la date du 9 Mai 1883 vers une heure de l'après-midi, je l'ai trouvée comme suit:—Agée de 23 ans, la jeune fille porte l'empreinte d'une anémie profonde: le pouls est fréquent, filiforme. La marche que j'ai observée pendant dix minutes environ est normale, régulière, non sans accuser une faiblesse musculaire profonde. La station debout, sans appui, alternativement sur la jambe gauche et la jambe droite isolément, s'exécute sans difficulté. La pression et la percussion le long de la colonne vertébrale, n'accusent aucune sensation douloureuse. En foi de quoi, j'ai délivré le présent certificat, dont j'atteste le contenu sincère et véritable. Malines, le 9 Mai 1883.

“(Signé)

DR. VAN BATTEL.”

It will be convenient to give here the certificates which were given on the day after the cure, by two out of the three doctors who had previously attended her; the third was dead. Dr. Mertens testified as follows as to her condition when under his charge:—

“Je soussigné, docteur en médecine à Duffel, déclare avoir traité la nommée Marie Schallenberg de Bonheyden, depuis le mois de Mars 1879 jusqu'en 1882 et avoir diagnostiqué chez celle-ci une myélite, déterminant la paralysie presque complète des membres inférieurs avec diminution notable de la sensibilité. La jeune fille était en outre atteinte d'une anémie profonde. Tous les traitements que j'ai institués n'ont produit que des résultats à peu près nuls. J'ai dû abandonner cette malade en 1882 considérant son état comme complètement incurable. En foi de quoi, j'ai délivré le présent certificat. Duffel, le 10 Mai 1883.

“ (Signé) TH. MERTENS.”

Many remarkable things are told of hysteria and nervous disorders among women: and those who have read F. Clarke's *Lourdes and its Miracles*, will know how suspicious the physician who examines the patients at that place is; but this very candid avowal of a belief in the incurability of the disease—made after the cure had been effected—would seem to settle the question in this case. The other certificate was as follows:—

“Je soussigné déclare que Marie Schallenberg a été parlysée pendant longtemps, des deux membres inférieures. Elle a été traitée comme ayant en une maladie de la moëlle épinière. Keerborgen, le 10 Mai 1883.

“ (Signé) T. ROEX, Doct.”

Mr. Roex, it should be remarked, had been called in, not to treat the principal malady, which was looked upon as incurable after the declaration made by the other medical men, but to give some relief in the fevers and headaches from which the poor girl suffered; and even more, to induce her to take some nourishment, as for long she eat hardly anything but fruit or a little salad.

When Mary Schallenberg had been examined by Dr. Van Battel she set out for Bonheyden, where she arrived at about 2.30 p.m. The whole village turned out to meet her. She went straight to the church, which she visited again in the

evening for the devotions. Next day she received Holy Communion and stayed in the church for two hours. The people of Bonheyden wished to thank our Lady for the benefit she had conferred on one of their number. So on Tuesday, June 5th, from seven to eight hundred of them went in procession to our Lady of Hauswyck, and of this number about three hundred and fifty received Holy Communion before leaving Bonheyden. On the way they spent their time in saying the Rosary with great devotion. The procession was expected to arrive at 8 o'clock, but by 7 o'clock there were so many people in the church that the doors were shut to ensure room being left for the pilgrims. The crowd in the street was so compact that the procession could hardly make its way through, and Mary probably had good reason to be grateful to the twelve stout peasants who surrounded her to keep off the crowd. As soon as the pilgrims were in the church all who could do so pressed in and crowded even in the choir and the organ-loft. The people of Bonheyden presented a large and beautifully ornamented candle, a portrait of the girl, and a marble tablet with a suitable inscription; and, when this had been done, their parish priest, an old man of seventy-eight, sung the High Mass of thanksgiving, the choir being composed of members of the Society of St. Gregory under an eminent director. At 10 o'clock the procession commenced its homeward way, and, as before, the time was spent in prayer.

The other case shall be told in as few words as possible. In November, 1879, Teresa Goevaerts, a married woman aged thirty-eight, was attacked by inflammation in the left leg. She heard Mass on Easter Sunday, 1880, for the last time for a considerable period; she was, in fact, confined to the house for four years. Several doctors were called in, one after the other, and each pronounced the bone of the foot to be diseased; the last of them told her that the only thing which could save her life would be amputation of the foot. Her husband objected to this; and she, feeling that all human help was useless, determined to appeal to our Lady of Hauswyck, being especially moved to do so by what she

had heard of Mary Schallenberg. On May 16th or 17th, 1884, she left home at 3 a.m., and after a painful journey of an hour, on crutches she had borrowed, she reached the church. With the exception of a short interval, during which she got something to eat, she remained in the church for four hours. Setting out at 8 o'clock, she only reached home at 10.30. Five days later she went again. Before the end of the month she was able to get about the house, only requiring occasional support. On Whit-Monday (June 2nd) she assisted at the procession of our Lady of Hauswyck without feeling any fatigue. In June, 1885, the doctor who had last attended her gave the following certificate:—

“ Je certifie 1° avoir traitée il y a environ une couple d'années, pendant plusieurs mois Mad. Goevaerts habitant Rue Neuve des Capucins 67, laquelle avait déjà antérieurement été traitée pour la même affection : carie des os du pied (arthrite fongueuse des articulations tarso-métatarsiennes du pied) ; 2° que cette affection, au degré que cette maladie la présentait, guérit très-rarement ; et que, en effet, les traitements voulus, soigneusement appliqués étaient restés sans aucun résultat ; 3° que depuis un an, cette personne est complètement guérie et se livre régulièrement sans inconvénient à des travaux de ménage très-fatigants. Malines, le 16 Juin 1885.

“(Signé)”

D. GILLIS.”

In an account of her sufferings, written during the same month, Mrs. Goevaerts stated that since her cure she had gone daily to the church of our Lady of Hauswyck, leaving home to do so at 4 a.m. : and also that she had given a silver foot as an *ex voto*.

In addition to the statue of our Lady of Hauswyck, the city of Mechlin possesses other venerated statues and pictures of our Lady. The chief of these is the statue of our *Lady of Dolours* in the church of *N. D. au-dela-de-la-Dyle*, where is also found the ancient statue of our *Lady of the Sun*. In the Church of St. John is a statue of our Lady, made from the celebrated Montaigu oak. Whilst in the Cathedral, dedicated to the Irish St. Rumold¹ or Rombaut, the Apostle of

¹ The relics of St. Rumold are still preserved in the Cathedral, which is built on the site of a chapel founded by him. In addition to other memorials of the Saint, there are a colossal statue over the High Altar and two sets of paintings. One of these, consisting of twenty-five

Mechlin, is a copy of the painting in the Church of *Ara Cœli* in Rome which is attributed to St. Luke. At Mechlin this is known as the *Black Madonna*, or our *Lady of Miracles*.

E. W. BECK.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

CONFRATERNITIES.

By a Confraternity is understood an association of Christians united by the bonds of charity for the performance of certain good works, and all animated by the same holy purpose. The Catholic Church may be regarded as one immense Confraternity; for all her members should be filled with mutual charity, all should strive earnestly to promote God's glory, and their own salvation, and all should unite in observing the commandments of God, as well as the particular precepts imposed upon them as members of a divinely-constituted society. And were these several conditions fully and faithfully fulfilled by each member of the Church, particular Confraternities would be unnecessary. For without such Confraternities God would then be perfectly worshipped by a loving, generous, and submissive people; the Real Presence on our altars would not be forgotten or neglected; devotion to our Blessed Lady would flourish; the whole heavenly hierarchy would receive the honour due to them—in a word, every pious purpose which so many particular Confraternities now propose to themselves, would be easily and sufficiently attained by all the faithful, were all the faithful exact in discharging the duties which the bare profession of Christianity imposes on them. Hence we do not find any mention of Confraternities in the early ages of the

pictures, was formerly in the chapel of St. Rumold, which was destroyed by the Revolutionists in 1797. The other, a series of seventeen paintings, was given in 1775, the tenth centenary of St. Rumold's martyrdom, by the bishops and abbots of Belgium, the arms of the donor being placed on each picture.

Church when faith was lively and charity ardent, and when zeal for well-doing inflamed the hearts of all Christians. Rather than prove untrue to anything required of them by their holy profession, those early Christians endured the lash, the rack, and the other indescribable and inconceivable tortures invented by the evil ingenuity of their enemies, and in tens of thousands gave testimony with their blood of their reverence for the laws of God and of Holy Church. Their love for one another was at once so tender, and in so many ways manifested, that the pagans were wont to make it a subject of reproach and ridicule.¹ But in time faith began to languish, charity to grow cold, and mutual jealousies to take the place of the fraternal charity, which at first characterized the faithful. Then did the Church give birth to Confraternities, as the most effective means of remedying these multiplying evils.

The middle of the thirteenth century² is generally given as the time at which the first Confraternity made its appearance. It took the name of *Confalon* from a standard which was carried in its processions, and St. Bonaventure is credited by some³ with its institution. The object of this Confraternity was the redemption of Christian captives taken by the Saracens.⁴ It is quite certain, however, that Confraternities existed long before the time of the *Confalon*. Towards the close of the preceding century, Odo, Bishop of Paris, appointed the Monday after Trinity Sunday for the celebration of an annual festival by the members of a Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin in his diocese.⁵ And even as early as the time of Charlemagne, Confraternities, having a definite object, and an appropriate organization, are spoken of⁶

¹ Thus Tertullian, addressing the pagans, says: "You find fault with us because we love, and you hate one another; because we are ready to die for one another, while you are on the point of destroying one another; because the spirit of fraternal charity leads among us to a community of goods, while among you it is precisely such earthly possessions that are the cause of your enmities." (*Apologet.*, c. 39, *Apud Alzog, Church History*, vol. i., sect. 95.)

² Various dates are given by different writers. The years 1260, 1263, and 1267. are all mentioned.

³ See Manual, *Indulgences*, part ii., art. v., 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Migne, *Dict. des Indulg.*, part ii., c. 1.

⁵ *Dict. Encycl. de la Theologie Catholique*, art. "Confrérie."

⁶ *Ibid.*

These early Confraternities were merely local, and embraced but a few members. But in course of time internal as well as external development set in; their objects became more general, they received more support from the ecclesiastical authorities, the Church conferred greater and more extensive privileges on them, and the faithful in increasing numbers sought admission into them. In our times Confraternities have become so important a factor in preserving Christian discipline, and so powerful a means for the salvation of the people, that pastors who have not at least one efficient Confraternity in their parishes are justly regarded as wanting in their duty.

Arch-Confraternities are so called by reason of the more extensive privileges which they enjoy, and also because they have power to affiliate to themselves other Confraternities by bestowing on them their own title, and by giving them the right to share in the favours and privileges granted to themselves. For this latter reason they are also called Mother-Confraternities. Confraternities are said to differ from *Associations* or *Societies* inasmuch as Confraternities have for their primary object the sanctification of their own members, while the object of associations is the performance of some work of charity towards others.

THE ERECTION OF CONFRATERNITIES.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was found that certain abuses regarding Confraternities had grown up. In establishing them care was not taken to comply with the requisite conditions, and as a consequence the members were deprived of the indulgences and other privileges then granted to legitimately erected Confraternities. Besides, the members of the Confraternities had begun to regard themselves as exempt from the jurisdiction of their pastors, and from the parochial regulations, and as responsible to their directors alone, and as bound only by the bye-laws of their respective Confraternities. To remove these and other abuses Clement VIII., issued in the year 1604, the constitution *Quaecunque*,¹ in which he defined precisely what is necessary

¹ See Ferraris, Art. "*Confraternitas*."

for the legitimate erection of Confraternities, together with the relations that should exist between the members of Confraternities and their pastors, as well bishops as parish priests. This constitution has formed the basis of all succeeding legislation on the point. From it and from the utterances of succeeding Popes, as well as from the decisions of various congregations, the following rules for the erection of Confraternities have been gathered:—

1. *Only one Confraternity of the same name or title can be erected in the same place.* By the *same place* is here meant not only the same church and the same parish, but any other church or parish within a radius of three miles from that in which the Confraternity exists.¹ To this rule there is, however, an exception in favour of the Confraternities of the Most Holy Sacrament, of the Christian Doctrine, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. It has been decided that each of these Confraternities may be established in every parish irrespective of the distance between any two.² To these must be added Confraternities existing at the date of the constitution of Clement VIII.³

If through inadvertence to this condition more than one Confraternity of the same title have been erected within the prescribed limits, the first erected alone is legitimate; the other must be dissolved.⁴

2. *Two or more Confraternities having different titles, and different objects, may be erected in the same church or parish.*⁵ Pastors would do well, however, to bear in mind a sage remark made by a writer on this subject. "It is unquestionably better," he says, "to have only a few Confraternities

¹ Clement VIII. *Quicumque* 2, S. C. Ind. August 28, 1842. "Cum Paroeciae non distant invicem una leuca, si tamen sunt in separatis offidiis constitutae, poterunt erigi in ambabus confraternitates eadem?" *Resp.* "Negative si agatur de confraternitatibus in genere."

² S. C. Ind. Feb. 7, 1607; Feb. 3, 1610; Pius VII., 1805; Falise, *Decr. Auth.* S. C. Ind. Lovanii, 1862, p. 202. See also Bouvier, *Des Indulg. Manual.*, &c. The last-mentioned writer adds: "Should an application be made to the Sovereign Pontiffs, as a rule, they unhesitatingly allow exceptions of this kind for every other Confraternity."

³ S. C. Ind. Sep. 27, 1607.

⁴ *Idem.*, Mar. 31, 1640. *Rota*, June 18, 1745.

⁵ Decision of the *Rota*, June 18, 1745, *apud* Ferraris, n. 63.

carefully and zealously worked, than to have many wholly or partly neglected." "But," adds the same writer, "this restriction does not extend to pious *associations* or *societies*, such as those of the *Propagation of the Faith*, *St. Vincent de Paul*, and the *Living Rosary*." For, as these have but few public exercises, the management of them cannot embarrass the pastor, nor can membership of them weary the people.

3. *A parish priest, wishing to establish a Confraternity in his parish, must obtain the written approval of his bishop for the Confraternity of which he has made choice.*¹ In the *Manual de Confrères*, compiled about the beginning of the last century by Mgr. Tournefort, Bishop of Limoges, the above rule is thus stated: "When a parish priest proposes to himself to erect a Confraternity, he ought to inform his bishop in writing of his desire, and of the motives that determined him to choose this or that Confraternity, and should ask from him permission to erect the same."

Bishops can by virtue of their ordinary powers give canonical erection to Confraternities within their own dioceses,² but they cannot, as a general rule, without special delegation, make them partakers of the indulgences and privileges granted to particular Confraternities.³ We say *as a general rule*, for there are exceptions. In the first place, Confraternities of the Most Holy Sacrament erected by the sole authority of a bishop enjoy all the indulgences and favours and privileges granted to the Arch-Confraternity of the same name established in the Church of the Minerva in Rome.⁴ Secondly, when in any diocese one Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine has been erected by the authority of the bishop, and duly aggregated to the Arch-Confraternity in the Church of St. Martin in Rome, all other Confraternities of the Christian Doctrine afterwards erected in the same

¹. . . *prærio loci Ordinarii consensu, cum ejus literis testimonialibus*, Clement VIII. Const. *Quaecunque*.

² "An dici possit canonica dictæ confraternitatis erectio solius Ordinarii auctoritate facta." Resp. *Affirmative*, S. C. Ind. 28 Augusti, 1752. Bouvier, *Traité des Indulg.*

³ Bouvier, *ibid.*

⁴ S. C. Ind. 15 Feb., 1608.

diocese require only the approval of the bishop to give them a right to the indulgences, &c., of the Arch-Confraternity.¹

But is affiliation to an Arch-Confraternity, or a religious order not necessary for Confraternities erected by bishops having the usual delegated powers? This question would seem to be involved in no little obscurity. Bouvier states explicitly that affiliation is not necessary, and declares that the Congregation of Indulgences replied to this effect to a question put by Mgr. de la Myre, Bishop of Mans. On the other hand, a reply of the same Congregation, issued August 22, 1842, states the very opposite.² It is quite certain that by virtue of delegated powers bishops can communicate to Confraternities erected by them the same indulgences and privileges which affiliation would give them:³ but it is doubtful whether such delegation is ordinary or extraordinary. Whatever may be true regarding the question in general, there is, happily, no difficulty as far as it concerns Ireland, or any other country subject as Ireland is to the Propaganda. For, as may be inferred from an Instruction issued by that Congregation in June, 1889,⁴ all bishops subject to it have faculties for erecting Confraternities approved of by the Holy See, and for granting to them without affiliation all the indulgences and other privileges

¹ S. C. Ind. 23 Martii, 1711, "declaravit sufficere ut aliqua Confraternitas Doctrina Christianae in una civitate Archiconfraternitati aggregata sit, ad hoc, ut cunctae aliae ab Ordinario loci in tóti diocesi erectae seu erigendae aggregatae censeantur et omnium spiritualium gratiarum et indulgentiarum quibus dicta Archiconfraternitas fruitur participes sint."

² "Confraternitates ab Episcopo auctoritate a S. Sede delegata erectae fruuntur necne eadem bonorum operum et ordinarum communione cum archiconfraternitate et iisdem privilegiis et indulgentiis ac illae quae aggregatae ordinario more fuerunt? *Resp.* Affirmative si agatur de confraternitate S.S. Corporis Christi; si vero de Doctrina Christiana quoties in una diocesi aggregata est una istiusmodi confraternitas caeterae etiam erectae aut erigendae, aggregatae censentur; *negative quoad alias confraternitates in genere.*"

³ "In the year 1802, Cardinal Caprara, Legate *a latere*, at the earnest request of the bishops of France, granted them faculties to erect all the Confraternities belonging to the different Religious Orders, and to bless beads, scapulars, &c., and also to sub-delegate this latter power to their priests, and all without its being necessary for them to apply to the superiors of these orders. (*Dict. des Indulg.*, Introd. 2 part, ch. iv.)

⁴ See I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. x., p. 850. (Sept. 1889.)

to which affiliation would confer the right. The only limitation to these faculties regards the erection of Confraternities of the Rosary. For, though bishops in missionary countries can erect such Confraternities, and grant to them the general indulgences, which can be gained by all legitimately erected Confraternities, yet, if they desire them to share in the special indulgences granted to Confraternities of the Rosary erected by the authority of the General of the Dominicans, they must have recourse to him.¹ But with regard to other Confraternities, it appears quite evident that bishops in missionary countries enjoy the fullest faculties for their erection, and endowment with all indulgences and privileges without reference to religious orders or Arch-confraternities.

4. *The bishop must appoint a priest as Director of the Confraternity.* Bishops alone have the right to designate the Directors of Confraternities.² In case a bishop should neglect to name anyone for this post, neither the parish priest, nor any other priest, can validly discharge the functions of Director, unless there be but one priest in the place in which the Confraternity has been or is to be erected.³ For in these circumstances the bishop, by the mere fact of sanctioning the erection of a Confraternity, is supposed to have designated that priest as its Director.⁴

5. *The names of the members of every Confraternity must be entered in a register by the Director himself, or by some person appointed by him.*

This condition is now absolutely necessary for gaining the indulgences of any Confraternity.⁵ In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI. issued an Indult dispensing with this con-

¹ *Instruction*, *mox. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ S. C. Ind., Nov. 1, 1842.

⁴ *Idem.*, June 7, 1842.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "Quod vero pertinet ad recensenda in albo Confraternitatum nomina fidelium iisdem adlectorum id tanquam necessaria conditio absolute requiritur, ut indulgentias Confraternitatibus adnexas lucrari fideles queant. Quapropter ab ea lege derogari nequit nisi per peculiaris Indulta quae solum determinatos casus et certa loca respiciant." (*Instr. Cong. De Prop. Fide*, June, 1889. I. E. RECORD, vol. x., p. 851.)

dition in regard to membership of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. But this Indult was revoked by Leo XIII., April 27, 1887.¹ At present, therefore, this condition is required as well for the Confraternity of Mount Carmel as for all others.

When, therefore, a Confraternity has been canonically established in a parish, enrolling in the local register alone is necessary. But where a Confraternity has not been established, it is necessary to send the names of the faithful of that place to be enrolled in the register of a similar Confraternity in some other place, or in the register kept in a house of the religious order to which the Confraternity in question pertains.²

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEHMKUHL'S THEOLOGY.

“VERY REV. SIR,—In reply to your correspondent's inquiry (page 661, I. E. RECORD, July, 1890), I may inform him that an Appendix, in pamphlet form, to the above Theology *has* been published. It is entitled, *Appendix ad i. et ii. Edne. Theologiæ Moralis auctore Aug. Lehmkuhl, S.J. Exhibens additiones et Mutationes in ii. et iii. Ed. factas.* The editor is Herder. Friburgi, Brisgoviae. 1886.

“There may, of course, be later editions than the third of the original work, with fresh changes, and, again, a new Appendix; but I can only speak of the above. It can be had at Burns & Oates. The price, I forget: it is very trifling, as the whole pamphlet is only sixteen pages.

“J. J. S.”

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. ix., p. 1050.

² Dubitarunt aliqui num ad adgregandos fideles ejusdam loci alieni Confraternitati necessaria foret prævia ibidem ejusdem Confraternitatis canonica erectio. Verum licit id in fidelium commodum profecto cederet, ac plerumque consulendum videatur, necessarium tamen non est cum sacerdotes adsunt qui fideles in pias sodalitates adsciscendi facultatem habeant. Hoc tamen in casu sacerdotes prædicti tenentur fidelium cooptatorum nomina ad proximiorum Confraternitatem cui eos adlegerint transmitti aut ad proximiorum domum religionis respectivam, si de Confraternitatibus agatur quæ regularis ejusdem ordinis auctoritate fuerint erectæ.

DOCUMENTS.

DECISIONS OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

SUMMARY.

1. How the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart is to be celebrated.
2. How the 2nd Vespers of the Feast of the Sacred Heart are to be said.
3. The Office of the Seven Founders of the Servites of Mary.
4. The use of the Crozier on Holy Thursday.
5. Does a Bishop make three or only one cross when giving the blessing after the distribution of Holy Communion, and when giving absolution?
6. When an Ordination is held on Holy Saturday, will the Litanies be those given in the Missal for that day, or as given in the Pontifical?
7. When the Office of our Lady of Good Counsel has been granted to a diocese, are the priests obliged to take the new Office and Mass approved in 1884?

MONTIS POLITIANI.

Hodiernus Redactor Kalendarii pro Clero Dioeceseos Montis Politiani, de consensu sui Rñni Episcopi, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia enodare humillime proposuit, nimirum :

Dubium I. Missa votiva SSñi Cordis Iesu per Decretum diei 28 Iunii 1889 pro Ecclesiis, in quibus de mane exercitia pietatis in honorem eiusdem Divini Cordis peraguntur, concessa, celebrari debet sine *Gloria*, sine *Credo* et cum tribus orationibus, an ritu quo celebrantur Missae votivae solemniter cum *Gloria* et *Credo* et unica Oratione?

Dubium II. In eodem Decreto statuitur quod secundae Vesperae diei Octavae Corporis Christi sunt dicendae sine ulla Commemoratione. Cum non sint concordēs Redactores Kalendariorum in interpretandis his verbis, quaeritur an per eadem verba commemoratio sequentis festi, SS. Cordis excludatur, vel etiam commemoratio alicuius Sancti eo die ad modum simplicis redacti, ut accidit hoc anno pro S. Ioanne a S. Facundo?

Dubium III. Capitulum Vesperarum in festis Sanctorum septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V. et S. Catharinae Fliscae Adurnae dicendumne est etiam ad Tertiam?

Dubium IV. Quando Episcopus Feria V in Coena Domini bis

procedit ab altari ad mensam pro Sacris Oleis conficiendis, et ad altare regreditur, debetne uti baculo pastorali?

Dubium V. In benedicendo populo post Communionem extra Missam ministratam, atque in absolvendis fidelibus in Poenitentiae Sacramento debetne Episcopus unam tantum vel tres Cruces efformare?

Dubium VI. Si Sabbato Sancto fiat Sacra Ordinatio, dicendae suntne Litaniae in Missali pro tali die assignatae, vel illae consuetae quae habentur in Pontificali Romano?

Dubium VII. Dioeceses quibus concessum est Officium B. M.V. titulo Boni Consilii, tenenturne assumere novum Officium cum respondentem Missa pro eodem Festo a S. R. Congregatione anno 1884 probatum?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, expositoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeemoniarum Magistris, omnibus mature perpensis, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, nimirum:

Ad I. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad II. Utraque commemoratio est omittenda.

Ad III. Affirmative.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Servandae Rubricae Ritualis Romani.

Ad VI. Dicendae sunt in casu Litaniae in Missali assignatae, additis quae Episcopus profere debet super Ordinandos post *V. ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis*, etc.

Ad VII. Affirmative. Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et servari mandavit die 20 Mai 1890.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI MASELLA S. R. C. Praef.
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, Secretarius.

THE MANNER OF LIGHTING THE NEW FIRE USED AT THE CEREMONY OF HOLY SATURDAY.

THE MISSAL RUBRIC AND HOW IT IS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN PRACTICE.

(Taken from the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*).

PROPOSITIO.

Praesentium temporum adiunctis inspectis, urgendane est observatio Rubricae pro Sabbato Sancto in Missali posita, quae dicit: *Excutitur ignis de lapide . . . et ex eo accenduntur carbones?* Quomodo se gerendum in praxi?

SOLUTIO.

Quaestio, ut omni consideranti facile apparet, duabus constat partibus, una nempe theoretica, et altera practica.

I. Ad primam quod spectat partem, scilicet: an, inspectis praesentium temporum adiunctis, urgenda sit observatio Rubricae, praescribentis ignem Sabbato Sancto excuti de lapide et ex eo carbonem accendi, citra dubium est, inobservationem huius praefatae Rubricae contradicere regulis Liturgiae certissimis et unanimi Rubricistarum doctrinae, opponi insuper Orationis textui recitandae pro novi illius ignis benedictione, et huius functionis symbolismum pessumdari. Unde conclusio logica est, ut urgeatur observatio dictae Rubricae.

(a) Quod certissimae Regulae Liturgicae hoc exigant, nescire nemo valet, si saltem agatur de officio solemniter celebrato in maioribus ecclesiis. Interrogemus siquidem Caeremoniale Episcoporum, ut sciamus quid agendum sit in Sabbato Sancto, et pro responso habebimus lib. 2, cap. 27, n. 3: “*Dicta hora sexta, excutitur e silice ignis extra ecclesiam et accenditur.*” Sed praescriptio haec ad minimum respicit ecclesias metropolitanas, cathedrales et collegiatas, ut invicte constat ex Bulla promulgationis Caeremonialis praelaudati, et ex decreto S. R. C. 16 Iulii 1605, n. 270, statuente “*omnes ecclesias metropolitanas cathedrales et collegiatas, dictum librum caeremonialem in omnibus ad unguem servare debere.*” Iam ergo urgenda est in maioribus ecclesiis observatio praefatae Rubricae, nisi Congregationem cum Caeremoniali Episcoporum in vanum locutam fuisse velis: quod repugnat.

Nunc autem, si deveniamus ad minores ecclesias, ubi tres quatuorve ministri reperiri possunt, legimus quoque in Caeremoniali Rituum pro hisce ecclesiis Benedicti XIII iussu edito: “*Extra ecclesiam excutitur novus ignis e silice, et accenduntur carbonem in foculo.*” Sane ex decreto peculiaris Congregationis indictae 4 Dec. 1724 a Sanctitate Sua Benedicto XIII, parvum hoc Rituum solis Rectoribus Almae Urbis proponebatur observandum; sed in saeculo sequenti, die 28 Iulii 1821, n. 4583 ad 1, Sacra Rituum Congregatio declaravit “*ut locorum Ordinarii quoad paroecias, in quibus haberi possunt tres quatuorve saltem clerici, sacras functiones feriis V et VI ac Sabbato maioris hebdomadae peragi studeant, servata forma parvi Ritualis S. M. Benedicti XII anno 1725 iussu editi;*” et Pius Papa VII hoc decretum “*adprobavit confirmavitque, atque ut ab omnibus servetur, typis evulgari praecepit die 31 Iulii 1821.*” Unde pariter in casu urgenda est observatio

Rubricae, cum Caeremoniale hoc, iuxta Clar. De Herdt, uerit editum ut ritus ac sacrae caeremoniae . . . in minoribus ecclesiis . . . exacte ac uniformiter exerceantur.

Supersunt quidem aliae ecclesiae, ubi inveniri nequeunt tres saltem ministri; sed de illis cura nobis non esse debet in solutione quaestionis. Absque enim speciali Indulto Apostolico non potest in hypotesi cereus, ignis fons baptismalis benedici, ut liquet ex decretis S. R. C. 12 Feb. 1690, n. 3202; 11 Mart. 1690, n. 3204; 13 Iul. 1697, n. 3433 ad 1; 1 Sept. 1838, n. 4837; et itaque in huiusmodi ecclesiis ignem excuti, prout placuerit, non est concludendum, sed Indulto standum est, quod certe nihil permittet contra Missalis Rubricam.

Obiiciet fortasse aliquis, ecclesias vi ipsius Bullae Papae V in Missalis initio positae, et ipsius decreti 16 Iulii 1605, n. 270, supracitati, retinere posse "*quae de antiqua, immemorabili ac laudabili consuetudine, alio vel diverso modo ab eo quo in caeremoniali praescribitur, observantur;*" id est, quae ante promulgationem Missalis, iam supra ducentos annos servabantur.

Non nos latet veritas eorum, quae obiiciuntur; sed nullius roboris sunt in casu, quia relate ad ignem Sabbati Sancti, ex Rubricistarum melioris notae consensu, non existit huiusmodi consuetudo, nisi forte excipias antiquum usum excutiendi ignem ex crystallo Soli obiecta, apud Durandum lib. 6, cap. 80, expresse relatam. Si autem laudabilis, remitto sapientioribus.

Verbi gratia, Durandus, Mimatensis Episcopus, vivens in decimo tertio saeculo, certiores nos facit in suo opere, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, lib. 6, cap. 80, "quod in principio officii (Sabbati Sancti) totus in ecclesia debet ignis extingui et novus de lapide percusso cum calibe . . . debet elici et de sarmento foveri." Quin imo, si testimonio credideris eximiorum Auctorum Martene *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, cap. 8, n. 8; Thomassin, *Traité des Fêtes*, liv. 2, chap. 14, n. 7; Goar, *Rit graec.* pag. 24; Pouget apud Benedictum XIV, *de Festis D. N. I. C.*, n. 390; et Baillet, *Pet's nobiles*, Samedi Saint, art. 3, hic modus ignem producendi nonnisi vestigium est antiquitatis. A quarto enim saeculo excutiebatur quotidie ignis e silice ad accendenda ecclesiae luminaria; et benedicebatur prius quia de more apostolico erat nunquam adhibere ignem profanum seu vulgarem in sacrificiis et orationibus publicis, quae luminaria exigebant. Cessavit quidem in decimo saeculo haec quotidiana benedictio, sed retenta est pro Sabbato Sancto, ob intimam relationem inter ignem e

silice productum et Iesum Christum ex mortuis suscitatum, nec non ad agendas Deo gratias pro hierosolymitano miraculo, quod historici magni nominis hac die quotannis contigisse tradunt, nempe: Officio Sabbati Sancti incipiente, congregatis fidelibus, in ecclesia sancti Sepulchri, igne de caelo cadente, lampades quae iam a feria V ob moerorem Passionis Christi fuerant extinctae, ex eodem igne miraculose singulis annis accendebantur. Ita Hugues de Flavigny, Rodulphe Glaber apud Gretser, *de Cruce*, lib. 2, cap. 2; Martene, loco citato, n. 9; Quaresme, *Elucidat. Terrae Sanctae*, tom. 2, lib. 5, cap. 24; Lupus apud Benedictum XIV loc. citat.; et Urbanus Papa II apud Labbe, *Concil.*, tom. X, pag. 514; et Baronium, *Annales*, anno 1095. Nonne ceterum ille miraculosus ignis perfecte se exhibet ut typum prodigiosae Domini resurrectionis?

Gavantus, inter Sacrorum Rituum commentatores facile princeps, ait: *excutitur ignis de lapide ignis, de Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli*, Part IV, tit. X. Et De Herdt post Cavaliere: "ignis e silice a sacrista vel alio ministro tempestive est excutiendus et carbones accendi, ut adveniente celebrante ignis reperiatur accensus. Non enim ipse celebrans ignem excutere et carbones accendere debet." Part V, n. 59; et Caval., tom. IV, cap. 21, n. 8.

Si A. Carpo legeris, eandem reperies sententiam: "Carbones benedicendos accendi omnino opus est ex igne excusso de lapide." Iuxta Martinucci, lib. 2, cap. 27, n. 21, "duo clerici procedent ad portam et accendent ignem praeparatum, elicientes e petra focaria favillam."

Ut autem huic nomenclaturae Auctorum finem imponam, "ignis novus, inquit R. P. Piller hodie professor in seminario Friburgensi, ope chalybis ex silice excuti debet, ut verificetur oratio benedictionis, et significetur Christi ex sepulchro lapideo resurrectio." Unde, Auctoribus a Durando et ultra usque in hodiernam diem nihil in contrarium tollerantibus, urgenda est certissime observatio Rubricae; quia sola consuetudo, si non laudabilis, saltem antiqua, ignem producendi per crystallum aut speculum Soli obiectum, iam a longo tempore in desuetudinem abiit.

(b) Si ex altera parte attendas ad verba benedictionis eiusdem ignis, ire contra Rubricam nemo potest sine mendacio. Iusta enim A Carpo, Part 3, art. 11, n. 154, "*si secus fieret, quodammodo admiretur expressionis veritas Orationi, quae in benedictione declarat ignem illum productum e silice.*" Qua de causa necessario urgenda est quoque observatio Rubricae, ne ignis falso dicatur e

silice productus, praesertim quod *lumen Christi* non verificatur nisi quia ignis e lapide excutitur; nam iuxta Divum Paulum, *per crucem cruciatur Christus*.

(c) Insuper, huius functionis symbolismus non minus requirit exactam Rubricae executionem, quia ex praelaudato Martinucci “hic ritus excutiendi ignem e lapide, non caret mysterio.”

“*Legem enim, teste Durando Mimatensi, celerem significat legem, cuius figurae in Morte Christi completae fuere, et ideo velut extinctae cessare debuerunt,*” dum ignis de lapide in memoriam revocat Christum, “*qui est lapis angularis, qui verberare crucis percussus Spiritum Sanctum nobis effudit.*”

Iam Honorius Augustodunensis, duodecimo currente saeculo, ignem docebat e lapide excuti, lib. 3, cap. 20, “*quia concipiendus est ignis charitatis de Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli,*” ut legere est apud Gavantum et A. Carpo, loc. cit.

Iuxta Quarti et alios apud Bouvry, “certum est rationes mysticas, sin minus fuerint causae institutionis, saltem intendi ab ecclesia in hac functione, in qua plura repraesentantur mysteria. Primum autem et principale est resurrectio corporis Christi e sepulchro. Sicut enim frigidus lapide rutilans ignis excutitur; ita e sepulchro lapideo corpus Christi iam mortuum et extinctum, vivum et splendidum resurrexit, et nova luce refulsit, atque nobis aeternae lucis contulit claritatem.”

Et Corsetti, in suo indice Rationali Sacrorum Rituum: “ignis excutitur e silice in Sabbato Sancto, quia ignis de lapide Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli, accipitur; et antiquus extinguatur ad denotandum legem finem habere.” Ronsée quoque docet Mystice extincto luminum significat extinctionem Christi in sepulchro; et novi ignis productio, eiusdem Christi vivificationem in die resurrectionis. Huic significationi concordare videtur mens Ecclesiae, utpote quae in festo Ascensionis, post Evangelium in quo refertur Ascensus Christi in caelum, extinguit cereum paschalem, sic ut non amplius accendatur. Quibus perfecte consonat Doct. A Carpo, dicens: “ignis e silice excitatus, Christi resurrectionem luculenter designat.”

En denique verba Patris Agnelli e societate Iesu, in suo opere, *Il Parrocchiano istruttore*, lib. 1, Part 2, instr. 14: “prima di cominciare la Messa s'estingue tutto il fuoco, che v'è; per significare che nella morte di Christo Vittima di obbedienza, ebbero fine gli olocausti e le vittime, che con il fuoco si sacrificavano da' sacerdoti dell'antica legge. Fuoco nuovo s'accende, cavato

col ferro dalla pietra focale, ch'è simbolo di Christo percosso dal ferro dei chiodi e della lancia." Unde symbolismus urget executionem Rubricae.

II. Ad secundam partem, nempe: quomodo se gerendum in praxi? Responsio delucitur ex antea dictis. Standum est Rubricae in Missali positae, ne contemni videatur mystica functionis significatio, et mendax evadat Oratio pro ignis benedictione. Quapropter eliciendus est ignis de lapide, non autem de lignis ignivomis aut sulphure imbutis; nam quod gallice vocamus *allumettes* et *chimiques* et *allumettes phosphoriques* italice vero *flammiferi* et *solfanelli*, non repraesentaret mysteria ab Ecclesia intenta.

Quo autem medio utendum est, ut scintilla eliciatur e petra focaria? An chalybe? an ferro an quovis alio medio? Datur unicuique libertas, dummodo ignis revera de lapide prosiliat. Rubrica enim in hac parte tacet, et praeter Durandum, Agnelli et Piller, qui de chalybe aut ferro loquuntur, caeteris omnibus silentibus, non satis constat de mente Ecclesiae, ut unam potius quam alterum medium imponatur.

Item, et propter eandem rationem, libertas relinquitur pro nutritione scintillae e petra emanatae, ut deinde carbonem ex illa possint accendi. Adhiberi possunt ligna ignivoma, aut papyrus aut, quod vulgo nominatur *amadou*, italice autem *esca*, aut omne aliud inflammatum facile; et quando ignis exinde maior effectus est carbonem ad normam Rubricae accenduntur.

A. FOURNERET, *Curé de Lannes.*

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES.

PRAYER OF ST. IGNATIUS.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Circulus catholicus S. Ignatii Loiolensis, in hac alma Urbe existens, ut magis magisque provehatur cultus erga sanctum suum patronum, exorat Sanctitatem Vestram, ut concedere velit aliquam indulgentiam, animabus quoque in Purgatorio detentis applicabilem, Christifidelibus qui devote recitaverint sequentem invocationem ab eodem Sancto repeti solitam: *Domine mi, fac ut amem te, et ut praemium amoris mei sit amare te magis in dies.*—
Quam gratiam. . . .

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo XIII., in audientia habita die 15 Martii 1890 ab infrascripto Secretario S. Congregationis

Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, corde saltem contrito, ac devote praefatam jaculatoriam precem recitantibus *Indulgentiam centum dierum*, defunctis quoque applicabilem, semel tantum in die lucranda benigne concessit. Praesenti *in perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 15 Martii 1890.

C. Card. CRISTOFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

PRAYER TO ST. JOSEPH.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Cardinalis Cajetanus Aloisi Masella, ad Pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, humiliter expedit, ut aliquam Indulgentiam benigne concedere dignetur universis Christifidelibus qui devote recitaverint sequentem ad S. Joseph orationem, a S. Bernardino Senensi concinnatam :

“Memento nostri, Beate Joseph; et tuae orationis suffragio apud tuum putativum Filium intercede; sed et Beatissimam Virginem Sponsam tuam nobis propitiam redde, quae Mater est ejus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit, et regnat, per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen.”—Quam gratiam . . .

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., in audientia habita die 14 Decembris, 1889, ab infrascripto Secretario Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae universis Christifidelibus, corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus supradictam Orationem, *Indulgentiam centum dierum*, defunctis quoque applicabilem, semel in die lucranda, benigne concessit. Praesenti *in perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem Congregationis die 14 Decembris, 1889.

C. Card. CRISTOFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

PRAYER OF S. ALOYSIUS TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

“O Domina mea, sancta Maria, me in tuam benedictam fidem ac singularem custodiam et in sinum misericordiae tuae, hodie et

quotidie, et in hora exitus mei animam meam et corpus meum tibi commendo; omnem spem meam et consolationem meam, omnes angustias et miserias meas, vitam et finem vite meae tibi committo: ut per tuam sanctissimam intercessionem, et per tua merita, omnia mea dirigantur et disponantur opera secundum tuam tuique Filii voluntatem. Amen."

SSmus. D. N. Leo P. XIII. in audientia habita die 15 Marti, 1890, ab infrascripto Secretario S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, omnibus utrisque sexus Christianis fidelibus, corde saltem contrito ac devote supradictam Orationem recitantibus. *Indulgentiam bicentum dierum*, semel in die lucrandam et defunctis quoque applicabilem, benigne concessit. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 15 Martii 1890.

C. Card. CHRISTFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY DEPOSED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH. By Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates, 1889.

THIS book will be heartily welcomed by every earnest, truth-loving student of the so-called Reformation period. Fr. Bridgett has, with diligence worthy of all praise, dug his way through the mass of falsehood that has accumulated round the genuine history of the period, and he has set before his readers the plain unvarnished truth resting on evidence indisputable. He opens his "preface" with a striking contrast between the bishops of Henry VIII.'s time and those who lived at the accession of Elizabeth. He says: "When the violent and uncontrolled passions of Henry VIII. rose up against the unity of God's Church, only one member of the English hierarchy was found faithful to his trust." But "when the policy of Henry's illegitimate daughter, Elizabeth, led her to break again with the Holy

See . . . of the whole hierarchy only one member proved faithless. And there can be but little doubt that, if the English priests in Elizabeth's time had imitated the fidelity of their bishops, the English people would not have been robbed of their faith. On Elizabeth's accession many of the English sees were vacant. None of the bishops offered any opposition to her accession; but, as her heterodoxy was well-known, none of them was willing to perform the ceremony of her coronation. After some pressure, Dr. Agelthorpe, bishop of Carlisle, consented to perform the ceremony; and very soon his reward came in the shape of deposition and imprisonment. The Protestant tradition handed down from sire to son, originating with "artful Cecil" and Camden, still echoed by Dr. Hook and Dr. Jessop—not to speak of lesser luminaries—has it that no one was persecuted for conscience' sake under *good Queen Bess*, and that those who did suffer were traitors, not martyrs. The great, leading proof offered for this view is, that the bishops deposed by Elizabeth for not accepting the *new doctrines* were allowed to live and die in peace. Fr. Bridgett meets this by a direct, emphatic, negative. He takes up the history of each bishop, and shows by evidence that it is absolutely conclusive that they were persecuted for conscience' sake persistently, and some of them severely. It is easy enough to make a slipshod reputation for learning by dealing in second-hand quotations. Fr. Bridgett will have none of this. He goes to the original sources for his information. He sifts and weighs his evidence with ability and impartiality. His book is a most valuable addition to the real history of the age of Elizabeth, and it deals destruction to much of the cherished stock-in-trade of her apologists.

J. M.

MANUALE QUOTIDIANUM SACERDOTUM SIVE PRECES ANTE ET POST MISSAE CELEBRATIONEM CUM BREVIBUS MEDITATIONUM PUNCTIS PRO SINGULIS ANNI DIEBUS. PRECES EDIDIT, MEDITATIONUM PUNCTA COMPOSUIT, APPENDICEM ADJECIT. Jacobus Schmitt, SS. Theol. Doct. et in Eccl. Cathedr. Friburg: Canonicus. Sumptibus Herder Friburgi Brigoviae.

THIS is the third edition of Dr. Schmitt's admirable work which priests all the world over have found so useful, and which comes with ecclesiastical approbation stronger and more widespread than ever. The collection of prayers for every day in the

year to be said before and after the celebration of Mass could not be better chosen. They are taken from Father Boppert's great work, having been selected by him from the Greek and Latin Fathers and from the Doctors and approved writers of the Church ; but instead of Father Boppert's learned dissertations on ascetic theology, so greatly expanded by his Patristic knowledge, Dr. Schnitt gives us a short practical meditation admirably suited to the general wants of clerical life. The whole work is written in Latin, and is, in our opinion, all the better on that account ; for the prayers have additional solemnity and grace in the ancient language of the Church ; and a strain of the deep and solid faith of the ages in which they were written runs through them all. The work cannot be too highly praised. The author has laboured well for the benefit of the priesthood, and has produced a work worthy of the Holy Sacrifice which it is specially intended to honour.

J. F. H.

HISTORY OF THE PASSION : being the Gospel Narrative of the Sufferings of Christ and the Dolours of Mary. With Notes and Comments. By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London : Burns & Oates.

THE *History of the Passion*, by Father Devine, deserves a wide circulation. It is at once a most devotional book, and from an instructive point of view, very valuable and interesting.

Father Devine tells the history of the Passion for the most part in the words of the Gospel narrative, but adds such information as is necessary or useful for the elucidation of the sacred text. This information is not, however, given in the uninviting form of mere comment, but is embodied in the narrative, the extracts from the Testament being in every case plainly recognizable by the italic type in which they are printed. The result is highly satisfactory. The intelligent reader finds in the simple and full narrative so admirably put together by Father Devine the answers to the many questions which the reading of the bare text would suggest.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, of which nineteen are devoted to the history of the Passion ; and the last is very appropriately set apart for an exposition of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin.

In connection with the Dolours, Father Devine explains all about the devotion of the Stations or Way of the Cross, and

priests and people will be grateful to him for the abundant information which he condenses into a few pages on this popular devotion.

We heartily commend this book, and we feel assured that it needs only to be known to establish itself as a favourite work with those who wish to cultivate a devotion to the life and passion of our Divine Lord.

The book is stamped with the Imprimatur of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

NATURAL RELIGION. From the APOLOGIE DES CHRISTENTHUMS of Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited with an Introduction on Certainty, by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. Burns & Oates, 1890.

THIS is the first volume of the long-promised English translation of Dr. Hettinger's celebrated *Apologie*. The fame of this great work has long since reached us; but it is only now, when the lamented author is gone to his reward, that English-speaking Catholics can judge for themselves "the mighty mind that was in him," and that vast store of varied knowledge on which he drew for the defence of truth. The purpose of the *Apologie*, the author tells us, was "to show the agreement of Christian faith with all that is true in the domain of reason; to correct erroneous theories, and to heal the wounds which error causes in souls." For forty years he has been in the forefront of the battle for truth. His position brought him into direct and immediate conflict with the whole contemptible crew of "isms," that too often pass for scholarship in Germany and elsewhere. And the *Apologie* at every page gives abundant proof of the depth and wide range of his learning, of the acuteness of his reasoning powers, and of the indomitable zeal with which he prosecuted the conflict against error. The chapters on *Materialism*, on *Pantheism*, on *the Existence of God*, and on *the Soulless Man*, are perhaps the finest specimens of reasoning we have seen against the debasing and soul-destroying errors that are poisoning the sources of German thought. His treatment of the *Evolution Theory* is a most conclusive answer to those self-satisfied scientists, who, in their innocence, fancy that priests confine their studies to theology and ecclesiastical history.

The translation is by Father Bowden of the Oratory, and this, we are satisfied, is sufficient guarantee that the work is well done. The translator gives an introductory chapter on "Certainty," which, as an argument against

AGNOSTICISM, is well worthy of a place in Dr. Hettinger's great work. The book is in every sense admirable—one which every lover of truth should read and digest carefully. It is a most opportune addition to our theological literature, and we trust sincerely that the other volumes of the work will not be long delayed.
J. M.

SERMONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR, WITH TWO COURSES OF LENTEN SERMONS, AND A TRIDUUM FOR THE FORTY HOURS. Rendered from the German, by Rev. James Connolly, S. J. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is pretty generally felt that books of set sermons are of little help to one who has to prepare a practical instruction for the people on Sundays and Festivals. Such sermons are too often unreal, or rather they were suitable and real only in the circumstances in which they were spoken. Not only in the style of the composition, but as well in the way in which the points are developed they bear the impress of the individual who composed them, influenced as he was by the character of the congregation for whom they were prepared. Very often also such sermons contain but little matter drawn out in a series of neat sentences, which cannot be borrowed unless one becomes a down-right plagiarist.

A book of sermons to be of use to a hard-worked priest should, it seems to us, contain little more than a few words of an introduction, and then a division embracing two or three substantial points simply and briefly developed. It is a decided help to have the order and matter provided for one. These he can make his own without borrowing the words. When he has turned over the matter in his mind and thoroughly digested it, he will have no difficulty in finding words of his own in which to express it, clothing the old truths in a new dress.

It is because the book of *Sermons for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Year* is of this practical character, that we have no hesitation in recommending it. The subjects treated are practical, such as the pastor needs for his Sunday's instruction. Each sermon or instruction is briefly introduced, and then two or three clearly defined points are explained and developed.

The sermons were originally composed in German by the Rev. Jules Pottgeisser, S. J., and have been rendered into English by the Rev. James Conway, S. J.

THE ONE MEDIATOR ; OR, SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENTS. By Rev. William Humphrey, S.J. Burns & Oates, 1890.

THIS book consists of a series of chapters reprinted from *The Month*, and the author has done good service to Catholic truth in publishing them in a collected form, and thereby rescuing them from the oblivion incidental to periodic literature. The book is an excellent and useful one. It is practically a theological treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass and on the Sacraments, dealing almost exclusively with the dogmatic and scholastic parts of subject matter. The volume is not at all controversial, and yet we know no book of its size that will be more really useful for the defence of Catholic truth. The author establishes his principles on a solid basis. He states Catholic doctrine clearly, concisely, and most accurately ; and the result is, that without professing to answer any objection, he really anticipates them all. We cannot too strongly recommend the book. The educated, intelligent lay Catholic, will find it a high class manual of instruction, perfectly reliable ; and even the professed theologian will find it extremely useful.

J. M.

THE ROMAN MISSAL FOR THE USE OF THE LAITY.

Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

THE publication of a complete Roman Missal in any language is a very important undertaking. And we are pleased to be able to congratulate the publishers, and those associated with them in bringing out the edition under notice, on the manner in which they have performed their task. *The Roman Missal for the use of the Laity* is highly creditable to all who were engaged in the work. This edition is a faithful version in English, of the Latin edition of the Missal lately published by Pustet, at Ratisbon, and approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Consequently it contains all the newest Masses, arranged in their proper places, including the new Votive Masses which are wanting in former editions of the English Missal. Moreover, we find in it complete Supplements for Ireland, England, America, and Rome. The extracts from Holy Scripture, which form a large portion of the Missal, have been carefully compared with the approved Bible, and many inaccuracies which had crept into this part of former editions have been corrected.

There are improvements also in the Calendars and Indexes, so that we can safely describe this as an accurate and elegant English version of the Roman Missal.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1890.

A PLEA FOR DISCIPLINE.

I.

CATHOLICISM in England is in an anomalous and strange position. It bears the traces, now gradually being obliterated, of that severe repression which began in blood and ended in contempt. The temper of the country is not Catholic, although it is now not ungenerous, and being in a minority we gradually suffer the fate of all minorities, not sufficiently safe-guarded—a progressive absorption into, and assimilation by, the majority. This is sufficiently evinced by a consideration of the leakage question, and the various remedies proposed. The various problems which confront us here are to outsiders of a sufficiently startling character, and the various questions which from time to time are asked and answered in the I. E. RECORD lead us to think that the circumstances from which these questions arise are not very well understood. They affect principally matters of confessional practice and of discipline, and are so complicated as to puzzle very adroit casuists. Unquestionably the I. E. RECORD gives us learned solutions; but sometimes cases turn up, and it is extremely difficult to know what to do. For instance, it must be difficult for an Irish priest to be familiar with the surroundings of cases of conscience arising from “Tips” commissions, short lengths, sanding cotton, dressing silk, burning waste, charging overtime when working inferior material, false piece measurements, and last, but by no means

least, that finest of all refined roguery, the various intricacies of bankruptcy dodgery, which our friend the Jew has brought to such perfection—*his accedit* co-operation of subordinates. These things must indeed be awkward matters to be handled by outsiders, as they are awkward to us.

On another level lie all those questions which affect the due enforcement of discipline, in *foro externo*, among Catholics. Among these stand the laws relating to marriage, Christian burial, and the various forms of *Communicatio in Sacris*. Questions of theology belong, of course, to the schools; of Church polity, to the bishops, *jure divino*. The division is rough, and must not be strained, nor must the dividing line be too finely drawn. The bishops, with the advice at their command, shape the policy to be pursued in any given country under any given circumstances, and all in a subordinate sphere co-operate in its execution. The remembrance of this makes it somewhat difficult for one from the ranks to write with much freedom on matters which cannot be said to make claim on any private individual for treatment. Nevertheless, these difficulties are known and felt by personal contact, and at times constitute embarrassment from which we desire to be relieved. Affecting, as they do, and as we believe, prejudicially, the work upon which the lives of priests are spent, we fain would address ourselves to them with the view of throwing ourselves in the way of sympathy and advice. We are subject very much to the influences of those circumstances which surround us, and hence our readers will detect a local colouring in our remarks; but we believe the social and religious status of Catholics in all large English towns are the same, and hence our remarks will have a broader application than the knowledge of an individual, taken simply, would warrant.

Let me begin by mixed marriages, and the extraordinary facility with which they are, as a fixed policy, contracted—we pass by what the Popes have said from time to time about them—true, they are *connubia damnabilia et detestabilia*, &c.; but, then, these things were said in Italy. We come to our surroundings.

We have in Manchester and Salford (both forming one

continuous town) the main body of the Catholic community on the same social level belonging to the industrial class. Of course we have our *bourgeoisie* in a limited degree. Our professional class is small and reserved; our local aristocracy, landed gentry, &c., practically *nil*. We eliminate without more to do these "classes" as outside the purview of our statement. If they have a greater difficulty in finding in our ranks a social equal, they have a wider horizon, and the evils are not, as a rule, so obvious.

We descend to the "masses." In point of number they would in themselves constitute a large city—roughly about 90,000. We are considering them as within reach, for we must presume that matrimonial affairs do not recognize the municipal boundary. Our object in thus referring to the total aggregate of the rank and file of the Catholic community will be apparent when we ask:—Are we Catholics in these circumstances unable to find suitable Catholic partners with a view to marriage? Must we regard the Catholic body as unequal to the adequate supply of suitable marriageable persons to match those who want to marry? This is an important question: for if a Catholic partner is forthcoming, there is no reason whatever for a Catholic about to marry to seek a partner outside the Church.

To judge of the extent of the Catholic materials to fall back upon, and to put the matter in the clearest light before a large number of our readers, let us say that we are speaking of a body eight times the population of Kilkenny or Galway, four times the population of Waterford, one and a-half times the size of Cork, and two and a-half times the size of Limerick. These comparisons are sufficiently accurate for our purpose, and help us to realize the strength of the Catholic body in the midst of which we now write, and to see clearly the point of the question which we have put. Can such a Catholic community as this stand on its own basis, independent of outside denominations for matrimonial requirements, in properly balancing the supply and demand, and in this respect can it work *normally* without extraneous aid? Can our Catholic young men find suitable Catholic young women? We do not care to answer this question in the presence of

so many older and more experienced men; but if cornered we would answer it, and answer it emphatically, in one way only.

This much brings us onward to the point that underlies this statement. Where is the necessity *prima facie* of mixed marriages, in general, *under these circumstances*? That individual mixed marriages are in given cases the lesser evil, we all, of course, admit—though we venture to think that even these cases are altogether exaggerated. But if there is no standing necessity warranting such marriages, where is the expediency of perpetuating a standing policy of granting dispensations to all who apply? And yet all who apply get the dispensation with the greatest promptitude. After five years of active missionary life the writer never heard of a dispensation having been refused. Practically any reasons suffice, such as “keeping company,” and “I like him, Father,” and “He is such a good young man, Father,” and “So-and-So married a Protestant,” and “If *you* don’t marry me, I’ll wed in the Protestant Church,” and so on. Nay more, if application were to be made by a priest for a dispensation, and he to say that there is no reason whatever to warrant a mixed marriage, it would in all probability be granted, not by any personal official laxity, but by force of a fixed policy, the growth of years, hitherto unquestioned, and the questioning of which now may be looked upon as a youthful indiscretion.

But why not convert the Protestant? Well, we do convert them—the names are “in” at the Registrar’s Office, and you have got three weeks to make a religious impression on an average Protestant young man—at the rate, say of three nights a week, and one hour each time. The young man “does not mind” being a Catholic; but he is not near so anxious about the faith as about the girl. He wants *her*: but he is not particular about letting religion “slide.” You take him in hand, and you get him through night after night—that is, if he comes, and if you are not somewhere else—and what exhausting work it is to din a little Christianity into a young man who wants it *pro tempore* as a means to make him to marry! You have done your best, but you have not converted him—neither his head, nor his heart, nor

his stomach. The following Friday will witness him discussing his meat dinner—he has the girl, and now the faith may go to the winds. The fact is—let us say it with certain limitations—marriage converts are a failure—a conspicuous failure in our large cities. We have wasted one Catholic girl who, had she been married to a Catholic, might have constituted an element in the natural development of the Catholic population of this country, but we have not gained *one* convert. We lose the girl, and we lose the family of the mixed marriage. For the last forty years the Catholic population of this country has not progressed in the same proportion as the non-Catholic, while, owing to the proverbial fecundity of the Irish people and the superior morality of the Catholic body, we should be gradually making headway, and gain in course of time a higher percentage of the total. Why? Because family life is so muddled and contaminated with heresy, that a great Catholic sidewash is gradually seceding into the great army of indifferentists. The average product of an average mixed marriage at twenty years of age is a poor specimen of a Catholic. He is about half a Catholic—with the faith in a way, but without Catholic instinct. In his neighbourhood—an average one—there are five Protestant or Dissenting girls to the one Catholic, and five to one he marries the non-Catholic, and then the grandchildren of the original mixed marriage are practically lost, and all the natural development of numbers in that line, with an expanding and widening progression, are lost to the Church. Hence you meet with such Protestants as William George Murphy and Frederick M'Carthy.

So far for the material aspect of mixed marriages. Let us see how it ruins the *morale* of a Catholic community. It means a compromise in the home—and an admission that all religions are good in their way; and as you hear it now, a wonderful indication of the “many-sidedness of truth.” Surely if “things like this do not work a *fidei notabile damnum*,” what else does? We have paved the way for all that follows. We baptize children, and with a Protestant sponsor. Of course we let him “stand;” but he must not touch the child. The public effect of such a proceeding remains. We

marry our own people where both are Catholics and with a Protestant *best* man. We "Church" Protestant women, on the bland old complaisant view, that of course it is not a sacrament, and does the poor women no harm. Some priests permit Catholics to be witnesses at Protestant marriages in the Protestant Church with a distinction—*ad effectus civiles tantum*, and of course we are all familiar with the very Protestant-like way Catholics assist at Protestant funerals—kneeling, &c. . . . But that is courtesy. We may say that the utmost limits of the coming to terms is reached, when we behold a Catholic woman standing sponsor at a baptism for a Protestant child. We often thought that if only a Catholic is well up in the nice distinctions, he would have one difficulty only to decide, viz, "Is there any difference between a Catholic and a Protestant?"

We may hope that stricter discipline will be put in force concerning these matters. There is no particular necessity for one in ten of our mixed marriages, if our Catholic people are only warned in time. There are no sermons with any grit in them preached against them, because there are mixed-married people in the audience, or perhaps their children are there. Besides, your words are worthless when there is such a facility of procuring a dispensation. There is very little use in pouring the terrific flood of your molten rhetoric at it, and denouncing the monstrous thing when your fellow-curate, *v.g.*, legalizes it by return of post. Zeal about the children is good, but the clergy of forty years ago were as enthusiastic about children as we are now. Zeal ought to be supported by a good, wholesome, and vigorous discipline. All our evils spring from the marriages, and until we restore, as far as wise men deem practicable, the full discipline of the Church, we shall be like men who have opened the flood-gates of heaven, and then opened an umbrella, or sailors bailing out water, with the bunghole of their vessel unplugged. True, we shall have apostates; let us be tender as we can with the execution of a wholesome law; but they will be palpable, and not like the gradually guawing away of everything that is robust and Catholic in our community. We must not minimize zeal; but we must ever remember that the psychical

missioner is a compound of zeal and physical strength—the strength often fails while the zeal may still burn brightly in the soul of a used-up priest. We are helpless to stem the awful corruption of home-life in our ranks, and the utter debauchery that surrounds the *thalamus ecclesiae* in our great populous centres, unless the Church once more puts forth her right arm, with discretion, but with strength, and protects the Sacrament of Matrimony from being made subservient to the unbridled lusts of the profligate, and the caprices of the Protestant Dissenter and Jew. A priest in a city mission, with from one thousand five hundred to three thousand Catholics in hand, cannot forestall mixed marriages. Let the reins of discipline be quietly and steadily drawn, and the clergy will be strengthened to oppose efficaciously the lawless movements of the lax, to encourage the good, to foster a good Catholic spirit, and to look forward to a normal and progressive increment of the Catholic population on strictly Catholic lines. But while we marry the drunkard in his drink, and the licentious man fresh from carnal sins, with what we are pleased to call a confession five minutes before the marriage ceremony begins, we shall never have the *gratia sacramentalis* which perfects the new state of life, and irradiates around the newly-founded home. We shall have, what we have got, wrecked homes, bad Catholics, a *progenies viperarum*, heartbroken and footsore priests, and a community demoralized from top to bottom.

II.

Those measures which we would advocate for the living, we would, in their own respective order, suggest as suitable for the dead. We recommend discipline all along. Nothing makes such an impression as the treatment of the dead. In the presence of death the heart-strings are loosened. What more pathetic than the appeals of the burial service to the mercy of God, with its recurring refrain, *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine!* and what more terrible than the accursed grave, where the dishonoured body of the apostate is thrown, without a drop of holy water, without a prayer, without even a hope! If Catholics know anything, they know the terror

of this; a wholesome discipline would be a comfort to the good pious soul over whose grave we shall pray, a terror—the vengeance of silence—to the public sinner. Yet this discipline, so wholesome and so efficacious, is so far forgotten that an appeal to it seems like recalling the middle ages. Our experience of the discipline of the laws of Christian burial would resemble those grim humours of Yankee journals. For a somewhat considerable period the writer was chaplain to two cemeteries—one Catholic and consecrated, the exclusive property of the diocese—the other municipal, with part reserved for Catholics. From the latter the chaplain drew a solid salary. As far as he could find out there was never so much as a thought given to the observance of the laws affecting Christian burial. We prefer to leave out of consideration funerals in the municipal cemetery, as we have a difficulty on the point. Is a chaplain bound by law to perform a funeral service for a man who dies out of the Church? Of course we are bound to perform the service for all Catholics. But does the law of the land declare who is a Catholic? or does it accept as final what the man generally professed? or does it admit the conditions of Church-membership, as laid down by the recognized ecclesiastical authorities? In other words, if a man says he is a Catholic, am I bound to give him Catholic rites in the borough cemetery, when I know that he is no longer a Catholic? This is a question of law which has not been decided here in England, as far as I am aware. In America it has been already decided by the civil courts that a family vault in a Catholic cemetery can be closed against members of the family who die outside the Church, when Church-membership as a condition of possession is in the cemetery rules. The law took effect in the exclusion of the body of an abetter of the unfortunate Dr. McGlynn. As far as we can recall, without any reference at hand, the judge declared that every condition of membership entered into the contract, and that no claim could be established to burial in the vault as long as the conditions of Church membership were not fulfilled.

But law, or no law, one thing is certain, no credentials

are required to secure Christian burial in England. The chaplain's business, even in private Catholic cemeteries, is to bury all, ask no questions, and above all, do not hurt the feelings of the friends. Two things are necessary: obey the law of the land about the doctor's certificate; obey the law of the cemetery board about the payment of the fees: let the laws of the Church take chance. If you neglect the first, you commit an act of felony; be remiss in the second, and you perpetrate an act of stupidity; as for the third, it is mere scrupulosity to think of it. Must not a funeral be conducted with decorum? What is more conducive to decorum than to bury your forty years' concubinator, who has refused the last Sacraments on his death-bed, with all honours for the consolation of his friends, and the edification of all good Christian folk? That he was a scandal all round the neighbourhood where he lived, that he was incestuous, an adulterer, an all-round profligate, who would make no confession, but believed the priest had no more power than anybody else, and was like the rest of men—these are "winkable" things; that the priest should go five miles to bury him in consecrated ground, and burn incense over his carcase to symbolize his aromatic virtues, and sprinkle holy water on his coffin and over his grave, and with a long solemn face (or as the reporters put it, "in an impressive manner") to whine forth, "Come to his assistance, all ye saints of God;" that is the proper thing, because it shows how elastic, and gentle, and good-natured the poor Catholic Church can be with her hoary reprobates.

I have just said that it is no business of the chaplain to inquire if he is burying a Catholic, or if he is giving Christian burial to a man to whom the canons deny it. Still a few specimen cases come to your notice, and linger in your memory after the lapse of years.

A. B. lived in "tally" for thirty-seven years with another man's wife. (Tally = concubinage, or adultery, as the case may be.) His own wife crossed over to the other man. Thus there was a rectangular "tally." A. B. was frequently admonished by the priests in their district work. They spent more time and labour spurring up the worthless brute than

would have sufficed to bring half-a-dozen well meaning, innocent poor people into the Church. At length he got ill, and his sister went for the priest, who came six times, and now by entreaty, now by menace, implored him to make his confession, and prepare for death. He refused, and died shortly after. We buried him with all solemnity in consecrated ground, and the friends were comforted because, I presume, he at length "slept in the Lord."

C. D. was a former student of one of the most distinguished Catholic colleges in England—was, I am informed, a classical scholar of the senior form of no mean repute, a literary man of some attainments. He gradually drifted—took to the theatre, and then to drink. Married (?) some Dissenting woman, and preached in the local "synagogue," a kind of religious Sunday-evening spouting club, where good men congratulated themselves on their good health, whisperings of the Spirit, good digestion, and kindred religious topics. At length C. D. got a stroke, was carried home from the theatre at night, lingered on consciously for a couple of days about five minutes' walk from the presbytery, and died without the sacraments. Mrs. C. D. informed the company that C. D. was a Catholic, so there was a wonderful turn out of theatrical ladies and gentlemen at the funeral, which was excessively decorous. Some little apprehension was entertained about the burial service among a few of the better informed; but we soon set it at rest. We read it with great effect in that deep sepulchral tone which the heavy tragedymen uses, when, with furtive glance he steals across the stage muffled up in sable cloak, and calls—"Give me the dagger." The manager thanked us when all was over, and was glad things had passed off so pleasantly for the family—that is *the* point. Wreaths of lilies, &c., were piled on bearing scrolls "Safe in the arms of Jesus:" "At rest;" "Asleep in the Lord," &c. So there we left C. D., buried in honour with all rites of the Catholic Church.

E. F. was a notorious drunkard, well-known to the clergy, to the police, to everybody. He abandoned his wife and family, and lived a somewhat promiscuous life about town. He was debauchery and brutality to the lips. He finished up

consistently by suicide. The matter was referred to competent authority, and the coroner's court inquested him—verdict—"Drowned himself while drunk." Ecclesiastical authority decided that the man *must* have been mad—perhaps he was, but on the grounds of Segneris sinners' *Oh che sciocchezza!* and that he could be buried with the rest, so as not to wound anybody's feelings, provided that the priest read the prayers over all in common in the mortuary chapel. If in the case of suicides the "temporary insanity" plea, or the "uncontrollable impulse" theory is set up and acted upon, the sooner we have a change in the laws of Christian burial the better; for every man who commits a mortal sin is at bottom mad.

G. H. was the only instance of a man who in our chaplaincy nearly got his due. He refused the sacraments and wounded everybody's sense of propriety by blaspheming God, and threatening by his Maker to smash a certain article of bed-room furniture on the priest's head if he came any more. The priest did come, but G. H. had died in the dispositions which he had had so vigorously manifested on the occasion of the priest's last visit. The matter was so well-known, that when the neighbours saw the priest coming, they stood at their doors with the anticipation of seeing the rev. gentleman pitched through the window, or having some kind of a reception of a chilling character. He duly reported the occurrence and its notoriety to the writer, who was in charge of the funerals. As my duty was to bury everybody, I referred to my chief, who ordered me to refuse reading the burial service. I did so, but G. H. was buried in a consecrated grave all the same, and his carcase was laid down over the sacred remains of some poor pious Catholic that breathed her last sigh into the very bosom of God in all the fulness of the faith. The Church had a day, and he would have been thrown into a condemned hole on the far edge of a piece of commonage.

We must stop somewhere. It was none of our business to note these cases, but they recur in connection with the state of ecclesiastical discipline in England. In a pastoral sphere we can now bear witness to the fact that the present

race of chaplains continue this policy—bury all who pay for their graves, and whom you are paid to bury, and pay no attention to the very rubrics which confront your eyes on the first page of your Ordo Exequiarum: “*Quibus non licet dare sepulturam Ecclesiasticam.*” We know that people have received Christian burial who refused the last Sacraments from our hands. Surely the time is come when we ought to deprive of Christian burial those who are *ipso jure excludendi*. We do humbly think that the time is come to prevent the recurrence of such a spectacle as the burial of a Freemason by the chaplain who was surrounded by all the Masonic brethren at the grave-side. The deceased was loyal to the craft to the end, and requited the priest’s attentions by telling him about the Supreme Architect. The fact was, the priest wanted to convert the Freemason, and the Freemason wanted to convert the priest. Hence the dead-lock. He lived a Mason; he died a Mason; but he was buried a Catholic, and perhaps recommended to the prayers of the faithful.

These facts remind us that we have no machinery to furnish information to the chaplain except by chance, and that then it is very doubtful if the chaplains will be very visibly affected by it. Burial service is much like churching Protestant women. So much depends on what preceded it; and, not having a retrospective value, if it does no good it does no harm. We could easily remedy it by giving a certificate of death in the bosom of the Church; and then the chaplain’s way is clear if he is empowered by his superior to act according to it.

So far for what appears to us as indicating a broad field for reform. We do not ambition novel or drastic measures, but a return to those means which the Church has invariably found efficacious for the furtherance of the kingdom of God on earth. We are aware we have ventured on highly controversial grounds, and we expect little sympathy from a large number; but even under these circumstances we may not be rash in expressing the hope that the time is not far distant when we shall witness a gradual revival of Catholic discipline in this country. In large Catholic centres like

that in which we now write, where growing laxity prevails, and looser passions gain the sway, and establish an even lower standard of action; where the influence of the Church and of the priests is diminishing, and the natural man becoming more prominent every day, we ought to labour to keep the sheep of the fold from contamination, and to build up a Church with good sound Catholic materials. Shall we see this without enforcing Catholic discipline?

JOSEPH TYNAN.

HOMES FOR INEBRIATES.

THE attention which the temperance question has been attracting for some time past, must be a subject of congratulation to every friend of that good cause. Much good work has been done; but much more yet remains, and the time may yet be far distant when we may hope to say that the last word has been said about it. A point which has not, perhaps, received its due meed of attention, is the duty of the State, and the necessity of supporting our efforts by the co-operation of the law of the land. This is, however, intelligible. The State has, indeed, its duty in the matter; but the Church rightly takes the leading part in the work; and when her organizations shall have been established throughout the land, we shall be in a better position to perceive the necessity of the aid of the State, and to demand at the same time that that aid shall be forthcoming. When in every parish in Ireland religion by its organizations shall be seen striving to reclaim the drunkard, and when at the same time the State shall continue to multiply its traps in every village and hamlet, the anomaly will become apparent and the scandal unbearable. The power, and meaning of organization, are lessons too recently learned to be soon forgotten; and it may be hoped that our temperance

associations may soon find time to agitate, to make our drink laws less scandalous than they are, and to induce the Government of the country, to remember in this matter of drink legislation the words of the greatest of living English statesmen¹—"A Government should so legislate, as to make it easy to do right, and difficult to do wrong." To insist on this point, however, is not my present purpose. I had occasion of doing so elsewhere more at length—but lest in thus looking to the aid of the civil power we seem to betray some diffidence in the aids which religion affords, it will be enough to state that Father Mathew himself bitterly lamented that the State did so little to aid his efforts; and that he rejoiced with a great joy, when, towards the close of his life, there were signs of a change for the better.

Despite our best efforts, many will think that drunkards, like the poor, we shall always have among us. To the present generation, at least, it shall hardly be given to witness the utter extinction of the race; and we must therefore accept the inevitable, and make for them the best provision we can. And surely, if there be a class in the community that needs our aid, and that should secure our sympathy, it is this—the habitual helpless, I had almost added, hopeless, drunkards. They are found everywhere. No parish without one or more; and wherever they are found they are at once not alone the ruin of the family, but the scandal of the parish and the cross of the pastor as well. Sixty thousand of them—a terrible annual holocaust—are hurried year by year into early graves. Reproof of friend and priest avail not; sacraments produce results little better: the Retreat—though it may come annually—leaves no permanent cure. The League of the Cross is established, but the pledge is habitually broken, and the association demoralized by the repeated falls of the poor drink-slave. To save those thousands of yearly victims, or, if that cannot be, at least to lessen their number—that is what we have got to do; and, surely, it is a great charity and a most pressing need. The great temperance movement of our day begins,

¹ Mr. Gladstone.

and wisely, with the young and the temperate ; but, surely, if it is wisdom to begin with them, it is charity to look first to those whom I may call my present *clientèle*. That there are such cases as I have been describing, no reader will doubt ; nor will the description appear overdrawn or unfamiliar. The object of the present paper is to ask—What can be done for them, and to supply at least one answer.

For the class of inebriates of whom we are treating, it must be admitted that we have hitherto done very little. Our people are proverbial for their charity as well as for their faith ; our towns and cities are studded with hospitals, and every ill that flesh is heir to is provided for. But what has hitherto been done for our inebriates ? No priest who has had much to do with habitual drunkenness, but must have often longed for the establishment of Homes or Asylums, as the only hope for the extreme cases such as we now refer to. Such a desire was often felt by the present writer, before he was aware of the nature or even existence of such institutions ; the knowledge of their existence led naturally to some inquiry, and the result may have an interest for others as well as for himself.

There are one or two points in connection with the habitual drunkard and his cure that are often overlooked, though they are well worthy of attention. It is not that a large proportion of those 60,000 annual victims are of our own kith and kin, and of the household of the faith as well—though many a priest has reason to note the largeness of the proportion. A distinguished preacher recently vindicated the character of the Catholic body in this respect : that the vindication was just the character of the learned preacher was sufficient warrant ; but it must be added in truth, if regretfully, that *in parts of the country, at least*, such vindication is more than our people deserve. There are places in Ireland where the sale of intoxicating drinks is a monopoly of Catholics ; where those “*de gente non sancta*,” more wise in their generation than ourselves, entirely eschew the “trade ;” and where, following on this, and partly to be explained by it, excessive drinking is found among Catholics

alone. I may add here—what is also often the subject of remark—that this ghastly list of victims is made up of those who, in many respects, were most deserving members of society—the best, the most intelligent, and the most useful, in their respective spheres.

But the considerations we refer to now are of another kind, and more to our purpose. The first is, that inebriety in the cases we speak of is often a physical disease; the second, that that disease is sometimes hereditary; and—what will plainly follow from those—that physical restraint is often necessary for their thorough and permanent cure. To be just to this unhappy class, each of those facts merits recognition. They are rarely, however, considered, and never by those who treat inebriety as a moral fault only. We must insist upon them here; for once admitted, the necessity of Homes for inebriates follows. In doing so, professional or expert evidence alone is admissible, and all we can promise is, that we have sought it from those who speak with authority. It would be easy to multiply authorities here, and it may not be without interest; but one or two must suffice.

INEBRIETY A DISEASE.

“What is habitual drunkenness? Is it a vice or a disease, a misfortune or a sin? Sometimes all of these. . . . I would not for a moment seek to weaken the force of your clerical reproof, of the immorality and sin of drunkenness; but there are now and again cases coming before me, cases of confirmed inebriety, which present symptoms of disease as marked and as characteristic as I have ever seen in an attack of gout, of apoplexy, or of insanity. There is, besides, the specific symptom of drink-craving. Of the terrible import of this phrase, none but the experienced in the treatment of dipsomania can have the slightest conception. In every fibre of the being there is an unquenchable thirst. There is no organ that does not clamour unceasingly for alcohol. The whole man is burning with an inward fire, which

“The more it burneth, the more it hath desire
To consume everything that burnt will be.”

(*Treatment of Inebriates.* By Dr. Kerr.)

“Drunkenness, therefore, is a study, not for the philanthropist and reformer alone, but for the physiologist, with his microscope and its revelations; for the chemist, with his analytical

tests and reaction ; for the psychologist, with his spiritual affinities and contradictions ; for the statesman, with his political influence and legal research ; for the minister of religion, with his theological lore, and his appeals on behalf of virtue and self-control.”—(*Inebriety*. By Dr. Parrish.)

HEREDITY OF INEBRIETY.

“The most saddening, and, perhaps, the most serious of the numerous evils inflicted by alcohol on human kind, is the hereditary transmission of the drink-crave itself, and of the pathological changes caused by indulgence in alcohol.

“The heredity of alcohol is now beyond dispute. It is no mere dream of an abstemious enthusiast, but the operation of a natural law ; no fanciful creation of a nephalian brain, but an acknowledged fact. Men and women, on whom this dread inheritance has been forced without their consent, are everywhere around us, bravely struggling to lead a pure and sober life.

“But to medical experts it is as clear as their own existence, that there are multitudes of persons of both sexes, and in all positions of life, who, though they may never have yielded to the enticements around them, are yet branded with the red-hot iron of alcoholic heredity. There is no nobler sight on earth than the triumph of such weighted ones over their lurking and implacable foe—a foe the more terrible that it lies concealed within their own bosom. The only safety for all such lies in entire and unconditional abstinence from all alcoholic drink.”—(*Heredity of Alcohol*. By Dr. Kerr.)

NECESSITY OF RESTRAINT.

From what we have seen under the two previous heads, the necessity of restraint seems to follow as a necessary conclusion ; but it will be best here also to listen to those who can speak with authority.

“There are, however, cases with which you can do nothing. These unfortunates take the pledge every week, and cannot keep it for a day. They seem to be unable to resist the fascination of alcohol. They are consumed with a constant craving for their destroyer. All power of will seems to have fled. All they live for is drink, and their entire strength is put forth

“To confirm

The very chains that bind them to their doom.

For such there is but one human hope—*seclusion in some establishment where intoxicating drinks cannot be obtained, and where appropriate medical treatment may be carried out.* . . .”

“I have never undertaken, and I will never undertake, the

treatment of such a case, unless on the express condition that on no plea of friendship, of fashion, of health, or of religion, will the only safe condition of complete abstinence be broken. In this line of treatment I am supported by Dr. Richardson, Dr. Crother, Hon. Sec. to the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates, and other experts."—(*Treatment of Inebriates*, pages 9 and 12.)

From all this we are naturally led to the subject of what are called Inebriate Homes, or Asylums. For many—at least of the cases we have been considering—they are humanly indispensable. The rather lengthened extracts which we have given, must convince us that for the poor helpless dipsomaniac, moral suasion is not an adequate remedy; and while they will make us wonder less at the fruitlessness of our efforts with him in the past, they may, perhaps, induce many of us to have more of pity and less of anger for those who may be rather children of misfortune than slaves of sin.

How does our law stand with regard to Homes for Inebriates? We do not speak of private houses of this kind—they have no legal power to detain, and therefore they can have little power to cure. In reply, it must be said that our law, in this matter, like every other branch of our drink laws, is as defective and halting as it well could be; indeed, till quite recently, it seems not to have contemplated the subject at all. Our legislators were too busy for the past three hundred years in devising means to train up and form drunkards, to give any thought to the question of their reclamation. True, there was licensing, endless licensing, during those long years and centuries; but it was licensing of public-houses, and not of asylums for the treatment and cure of the inebriates which they had made. At length, however, our legislators awoke from their lethargy. Their legislative efforts had produced their fruit; and, driven by public opinion, they must do something to undo the mischief of their own making.

In 1872 there was a Committee of the House of Commons, "to consider the best plan for the control and management of drunkards." It found, *inter alia*, "that occasional inebriation frequently becomes confirmed and habitual, and soon passes into the condition of disease, uncontrollable by the

individual;" "that self-control is suspended or annihilated, moral obligations disregarded, and the decencies and duties of life alike set at nought."¹ In 1879 was passed the Habitual Drunkards' Act, and in 1888—an amendment of the same—the Inebriates' Act. The following is a *précis* of their provisions:—

- (a) The Habitual Drunkards' Act of 1879 was an "Act to facilitate the control and cure of habitual drunkards."
- (b) A habitual drunkard was defined, "a person who, not being amenable to any jurisdiction in lunacy, is, notwithstanding, by reason of his habitual intemperate drinking of intoxicating drinks, at times dangerous to himself, or herself, or others; or incapable of managing himself, or herself, and his or her affairs."
- (c) The local authority can grant a licence to a person, or persons, to open a Retreat. There must be a resident who shall be responsible for its management; and a qualified medical man shall be employed as medical attendant.
- (d) Any drunkard may apply for admission. He must present a declaration of two persons that he is a habitual drunkard in the meaning of the Act; and the applicant's signature must be attested by two justices, who shall explain to him the effect of the application, and who shall be satisfied that he is a habitual drunkard.
- (e) The patient can then be detained for a term mentioned in the application; the term not to exceed twelve calendar months. He will not be free to leave, except in one or two special cases, before the expiration of the term.
- (f) The "Inebriates' Act" of 1888, made the previous one—which had been passed only for ten years—perpetual, and otherwise amended it. Both are to be construed together, and cited as the "Inebriates' Act of 1879 and 1888."

¹ *Inebriety*, Dr. Parrish.

Under those enactments several Homes have been opened in England. There is one, and we believe only one, in the hands of Catholics—a Retreat opened some years ago, by Cardinal Manning, for ladies. The reader will naturally ask: How have they been working? The best reply we can give—and we shall conclude with it—will be found in the yearly reports of the inspectors appointed under the Act. From the Report for 1888 we take the following:—

“There has been a decided increase in the number of patients treated; the aggregate admissions in 1888 being ninety-nine, against sixty-six admitted in the previous year. The sanitary condition of all the Retreats has been very satisfactory, and the health of the patients, as a rule, exceedingly good.

“*Westgate-on-Sea*.—It is very gratifying to see that the Act is becoming daily more known, and its advantages better understood. The number admitted to this Retreat during 1888, is a large increase over previous years. Nearly all the patients admitted during the year have done well; and, with few exceptions, they conformed readily to the rules of the establishment . . .

“I cannot, however, help wishing that more could be done in the way of legislation, as it is often impossible to induce those most in need of control to enter a Retreat. Time after time I have had to explain to distracted relatives that entering a Retreat must be a voluntary act on the part of the patient. . . . It seems to me that, in order to effect any great amount of good, it will be necessary for the law to deal with inebriates somewhat after the manner it does with lunatics; exacting, perhaps, that, in addition to certificates from two medical men, the cases should also be investigated by two magistrates, who will thus be able to certify that, in each individual instance, the relatives have good and sufficient grounds for demanding that the law should relieve them of the anxiety, worry, and annoyance of those who have lost all power of self-control.”

We have now drawn attention to the nature of the law of the land, and to the aids which it gives us in the reclamation of our drunkards; and we have seen wherein that law is defective, as well as the amendment which our reformers most earnestly demand. These were the two points which we wished to set forth. We can open Homes for inebriates—though we have not yet found time to do so since 1879—and, with the consent of the patient in the rare case in which he will be wise enough to give such consent, we may shut him up for twelve calendar months. But, why for

twelve months only, and not till such time as there shall be some assurance of a thorough cure? Is it for twelve calendar months we send our invalids to our hospitals, or lunatics to an asylum? Is the limitation a mere arbitrary one, or is it grounded on the results of experience as to the sufficiency of this term? The following extract, from a private letter of a gentleman whose experience is as wide as his zeal is earnest in the cause of temperance,¹ will be a suitable reply:—

“In extreme cases, patients have to submit to two years’ detention in such a Home, in order to allow the system to be thoroughly cleansed of the alcoholic taint. At first it was thought that a year’s detention would effect this; but experience showed that this was erroneous, and that, whilst any taint of the poison remained in the body, the chances are that the patient, though well-disposed, could not resist, if exposed to opportunities of getting drink. In many cases, the women (ladies, many of them) would get on splendidly for many months in the Home; but then, when a paroxysm would seize them, they have been known to scale a wall that had been deemed a barrier they could not get over, and find their way eagerly to the nearest public-house.”

And why only *with the consent of the patient*? Of course, the power of arrest and compulsory detention is very open to abuse; not so open, however, that it may not be safeguarded. Liberty is a precious thing, and “the rights of man” a beautiful phrase; but sixty thousand people dying annually from drink is a ghastly fact, and their dying, when we might save them, a crying scandal. It is an age of cant; but the most contemptible and transparent cant of all, is this everlasting talk of the liberty of those who, if professional evidence means anything, are the veriest slaves among the children of men. Cautiously must we give the pledge to our youth, in order that they may have time to learn “the taste and the danger,” and to be “free” to become drunken, if they will; and when, in the exercise of this “freedom,” they have become drunkards, we must be very jealous of restriction, lest we touch on the rights of liberty!

A few months ago a letter, on the subject of Inebriate

¹ A. J. Nicolls, B.L.

Homes, was published by an Irish priest, in which he suggested that some of our vacated workhouses might be utilized for the purpose; and we would repeat the excellent suggestion. Their second purpose would be higher than their first. Men are not unanimous about the merits of our Poor Law system; but, if we shall live to see some of its establishments rescuing, year by year, thousands of valuable lives, and changing the pests of society into useful and ornamental members of it, then, with one voice, we will acknowledge that there is no nobler work, and no greater charity in the land.

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

SEA-WEEDS.

FOR many, even of those who have a real taste for the study of plants, botany begins and ends with "the flowers of the field." For centuries, official botany scarcely knew anything else, and it is only within our own times that the great kingdom of vegetable life has become thoroughly known to us from its humblest beginnings to its highest manifestations of beauty and powers. The flowering plants, being more attractive, more useful, especially more noticeable, were naturally first studied, and already immense progress had been made in their morphology, physiology, and classification, before much was known of the flowerless plants or cryptogams, by which are meant such plants as ferns, mosses, lichens, algæ and fungi. Yet, even now, the amateur botanist is chiefly concerned with flowering plants, their study is so interesting, and so few are the things required for it. A penknife, a pocket-lens, a *Manual of the British Flora*, and plenty of drying-paper to prepare the specimens we intend to preserve in our herbarium, and that is all. As soon as we enter the realm of the cryptogams, our necessities increase, curiously enough, in proportion as the plants themselves are becoming more simple in their organization. For ferns and

mosses, a stronger pocket-lens might suffice for field-work, but an ordinary microscope is required to follow all the steps in the fascinating life-history of those plants. For lichens, algæ, and fungi, a good compound microscope is indispensable at all stages, unless we are to be satisfied with the mere external appearance of the specimens, which, in the lowest plants, amounts to very little.

But, although the study of cryptogams is undoubtedly more troublesome and difficult than that of the flowering plants, it must, nevertheless, be confessed that they in no way yield to the latter in interest, and even in beauty. Only it may truly be said of them "*omnis gloria ab intus.*" What they present to the naked eye is as nothing compared with the marvels which microscopical examination will reveal in them. Also, it must be acknowledged, that a general idea of the cryptogamic world is absolutely necessary to anyone who wishes to form some adequate conception of the vegetable kingdom, and to understand many things in the anatomy and physiology of flowering plants intimately connected with the life and organization of the lower plants. On a former occasion we have considered, in the pages of the *I. E. RECORD*, some of the great problems raised by the structure and physiology of ferns. To-day we would try and condense within the short space at our disposal the most interesting and useful facts presented to us by the marine algæ, a class yet further removed from the flowering plants, but in which the very simplicity of organization enables us still more clearly to behold the marvellous processes by which, gradually, vegetable forms are built up, and enabled to discharge their vital functions.

The sea-weeds ought to present special interest to a people dwelling in an island of such size as to place the majority of its inhabitants either actually along the sea-board, or at least within an easy distance from the sea. The land flora of Ireland is not so considerable as to absorb one's whole time, unless engaged upon the study of some special question, particularly if we happen to reside at the sea-side. There the sea-weeds will open to us a much more varied and abundant field of study, and a very interesting one, too,

especially to Irish-born students; for those neglected sea-weeds, which we have, perhaps, in the days of our ignorance, treated with something of the contempt unjustly exhibited towards them by the Roman poet, those sea-weeds are an integral part of the Irish flora. They have become localized upon the rocks of the Irish coast, attracted by the peculiar conditions there offered to them; for ages they have dwelt upon these shores, and no doubt they were there long before the land flora of the country, derived mainly from foreign sources, became thoroughly constituted. Nor are the sea-weeds of purely scientific value. *Rhodymenia palmata*, one of the red sea-weeds, the *dulse* of the Scotch, has been an article of food to the Irish, time out of mind, under the name of *dillesk*. *Chondrus crispus* and *C. mamillorus*, are well known in medicine as *Carrageen* or Irish moss. The collecting, drying and burning of "wrack," furnished in former days employment to large numbers of people in Scotland and Ireland, and wrack is even now valued as manure and procured with great labour by the poor. The study of Irish sea-weeds ought, therefore, to commend itself to all those who, enjoying special opportunities for it, at least during vacation time, wish to add to their knowledge of the Irish flora, while they are materially increasing and improving their knowledge of botany itself.

Let us, then, as a preliminary step, try and understand the exact position of sea-weeds in the vegetable kingdom.

At the very earliest beginnings of vegetable life, and therefore, very low, indeed, in the scale of life itself, we find those groups of organisms which botanists include under the name of thallophytes; *i.e.*, plants whose vegetative body consists (normally) of a *thallus* showing no differentiation into root, stem and leaf, as the higher plants do. Thus, algae, fungi, and lichens, are thallophytes. They present in their earlier stages of plant-life conditions as simple as can possibly be conceived, but even in their later and more complex developments, their tissues still possess a striking homogeneity of structure unlike anything found in other plants. Nevertheless, thallophytes are philosophically important, even more so than many orthodox writers seem to be

aware, for they place us face to face with a problem which the deductive theories and the proud assertions to which we are accustomed from certain quarters have failed to bring nearer to a solution.

Thallophytes, in other words, show us how some of the simplest and lowest of organisms, to be found upon this planet, can, at the same time, exhibit certain physiological phenomena, worthy, on account of their complexity and general features, to be compared with those peculiar to the highest plants. If we examine, for instance, the natural methods by which all plants increase and multiply, we find that the most absolute identity of principle underlies superficial differences; so that it might be shown that the mode of reproduction in certain algæ is practically carried on upon the same lines as in the higher plants, yea, and in animals also. Nine differentiations intervenes; but the process is ultimately the same. Every theory of vegetable and animal development is philosophically valueless that does not, in some way or other, account for so strange a disparity between the simplicity of the tissues and the potential qualities of the protoplasm of those same tissues.

But, to return to our subject. Among thallophytes a sharp division is laid down at once, by the fact that some of them—the fungi—are absolutely deprived of chlorophyll (the substance present in green plants), and therefore must, like animals, obtain the carbon which their tissues require from the complex products formed by green vegetables. The other thallophytes—the algæ—are, on the contrary, rich in chlorophyll, and therefore obtain their carbon directly from carbonic acid, like most of the higher plants.

Of the lichens, we will not speak now; but they are, in some respects, perhaps, the most interesting family among the thallophytes. Imagine a fungus (nearly always one of the ascomycetes) so intimately united to a green algæ, that they both constitute a thallus, behaving, to all intents and purposes, as one plant. The fungus is benefited by the algæ, whose chlorophyll is life to him; the algæ, in most cases, derives from her union with the fungus certain elements which he can produce—thanks to the algæ's co-operation—

more quickly and more abundantly than the algæ is able to do. Such a *consortium* constitutes a lichen. The reader will thus see at once that by thallophytes, we can only mean, strictly speaking, the fungi and algæ. The lichens, being compound thallophytes, must simply be studied either as algæ or as fungi. They are now usually dealt with in connection with the important order of the ascomycetes among the fungi.

Our sea-weeds, therefore, are, as we see, plants belonging to the lowest group of plants known to exist. They are thallophytes containing chlorophyll in their tissues; and, in this respect, they are superior to their near relatives, the fungi; for the possession of chlorophyll is a sure sign of advanced differentiation.

Chlorophyll does not always occur pure in algæ. It is frequently mixed up with pigments of either blue, brown-yellow, or red colour, by which the green colour of the chlorophyll itself is rendered less distinct, or altogether invisible. Thus, we have sea-weeds of green, bluish-green, brown, or bright-red colour. The distribution of algæ along the shore is strikingly affected by the presence of those various colouring pigments in their tissues. Like all plants possessing chlorophyll, the algæ must have sunlight: hence, it follows that, below a certain depth, no algæ can live in the sea. At sixty fathoms, sea-weeds become rare. Below two hundred fathoms, none are found. Light is no longer sufficient for their requirements at that depth. But, within the zone itself in which they can live, we find that our sea-weeds are curiously distributed according to their colours. The decomposition of carbonic acid being intimately connected with the absorption of the coloured rays, and that absorption being directly affected by the colour of the tissues themselves, it follows that four levels are thus determined: the highest being special to bluish algæ; the second, to green; the third, to brown; the lowest, to red algæ. Thus, sea-weeds are practically distributed into four concentric bands along the shore, which correspond to those four levels.

A few exceptions will be found, but they only confirm

the rule. We may occasionally meet with some red sea-weeds quite near the shore, where usually only bluish or green algæ are found. But this apparent anomaly is simply due to the fact that there is some rock or cave so disposed as to diminish the intensity of light in order to reduce it just to the point required.

In the British Islands depth affects the distribution of our common brown sea-weeds most markedly, dividing their habitat into two well-defined zones.

(1) The littoral zone, comprised between high and low-water mark is characterized by four species of fucus, occurring in the following order:—

Fucus canaliculetus;

Fucus vesiculosus;

Fucus nodosus;

Fucus serratus.

(2) The laminarian zone, between low-water mark and about fifteen fathoms, deriving its name from the great tangle sea-weeds (*Laminaria digitata* and *L. saccharina*) which abound in it.

It is an interesting thing for the student of sea-weeds to trace those zones, and carefully to observe any modifications introduced by local conditions into the normal delimitation of the zones.

At a depth of one hundred and fifty fathoms seldom any algæ are found except a few curious forms, which the beginner will hesitate to acknowledge as algæ at all. These are the coralines and nullipores, whose vegetable tissues are quite hidden under the thick calcareous deposit with which they are incrustated. They are found attached to stones or shells, and we can only make out their vegetable nature and their structure, after their calcareous covering has been removed by the application of an acid.

From what precedes, we see, therefore, that the nature of the pigment which gives the thallus its peculiar colour is of the greatest importance, for it determines the locality of the sea-weed and its powers of assimilation. Thus a fact, in appearance superficial, and in other living beings not even of specific value, becomes, in algæ, quite funda-

mental for their classification. They are, therefore, divided into :—

Rhodophyceæ (frequently called florideæ) or red algæ, for the most part inhabitants of the sea, and perhaps the most beautiful among the sea-weeds. *Phærophyceæ*, or brown algæ, whose species are all marine. To them belong the great tangle sea-weeds, some of which attain the greatest length in the vegetable kingdom. Many species of *macrocythis* attain dimensions of three hundred to seven hundred feet in length. A tree sea-weed, *Lessonia fuscescens*, from Patagonia, has a stem ten feet long and twelve inches in circumference.

To the *phæophyceæ* belongs also the famous gulf-weed, *Sargassum bacciferum*, which so much frightened Columbus and his companions when on their way to discover America. The Sargasso Sea is too well known to require here further mention. The elegant diatoms, so dear to the microscopist for their beauty of shape and colour, also belong to this group.

(3) *Chlorophyceæ*, the green algæ. Many of them have become inhabitants of fresh water; others live in the sea. Many are unicellular; others form filaments; a certain number live in the cavities of plants of a higher grade, not as parasites, but in a state of commensality.

(4) *Cyanophyceæ*, the lowest and simplest of all the algæ. The sea, the fresh water, and the damp earth equally present them. A number of them, by union with certain ascomycetous fungi, constitute lichens: some live parasitically. Amongst the *cyanophyceæ*, we find two distinct families not always easy to distinguish from each other—one, the family of the *nostocæ*, is characterized by the presence of chlorophyll; the other, the *bacteriaceæ*, scarcely ever present it in their cells (*Bacterium viride*, *Bacillus vireus*, are exceptions). The *bacteriaceæ* are so interesting, and they play so important a part in the economy of nature, that, although they are not sea-weeds, we cannot pass them by altogether in silence.

All *bacteriaceæ* are composed of very small cells which may affect various shapes. For instance, they are round in *micrococci*, cylindrical and disconnected immediately after their formation, as in *bacterium*; or remaining united, as in

bacillus. They may subsist in long filaments, as in *leptothrix*; or present a kind of helicoid shape, as in *spisillum*. The physiological process occurring in the life-history of these micro-organisms are of the greatest importance to man, owing to the decompositions which they determine in many of the substances on which they feed.

First, they may bring about the formation of certain colouring principles (*Chromogenous bacteriaceæ*), as in the case of *Bacterium cyanogenum*, which produces "blue milk." Or they may determine fermentations. Thus *Bacillus amylobacter* lives without free oxygen, and it is able to decompose the most diverse ternary compounds. It is known as the butyric ferment.

Micrococcus aceti oxidizes alcohol, and, by forming acetic acid, produces vinegar.

Micrococcus lacticus plays an essential part in the fabrication of cheese.

Thirdly, certain bacteria are the source of many grave diseases (*Pathogenous bacteriaceæ*). The renowned experiments of Pasteur have all tended to increase our knowledge of the part played by those microscopic enemies, which are ever at work in our midst. We have all heard of the bacillus of cholera, of the bacillus of consumption, of the bacillus of anthrax, and we know that animals as well as men are a prey to the devastations of those minute plants. Only the other day samples of diseased bees were sent to us from various parts of Ireland, to try and identify the cause of the scourge which has been of late destroying so many Irish hives. Microscopic investigation revealed the fact that the bees were attacked by what is known to agriculturalists as "foul brood;" and the particular microbe which is responsible for this epidemic, *Bacillus alvei*, was found in nearly all the samples supplied to us.

We have saved no room, I fear, even for a brief account of fossil sea-weeds. Yet no subject touching on animals or plants can now be considered adequately treated without some reference being made to their existence and distribution in time as well as in space. A remarkable, a providential parallelism has existed, from the

beginning, between the geological phenomena which this earth has seen and the biological manifestations which have successively clothed her with a varied vegetation, and peopled her with so many different generations of animals. Thus, we wish naturally to know whether there were any sea-weeds in those early days; and, if so, what they were like. Unfortunately, algae, on account of their weak cellular tissues, are not, as a rule, very well adapted for fossilization. Yet, they have nevertheless left sufficient traces of their existence.

As regards the cyanophyceae, one nostoc has been identified in a miocene formation, and bactina have been found in the carboniferous; in particular, *Bacillus amylobacter*, in pascular plants of the coal. Thus we come unexpectedly upon a striking evidence of the permanence of natural phenomena. At that early period in the history of the earth this bacillus was doing just the same work it is doing to-day. Then, as now, it was the great destroyer of vegetable tissues by the buthyric fermentation it is able to induce in the cellulose of plants.

The chlorophyleae or green algae have been found in triassic, juvénic, cretaceous, and tertiary formations.

The phosphyceae are also represented by species of fucus in the eocene and miocene, and by innumerable diatoms, some of which, found in Newcastle coal (Carboniferous period), have remained specifically unchanged and are now found pullulating in our ponds and ditches, unconscious of any law of mutability in living nature.

The lovely florideae have also been found in a fossil state in tertiary strata, notably in the eocene of Monte-Bolea, so well-known to geologists for its important remains.

But we must bring this little paper to a close. May it awaken the interest of those who love nature on behalf of the neglected sea-weeds, and lead them to read, in the marvels of their structure and of their life, the unfathomable wisdom of their Maker.

L. BAYNARD KLEIN.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.—III.

NEW DEPARTURE IN CHRISTENDOM OF THE ANGLICAN REFORMERS: ANOMALY AND INCONSISTENCY OF THEIR PRINCIPLES: ABSENCE OF A DIVINE WITNESS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, WITH THE RESULT THAT NO ANGLICAN CAN RISE ABOVE THE LEVEL OF DOUBT.

THE reader will have observed that, in the foregoing pages on the moralities of Anglican doubt, no opinion has been expressed either on the causes of the English Reformation, as alleged by the Reformers themselves, nor on the means adopted by the Reformers to counteract these hypothetical causes; nor on the results which actually followed the adoption of these means, as depicted by the Reformers. No opinion is offered as to whether the principle of action, and the issue of that principle, were bad or good. Suffice it to say, that the principle, as adopted by England and its rulers, was novel—which, theologically and in itself, is a fatal objection—and that the issue was unprecedented in the experience of Christianity. In the logical course of events, the immediate outcome of this abandonment of old principles, and the acceptance of new, would be that the Church of England should declare its authority—either absolutely, without external support; or conditionally, in virtue of some outward, visible manifestation, which the world could not gainsay. And the logical result of announcing its novel authority mid-way, as it were, in the career of the Christian dispensation, would be a declaration of its terms of membership and communion. The Anglican body did, indeed, announce its own terms in creed, in discipline, in worship, in jurisdiction, in polity; but, not upon its own authority, whether delegated or inherent; nor, still less, by any miraculous evidence of God-given power.

Upon what authority, and with what power, then, did the Anglican Church rest its hitherto unprecedented claims to make new terms of communion, to establish a new polity, to originate a new jurisdiction, to adopt a new form of public prayer, for Christian people in the sixteenth century?

If the principle on which the Reformers acted was singular, the authority which they claimed was nothing short of being abnormal and extraordinary. Like much else that was done legislatively for religion, or rather for the degradation of religion, under the Tudors, the claim was based upon a compromise. The Reformers could not consistently point to divine authority for their efforts. They would not frankly own to the truth—that their authority was purely secular and only human. They, therefore, attempted the impossible, by seeking to combine the two, and to divide the gross sum, with this net result—obvious to all beholders in the nineteenth century—unmitigated, hopeless, helpless failure in every department, and judged by any standard. For, after 300 years of corporate life, can the English Church enunciate its own doctrines? can it decide its own appeals? can it legalize its own worship? can it exercise its own jurisdiction: originate, alter, adapt, or promulgate its own canon law? It cannot. And the reason why it cannot is this—because it accepted a compromise at its origination, unreal in itself, and unworkable in practice. The Reformers attempted to combine the human with the divine, in their self-made communion. They adopted a new principle, and invented a new phrase to describe it. They, a human organization, appealed to the authority of a divine organization—appealed (as they said) to the primitive Church. But, apart from the vagueness of the phraseology, how was the appeal to be made? who was to make it, and who was to hear it? what authority was to decide, and what authority was to enforce the decision?—over all these momentous questions there dwelt an ominous theoretic silence. A practical answer, however, was promptly given, and was loudly enunciated. The existing Protestant Church of England of the Tudors, unsupported and alone, arrogated to itself the functions of appellant, of witness, of counsel, of judge, and of executioner: and in this sense of the term, and to its own entire satisfaction, the human organism appealed to the divine—the Reformed Church of England appealed to the doctrine, to the discipline, and to the devotion of early Christianity.

What, in brief, was the Reformers' actual method of procedure? They recklessly snapped in sunder the old divine chain of tradition with the living Church, in belief and duty, in ritual and order; and they incontinently sought to effect a new human junction with the historical cable, at a point in the ages far away out of their reach. They broke with the unity and continuity of 1,600 years; but, in its place, feebly sought to create a fresh combination across the intervening abyss with an era twelve, or ten, or eight centuries back—for themselves are undecided on the exact length of span of their new suspension-bridge. They denied to the Catholic Church, of their own day, the gift of indefectibility; but they arbitrarily ascribed that gift to the Church of certain ancient fathers, of certain weighty councils, of certain definite epochs—of their own selection. Neither was this selection of authorities always the same, nor was the period always identical, at various dates of the Reformation turmoil. They appealed to the primitive, to the sub-Apostolic, to the early Churches. They looked, indeed, for argumentative support to any Church of which the human record was slight, the human history was vague, the human remains were few. They sought communion, and secured communion, as their descendants to this day seek to secure sympathy, more or less complete, with any Church whose doctrine was doubtful, whose discipline was lax, whose opposition to Catholicity was comparable to their own, or even was antagonistic to their own, so long as it was hostile to the Church, or whose position offered, or was supposed to offer, any apology for their own. They declared, in so many words, and with an exhaustive completeness of statement, that God's Church had been drowned in idolatry for a period of 800 years; and they conceived the absolutely original idea, as applied to an ecclesiastical organism created to teach truth to the world, not of a resurrection from the dead—which had been a comparatively reasonable theory—but of a voluntary return of suspended animation, after the punishment of submersion for centuries—which was simply nonsense. And these statements were made, as the basis of Reformation procedure, apart from any suggestion even of

the miraculous. They were made without any mission, or any call, beyond the subjective impressions of their own imagination, quickened, doubtlessly, by the terror inspired by the cruelty, the lust, and the self-will of an irresponsible and all-powerful tyrant.

Moreover, as a further explanation of the action of the Reformers, it must be remembered that they forgot or overlooked much that had happened originally in the Church, even during the past eight centuries of which we hear so much, to mould or modify, to improve, to enlarge or develop the human aspect of the divine side of the Christianity, if not the divine aspect of its human side. They ignored all that had been suffered or done, all that had been ruled or legislated corporately during the same ages, or in previous periods. Or, more exactly, they accepted some of the changes and developments, whilst rejecting others; they availed themselves of much of the Christian legislation and order, whilst neglecting much. For they were neither consistent in the application of their self-made law, nor could they, as a fact, dissociate themselves, saving in word and idea, from the historical past of the religion they still inconsistently professed to follow. They were powerless wholly to cut themselves adrift from even the late past of the Christian faith—just as the mechanist, the chemist, or the man of science is powerless to improve upon the invention or the thought of his predecessors, if he ignores the results of the labour which he seeks to develop. They were inconsistent, also, in the application of their novel system—as those who abandon religious principle must needs be inconsistent. The Reformers were pure eclectics. They selected no given Church as an absolute pattern, they chose no given dates as an inclusive era to be guided by, or to follow. At the close of the mediæval period, they did not aspire to reproduce in its entirety the tradition and practice of the Apostolic Church, pure and simple. No; that had been, in the nature of things, impossible. But they theoretically took as their model the sub-Apostolic Church developed to a certain indefinite extent, though not developed to the dangerous extent of the Church of the middle age, of the great saints

of the monastic orders, of the schoolmen, of the later councils. After eight hundred years of immersion in the depths of idolatry—dogmatic, moral, liturgical, jurisdictional—the Reformers essayed to reproduce at the royal word of command of the worst of monarchs, and by the instrumentality of some of the most degraded of ecclesiastics, the Christianity of the early ages. The creatures of Henry VIII. at the certain risk of their property, and the probable risk of their lives did they hesitate, made the effort required at their hands, without a particle of superhuman or miraculous support for their crude, spasmodic departure in Catholic polity. They made it simply against time, for delay meant death; and upon *ex parte* statements, for they were paid advocates—the result of hasty researches in archæology, in antiquarianism, in history, in liturgiology. They made it by the means of men, who to say the least, were not then, and have not since been, ranked as experts in the several departments in which they presumed to criticise, to condemn, and to reconstruct God's Church. They made it by means of men whose social, moral, and religious character are to-day a bye-word to their very spiritual descendants for all that is impure, and all that is unholy. They made it at a time when access to historical documents, when literary criticism, when the ways and means of inquiry, when the printing-press and the wide and rapid interchange of knowledge gave comparatively few of the many accidental aids and adjuncts for discovery and revival so abundantly possessed by ourselves. Indeed, there is little doubt that we, in the nineteenth century of grace, could critically create a far more truthful, and perfect, and consistent reproduction of the undeveloped Church of the early fathers and first councils than could the trembling and sycophantic Reformers of Henry's cruel reign, or their more pedantic and cautious successors, under safer conditions of life, limb, and freedom, in the days of Elizabeth and James.

These criticisms, however, deal only with the outer shell of the question. They do not touch the kernel. There is a deeper, more momentous and less physical view to be taken of the action of the Reformers in England. Apart from all

minor difficulties in the way of a legitimate explanation of their course of action, stands an initial, and it is submitted on Catholic grounds, an insurmountable difficulty. It must, however, be premised, that the supporters of the Reformation in the present day, who are the beneficiaries of the Elizabethan Reformers, and their legal descendants in doctrine and discipline, hypothetically reject the Protestant view of the upheaval of religion in Henry's reign, and in terms, at least, accept certain Catholic principles. The difficulty to be explained by such verbal professors, but actual impugners of Catholicism amounts to this. At a certain date in the world's story, in a certain place on the world's surface, under given conditions of nature, creed and circumstance, an organized body was divinely established in embryo, in order to accomplish one main and central purpose. This body was the Church. That purpose was the revelation to man of religious truth. Of course, truth was not the sole, was not the only object, of the creation of this newly-formed organism on earth. But, for the main and central purpose of its existence, this organism was the only and sole agent of revelation. Christianity, indeed, was intended, in the divine decrees, to do more than teach man the truth; and, as a fact, Christianity has effected more, infinitely more. Civilization—itsself one outcome of the supernatural creation—bears witness to this fact in ways too numerous to be more than glanced at here. It has at least effected this: it has converted kingdoms, raised them from a lower to a higher lever in humanity, and bettered the government of their peoples. It first preserved learning amongst the few, and then educated the many. It has ever provided for the care of the sick, for the support of the poor, for the relief of the distressed. It has mitigated and abolished slavery; has enfranchised and elevated woman to her normal position; and has encouraged letters, art, science, philosophy. But, over and above these accidental adjuncts of the rôle of the Church, stands the divine commission to reveal God's truth and to teach God's will to mankind. Were she to do nothing else, in doing these, the Church would thereby fulfil her Master's commission. Were she to do all else,

and neglect those, she would fail in her singular and incommunicable prerogative. To this point, then, we may confine our attention: viz., that to the Church, and only to the Church of God, has been committed the revelation of truth, infallible, invariable, irreformable, during all time, in all places, to all peoples.

If this point be conceded—and Episcopalian Protestants, at the least, cannot make any valid objection—two corollaries logically flow from its acceptance. The first may be thus stated: that so long as the Church holds her divine commission, so long is it impossible for her to teach anything but God's truth. And the second corollary takes this form: that if the Church were allowed ever to teach anything which was not God's truth, a fresh creation would be required to announce a renewed revelation; a new Church would be needed to teach men afresh in the way of salvation. These corollaries demand but a few words to make them plainer than plain to such as are imbued with only a Catholic temper, or instinct.

Apart from all questions of the origin of Christianity, of the notes of the Church, or of its relation to the human family, the position stands thus: if the divine witness to man ever were permitted to teach that which was doubtful, or that which was not wholly true, much less that which was wanting in truth, or contrary to truth, the whole credit of the witness, the whole confidence of mankind, would be shattered and prostrate. Thenceforth truth, as an entity, as a system, as a whole, had died out of the earth, until a fresh emanation from the God of truth had been vouchsafed to the human race. This, however, does not exhaust the statement. In order that a new revelation, drawn on the same lines, tending to the same end, possibly preached by the same agency, certainly issuing from the same authority, should possess a shadow of a chance of superseding the old revelation, miraculous proofs and evidences of supernatural origin and authority would be expected by men. And these, under the conditions supposed, would necessarily be of a kind and of a character which would cause those signs and wonders which were recorded at the birth, in the youth and

during the manhood of Christianity to fade away into insignificance.

But, what was the position assumed by the Anglican Reformers? Without a pretence even to the evidences of supernatural authority, they elected to refund and build afresh, to refurnish and equip anew the spiritual edifice which had existed in their midst, with the dignity of age and the completeness of development, for a thousand years. And this miracle, mightier than the first, this transformation of Christianity itself, this preaching of a practically new Gospel, was essayed with the only means within their reach, the humanest of all human materials, and the most earthly of all mundane agencies. In short, man undertook to perform what, by the very fact of man's attempt, God had visibly and utterly failed in doing. Man, by the exigencies of the case, attempted to remake the avowedly ill-made work of God. This aspect of the matter, which is the only one a logical mind can reasonably deduce from the premisses—man's remedy for his Maker's incompetence—is a proposition which has only to be stated without metaphor, to insure immediate rejection. Yet, such was the unspoken and the acted apology for the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The Reformers then failed, and their descendants to-day fail, to see that by their pretension to do what they declared required to be done—viz., to announce truth to the world after eight centuries of preached falsehood—they admit the corruption of that which presumably was divine. But, that the Church was not divine in origin; that it could by any possibility depart from the faith; that, even so, man could restore what God in His permissive will had allowed to be forfeited; that human means sufficed to establish super-human truth—these were empty, baseless vanities which never before the dawn of the Reformation had been openly taught by any, saving by avowed disbelievers. They certainly had never been acted on by those who laid claim to the rights and duties of a Christian Church. The Tudor Reformers, however, in broad daylight, and with open eyes, attempted to realize this paradox. God's promise of indestructibility having perished, they undertook to revive truth

upon earth. God's Church having proved itself unworthy of man's trust, they provided an authority against which the gates of hell would not prevail. Can human presumption, viewed from first principles, proceed further? It would seem not. And yet, the tale of Anglican inconsistency is not yet completed.

None can live in a Protestant country, nor can any live during manhood the life of a Protestant, without being conscious—in the end, without being painfully conscious—of the arguments used in support of this illogical position, that they are utterly hollow and unreal. It may be admitted that, under any other conditions saving under the actual condition of the Catholic Church, the Protestant line of argument were plausible. But, then, the Catholic religion is unique and sole and incomparable with any other entity. It is the one exception known to man, which proves the rule to which it forms the exception. Everything human is liable—perhaps is prone—to deterioration by the lapse of time and its consequences. Everything human is capable—perhaps is suggestive—of improvement, and most things of human origin are improved in the course of time, and at the hands of man. Humanity itself contains the seeds of the one, contains a capacity for the other. Deterioration and improvement are almost essentially characteristics of all that man makes, or remakes; of all that he invents; of all that he improves, or develops. But, there are unities and organisms in creation, both natural and supernatural, of which this may not be, cannot be, truthfully predicated. There are entities which are simply incapable of reformation or of amendment, at the will or by the means of those who created them not; of those who possess, indeed, a power for destruction, but not the ability of construction. Amongst these entities stands the Church of God, and its immutable truth. Man having neither part nor lot in the creation of truth, as taught by the Church, can neither renew it when it has failed, nor reform it when it has corrupted—always presupposing the impossible, that God's truth can be corrupted, or will fail. Man's attitude, indeed, towards truth admits of a choice. He may accept, or he may reject the truth. But he cannot

alter it; he may not add to it; he must not conceive of improving upon it.

These are truisms to all who have the very faintest belief in the essence and prerogatives of a living and a teaching Church, or who realize fully the actual relations of the Church towards humanity. The Tudor Reformers, however, were bent on reconstructing on their own lines a system of belief, morals, and worship, which should be obviously not identical with, or perhaps, which should be patently antagonistic to, the then spirit and temper of the Catholic Church. But, in their anxiety to approach as nearly as possible to the outward accidents of that organism, the Reformers were forgetful of two grave considerations. Themselves lacking any supernatural proof of divine mission, what authority, superior both to the agents of reformation and to the body which was to be reformed, existed, to which both might refer? What body, even, could be vivified, which was capable to judge between the faith founded on, and the faith not founded on, the miraculous? And further: looking to the future of their own creative or adaptive power, and remembering the conditions of all human organizations—which is their own argument, that they are capable of, if not prone to, deterioration—what authority superior to themselves, or to their followers, could be recognised by both? What power existent or in-existent, actual or imaginary, did the Reformers provide in order to retain their descendants within the limits they themselves at first imposed? What authority did they suggest, potent to restrain such descendants from retracing their steps along the road on which their ancestors had once advanced, with faces turned from Rome? What energizing force could they exercise in the unborn future, to prevent their successors in opinion from departing nearly as much from the Reformers, as the Reformers had once departed from the Catholic Church? What has been, in this life, may be again. If the Church of the Apostles failed her mediæval children, may not the Church of the Tudors fail their modern representatives during the Hanoverian dynasty? Or, to go again to first principles: if man has been deceived once, *ex hypothesi*, by God, who

shall prevent man from being deceived many times and oft by his fellow-man? If the spiritual descendants of the inspired founders of Christianity spake falsely, and did idolatrously from the eighth to the sixteenth century, what logical reason have we for believing that the followers of non-inspired Anglican Reformers in the nineteenth century of redemption speak truly and do rightly?

Neither does this practical dilemma exhaust the more obvious difficulties of the Protestant position. A still more momentous question has to be asked and answered by a thoughtful, pious Anglican. Apart from the living body of Christ, His spouse, the Church, with her ever-miraculous story, with her ceaseless stream of tradition, with her varied roll of saints and martyrs, with her world-wide unity and continuity—apart from all this and more, who is sufficiently bold to vouch for the purity of Christianity in the fourth century, or even of the faith of the primitive ages? If this be unanswerable, how do modern Protestants stand? May they, three centuries later, rest content with the authority of the Supreme Head, a Henry VIII., and of his creatures? Can they feel assured by the vacillating word of an Archbishop Cranmer, and of his apostate followers? Or, will they still their doubts with the ill-gotten gains of a Cromwell, the Vicar-General, and of his sacrilegious coadjutors? And these questions become all the more intricate, when a further element is weighed and utilized. As if to add fresh faggots to the flame of polemical incendiarism, and to make religious confusion worse confounded, we now find in the latter half of the nineteenth century, that the Reformers themselves, in the persons of their lineal descendants, seek to upheave the very Reformation settlement, which was made to restore truth to the world, and to give peace to men, though hardly “to men of good will.” It is the aim of a section of the Anglican body—a section supported, though not always followed, by perhaps a large portion of the whole body corporate—to reform the Reformation itself. At last, they too feel discontented with the Church of England as she exists; and are fain to put backward the shadow on the sundial of the Establishment many degrees towards the dark

ages. They seek to approach sensibly nearer and nearer to the ancient model, of which Anglicanism in the sixteenth century made a solemn, or more truly, a profane caricature; and this they seek to accomplish in ways and by means too numerous to be catalogued in this place—doctrinally, ceremonially, politically, aesthetically, morally; in the law courts, by convocation, through the press, in the pulpit, by private agencies—everywhere but in the only feasible place, the House of Commons. We are witnesses, therefore, to the reality, value, and even possibility of a pretended appeal made by the Reformers to the primitive Church. The whole energy of many of the descendants of those who made this unreal, valueless, impossible appeal, seem now directed towards modifying, or ignoring, or withdrawing this canon of justification for the Reformation.

This, or its equivalent in kind, is no unusual result of independent individual action in religion based on private judgment. The Reformers attempted to prove and to perform too much. They have succeeded in establishing in the range of thought nothing beyond their own fallibility; and in the range of action, a State-created, State-ruled, State-officered religion—a religion not sufficiently strong to retain the nation in its embrace, though probably strong enough to withstand the efforts of the neo-Reformers for disunion. They have proved that it is possible, indeed, to establish such a religion, which, under exceptionally favourable circumstances may hold, as, after a fashion, Anglicanism has held its anomalous position as a national communion, for a few short generations. But inevitable time has exerted its inexorable influence. The Establishment of to-day is little more than a shadow of its former imposing and all-embracing self. It has not with sufficient rapidity and width developed into a mere system of negation or agnosticism to satisfy the vast bulk of this Protestant nation. It was ever too Protestant first for the majority, and then for a minority of the English people. Protestant Nonconformists have streamed in countless multitudes out of her borders, into the more consistent teaching of many-sided Dissent. The Catholic Church has refounded her divine hierarchy—never entirely extinct—in

her very midst, and men are flocking by units, by families in the aggregate, in only less large numbers, towards the true fold. Between the two, the unhappy, isolated, so-named Church of England, whom no Church recognises which bears not on its title-deeds the prefix of Protestant, or is not essentially Protestant in character, stands trembling in her last agonies, as a corporate society. She only awaits the mandate of a democratic Parliament—when the English people have fully realized the portentous injustice, merely on secular grounds, that one modern sect should monopolize pious benefactions given or bequeathed for the benefit of the entire nation—to cease to pose as the Church of that nation. This mandate, in human probability, cannot be long delayed. The spirit of the time in which we live testifies loudly against the Established Religion in England—a spirit, be it Protestant, or Catholic, or Agnostic, which is opposed to unreality, incompetence, and sham, and which seeks to reach principle even at the cost of abandoning the wide-spread, life-long deceptions of policy. And this is a mighty spirit which will prevail.

These superficial remarks, on some of the causes and some of the effects, on the principle, or the want of genuine principle, which guides the Established Religion in England, are sufficient to suggest a reply to the question: What may be the characteristics of a divine witness to man of God's truth and God's will? Few words are required in order to show that, if the characteristics of a witness which is not human have been above faithfully sketched, the ecclesiastical body, whose theory and whose practice have been here indicated, can possess but little claim to the title of a divine witness to truth. In any case, to refer again for a moment to the fourfold, but by no means exhaustive test, previously named, the Anglican body fulfils not one of these conditions. It is not—(1) conscious of a divine source; it does not (2) continuously, nor even accidentally, exhibit supernatural claims; it professes (3) neither consistency nor uniformity of dogmatic teaching; and it obviously wields (4) no spiritual and coercive jurisdiction. Lacking these four necessary and elementary qualifications of a divine witness of God's truth to man, the Church of England must submit to be

appraised at its own figure, and to be estimated at its own valuation—as a witness that has no pretension to the supernatural, as a witness that is purely human. Neither, if we must do strict justice to its positive and affirmative claims, does the Establishment itself, apart from its members, pretend to possess more. As a human witness, it stands, indeed, superior in many ways, to most, if not all, of its own lineal and Protestant descendants, who have deliberately discarded more of a common Christianity than itself has uprooted. And this much may be freely allowed in the domains of dogma, as well as in those of discipline and of morality. But, after all that may be said, after all that has been said, on behalf of Anglicanism, it is essentially and avowedly inferior in authority, in practice, in ethics, to the supernatural source from whence it was originally and voluntarily self-severed: essentially, as we have seen, and might see even further; avowedly, because the Church of England appeals from itself to an earlier and (as it suicidally contends) to a purer form of Christianity than itself—to a form of whose position, relation, and polity it is necessarily and by comparison little informed.

This single contention, on behalf of the Church of England, is logically and practically fatal to any supernatural and divine claim. There cannot possibly be degrees of inflexibility. If the gift be lost to Christianity, nothing of worth has been saved. That which is not wholly inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, is entirely empty and void; or, rather, is possessed by, and is fulfilled with, the spirit which is not of God, but which is of the earth, earthly, sensual, satanic. As a witness that is not divine, Anglicanism may teach, and does teach truth, in a fragmentary, disconnected, inconsequential, arbitrary, and imperfect form; and these features are impressed, more or less clearly, on the teaching, vocal or printed, of all its clergy—even on that of its most educated and talented ministers. But Anglicanism cannot teach, and does not pretend to teach, all truth; and, in so far as it teaches a portion only, and intentionally withholds also a portion of truth, it inferentially is a *fauteur* of untruth. This position, and its logical outcome, deserves careful

criticism. That which the Established Religion teaches, on any given point of dogma or of duty, may be, perhaps is, the expression of truth. But, it is not the truth, because that State-created body so teaches; nor yet, because it forms a part of its presumably official mission to men of English blood and English birth; and further afield than this, it lays no claim to mission. Rather, such teaching is true, if it be true, because it is an integral fraction of the deposit of faith entrusted to God's Church, which was taught long before the Establishment was dreamt of, or was potentially so much as possible, and which will be taught long after the State-born creed of Henry Tudor's brain has ceased to exist as a human rival to God's Church in this land. And that which Anglicanism omits to teach is not error—as a similar omission to teach, if so grave a flaw may be conceived in the Catholic Church, would be evidence of doctrinal error—only because of such omission on the part of the Establishment to testify to the world. Indeed, it would be difficult to say what may be the message from God to man which the Anglican body conceives itself charged to deliver; where it is to be found; what its terms may be; and under what sanctions it was formulated. It would be impossible, if we except from thought the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion; the Homilies, composed for a half-educated clergy; and the Catechism for school-children—upon each of which there exists, within the Anglican body, as many different and diverse explanations, as there exist diverse and different schools of thought, or shades of opinion. In a presumably teaching organization, of which this may be justly affirmed, none can logically believe. In it they can place not even moral belief. But, in a body in which men consistently repose neither ethical nor intellectual belief, they are wont to doubt. Indeed, they would cease to be consistent if they failed to doubt. If, then, we may be permitted once more to refer to our previous definition of religious doubt, as a condition of partial knowledge and of partial ignorance of God's truth, we exactly delineate the changeful, restless, uncertain, expectant, yet disappointed, features of the Anglican inquirer. Doubt is the extremest point on the road towards belief

which the traveller, in search of a religion, can reach under the Protestant Episcopalian system.

The difference, then, between the Catholic faith and the Established Religion, on this most momentous of topics, is clear, sharp, and decided. The one being a divine witness and teacher of truth to men, its members stand in the humble relation towards the Church of God, of disciples, not of critics, still less in the position of teachers, judges and reformers. To doubt her word would be, and is, to doubt the divine Teacher of the universe. To rebel against her usage, her custom and her rite, would be, and is, to act traitorously against God. The other, being a human and earthly witness, which formally and controversially rejects the infallibility of a perpetual divine teacher, can at the most command from its disciples but a divided and unreal allegiance, half credible, half critical, wholly personal. To believe the word alone of the Church of England, unsupported by external evidence—if such abandonment of all rational principle be possible—were to believe on evidence insufficient to command faith; were to do that which not the most enthusiastic and self-effacing Anglican ever has done, or ever could do. For who, with the intellect of an infant, or with the will of a youth, and in the language of one of the offices of the Anglican communion, could say, as millions say daily of the Catholic Church—"I believe in the Reformed Protestant Church of England as by law established in this realm"? Not one single soul. The utmost obedience of faith—if this and similar terms be permissible in regard to Anglicanism—which the members of the Establishment can yield to its reflected authority and to its limited State-given commission to teach, amounts to this. An Anglican, on his own principles, is justified in believing what is taught by the Church of England, not absolutely and directly, but mediately and upon conditions. He believes so long as, and no longer than, his belief, qualified by a reference, implied if not expressed, is confirmed by some authority, external at once to the teacher and the taught, which commands the respect of both. What may be such authority, is not the topic now under discussion: but, it may be a

higher, or a lower, or even a co-ordinate authority. It may be, in set terms, a lower authority, as in the case of an Anglican accepting the Church's universal creeds, by an appeal, sufficiently characteristic, to individual judgment. It may be, theoretically, a higher authority, as when Holy Scripture is appealed to, under whatsoever form the appeal is made. And it may be a co-ordinate authority, however unreal in application, to the primitive or early Church. But, in whatsoever direction the appeal may lie, above, below, or on a level with the appellants, there exists in the Established Religion an appeal for Anglicans from Anglicanism outside the Anglican communion, which is simply impossible for faithful Catholics to realize—that is to say, an appeal from Catholic teaching and from a Church inspired by a divine teacher, itself a divine witness to truth. In other words, the system of the Protestant Church of England, is founded on the principle of doubt. Its teaching, by the lips of a human teacher, consists partly of doctrines of undoubted truth; partly of doctrines whose truth is most doubtful; and partly of doctrines, the falsehood of which is not even doubtful, but is assured. And the only position which a disciple of this human and fallible teacher can consistently take, who would be at once loyal and logical, conscientious and reasonable, is one of honest, but absolute doubt—a mental combination—composed, in proportions which vary in each individual instance, of partial divine knowledge and of partial human ignorance.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

THE LIVING ROSARY.

THE nineteenth-century priest in a country like Ireland, where religion is a practical matter, has, in common with other well-worked officials of the day, to have at hand a variety of special information, which, though far from being his highest mental equipment, is still an absolute necessity to one who hopes his influence for good to be not

merely general, but special. This is my apology for presenting in brief all that is necessary for a priest to know about the Living Rosary.

Bearing in mind the theological foundation of the old devotion of the Rosary, namely, its aptitude to bring before the mind the chief mysteries of religion, and with them the history of the origin, fall, redemption, and destiny of our race, I shall endeavour to point out how this new devotion of the "Living" Rosary is only an adaptation of the old, to meet certain circumstances and wants. I shall show how it resembles it in origin, progress, and results. I shall cite recent ecclesiastical legislation, by which it has been identified with the old Rosary of St. Dominic, as a branch is identified with the tree. And, lastly, I shall indicate the only true and solid way of inculcating this devotion.

In the beginning of this century we had a situation of affairs in the South of France very closely resembling the situation St. Dominic found there six centuries before. Faith had decayed, and piety along with it; a spirit of hostility even existed towards the ministers of God's Church, and the breach was daily widening. St. Dominic, in his day, met the difficulty by founding the Rosary of fifteen mysteries. Madame Jaricot, in hers, met it by founding the Rosary of single mysteries. She recognised, with the intuition of a true daughter of the Church, that the remedy for the evils of her day already existed and had been employed with success before, though now, for lack of a skilled prescriber and a zealous applicant, they failed to produce the effect they had wrought centuries ago. The disease was the same, but the condition of the patient had changed. Where Dominic had found the virulent fever of heresy, Marie Pauline had to cope with the dull gangrene of religious indifference. There was plenty of religion in St. Dominic's day; it had to be directed into the right channel, not coaxed into life. In Madame Jaricot's day it had to be coaxed into life.

How, then, was the problem to be approached? For false teaching and for no teaching there is the same remedy—true teaching. Agnostic and Anabaptist alike are to be

overcome by the one marvellous *corpus doctrinae*, which the one Church exhibits. And it is precisely this teaching in its entirety that is presented to the faithful in the Rosary. Marie Pauline believed that, as for the Albigenians, so for the gay *hommes et femmes mondaines* of her day, the Rosary and all it taught was the remedy. But how to get it said? That was the difficulty.

The Rosary had long been unsaid. “Una cum cæteris, Societates Sacratissimi Rosarii perierunt; et mox cum illis recitatio coronarum Beatae Mariae Virginis paulatim sic collapsa ut tam fructuosae devotionis usus aboleri videretur.” *Brevis de origine Rosarii Viventis notitia authentica. Romae, 1887.*

The brain of a pious Frenchwoman is not slow to act, and her plan was soon devised and perfected, by which the Rosary of St. Dominic, which so long had lain dead and withered, was now once more to send forth a living shoot and to be hedged round with all the skill required to preserve its vitality. In France it was to be no longer the dead, but the “living” Rosary.

Her plan was this. Faith being weak and devotion weary, the few who showed any inclination to piety had to be fed with milk, not meat. Each Rosarian, then, was to say one decade of the Rosary every day, so that in a circle of fifteen persons the whole fifteen mysteries would be accounted for, and the Rosary, in its integrity, would still be offered as a perfect crown of grace and glory to the Queen of heaven and earth.

So far, then, for the origin of this devotion. Its progress was secured by very much the same means that were adopted for the preservation of the early Dominican Rosary, namely, the formation of organized bodies, who would in a special manner bind themselves to the performance of this devotion. The greater Rosary has been kept alive in great measure by its confraternities, canonically erected. This lesser Rosary was organized into a sodality.¹ Its constitution was as follows:—

The members were divided into companies of fifteen,

¹ It will be noticed that a sodality differs from a confraternity in this, that it has no great register (*liber matricularis*) in which the names of all its members are inscribed, and no public exercises of devotion in common.

each company being managed by one of its number, called in French *le zélateur*, or *la zélatrice*, a title which would perhaps be but indifferently translated into English by "zealot." In order to bring to mind more vividly the complete devotion of the Rosary of fifteen mysteries, further congregations of one hundred and fifty (one hundred and fifty being the number of beads in a full Rosary) were formed and directed by a "Counsellor," who, in his or her turn, was subject to a "Diocesan Director," who was always a priest, having control over all members of the sodality within his diocese, with power to appoint, not only the *Zélateurs*, but also the "Counsellors." The Diocesan Director was appointed by two General Directors, subject to the consent of the Ordinary of the diocese. The General Directors were appointed by the Holy See; the first two being M. Jean François Bétemps, a canon of the Lyons' Cathedral; and M. Benoit Marduel, a curate of the Church of St. Roch, in Paris. The sodality was formally constituted in this manner by Pope Gregory XVI., in an Apostolic letter, dated February 2nd, 1832.

With regard to the result of this sodality, it may, beyond doubt, be pronounced a success, from the fact of its surviving and flourishing down to the present date, not only in France, but in many other countries, even in Ireland, where it would certainly seem to be less wanted than elsewhere. With us, in all parts of the country, the full Rosary is the devotion practised by the people, who, not only in the churches, but at home, recite five mysteries of the Rosary as a portion of the night prayers. But, above all, its good result is, no doubt, pointed to in the large and flourishing Rosary confraternities, to which the "Living Rosary sodalities" have only been intended to act as "novitiates" and "feeders."

So much for the Living Rosary, as to its meaning, its origin, its progress, and its results. It only remains to add a short account of its status at the present date.

Its first constitution gradually fell into disorder, owing to the deaths of many of its first-appointed officials, whose places were never authoritatively filled up. This state of

things seemed to many to throw doubt upon the validity of the indulgences gained by the members admitted to the ranks of the sodality without certain authority. At this juncture, in the year 1877, the three Dominican Provincials of France petitioned the Holy See to make over the general direction of the Living Rosary to the Master-General of the Order of Preachers, so that the direction of the separate local sodalities might fall to whatever Dominican father happened to be in charge of the local Rosary confraternity. This petition was granted by Apostolic Brief: *Quod jure haereditario*, 17th August, 1877. The control of the sodality of the Living Rosary is now, in consequence, confided entirely to the Dominican Order, which, of course, is the natural guardian of the devotion of the Rosary, and, had the Dominicans been re-introduced into France in Madame Jaricot's time, would, no doubt, have controlled the sodality from its commencement.

The Dominican authorities, on receiving this Brief, have issued, from time to time, various provisions for the well-being of the sodality. The most noticeable are those which follow:—

I. All officials appointed up to the 15th of Nov., 1877, are confirmed in their office for their lifetime.

II. The sodality is to be called by no other name than the Living Rosary, and no other method of reciting the Rosary than that now in use is to be introduced.

III. In the words of the present Dominican-General—

“There is but one Living Rosary, committed exclusively to our Order, which must not be confounded with any other sodality, such as the Rosary of the Apostolate of Prayer, or the Rosary of the Sacred Heart, or others of the like name. And that our will may be clearly known, we declare that all persons propagating the Living Rosary, in conjunction with such other sodalities, are hereby deprived of the faculties of Zelator, Zelatrice, Counsellor, President, or Director, and of all power of engaging themselves in the government and propagation of this sodality. Members, however, of other associations may freely belong to the Living Rosary, and those of the Living Rosary to such associations; always with the understanding that the obligations undertaken are distinct from one another, and are not to be mingled and confounded together.”

It now remains for me merely to draw attention to the spirit in which this devotion is to be inculcated. It must be regarded as nothing else than an inducement to the recitation of the full Dominican Rosary. This is clearly put forward as Madame Jaricot's idea in the authentic "Brief account," already cited—

"Ut personae vel occupationibus deditae, vel pietate adhuc debiles, per faciliorem viam sub tutela Reginae Rosarii pervenirent, ac tandem, complementum donantes, quando possent, usque ad perfectam totius Rosarii recitationem ascenderent." (Page 7.)

And, finally, in the twentieth statute of the sodality, propagators of the devotion are reminded—

"Hanc devotionem Rosarii-Viventis non esse nisi tyrocinium ad completum Rosarium, in forma a Sancto Dominico prius creata, et hujusmodi sodalitates quindecim personarum nihil aliud quam aditum ad Confraternitatem Sacratissimi Rosarii proprie dictam, uberiori aedificationis fructu atque indulgentiarum et privilegiorum a Summis Pontificibus concessorum thesauro multo locupletiore dotata."

To gain the indulgences of the Living Rosary, which are very numerous, one must be legitimately admitted into the sodality, and use beads bearing the Dominican blessing. If any member of the circle of fifteen fail to say his mystery, he alone loses his indulgences, and inflicts no prejudice upon his associates. A common error is also to be noted here, viz., that every member, by saying his single decade, gains as much, in virtue of his alliance with the other fourteen associates, as he would by saying all the fifteen mysteries himself. This belief is, as far as I know, absolutely without foundation.

J. BYRNE, O.P.

ST. COLUMBA'S CHURCHES.

I SHALL not treat of the life and miracles of St. Columba, his sanctity and visions, but rather of the churches which he founded in Ireland; those attributed to him, and which bear his name. Dr. Reeves, in his valuable work, *Adamnan's Columba*, gives a list of thirty-seven churches, which claim the saint as their founder. We must receive with caution Dr. Lanigan's opinion regarding these churches. He totally rejects the authority of Colgan, and disregards the claim of Raphoe, Kells, Swords, and Tory Island, as having St. Columba for their founder. We should be slow to reject the authority of the learned Franciscan, whose zealous labours have done so much to make us familiar with the lives of the Irish saints. If we respect tradition, and the wonderful veneration still held in Tory Island for St. Columba, and in other places rejected by Lanigan, we must certainly give credence to the old lives of the saint, and the authority of O'Donnell, in the facts stated of Columba's connection with these places. Lanigan, no doubt, reasonably disregards the two Skreens as having the saint for founder; for we find in our Annals that Skreen in Meath long preserved a relic of the saint; hence the name was changed from *Aichill* to *Scrinium S. Columba*.

Again, we must remember that the Columban monks were founders of churches, some of which date immediately after the time of Columba, and it is natural to suppose that these churches were called after the saint, and dedicated to him. Derry and Durrow were the most important foundations of Columba. "The age of Christ A.D. 535, the church of *Doire Calgaich* (Derry) was founded by Columbkille, the place having been granted by his own tribe, *i.e.*, the race of Conall Gulban, son of Nial."¹ *The Annals of Ulster* give the date as 545, and Dr. Reeves accepts it as the true date. *Doire*² or *Daire* signifies an oak wood, and it is called by Adamnan *Roboretum Calgachi*. *Calgach* was a man's name,

¹ *Four Masters*.

² *Joyce, Names of Places*, vol. i., page 445.

common among the ancient Irish, and signifies "fierce warrior." Doire Calgach was the old pagan name used for ages before the time of St. Columba, and it was so called until the tenth or eleventh century, when the name was changed to Derry Columbkille. The oaks of Derry were famous trees; a great storm occurred there in 1178, which prostrated one hundred and twenty of them.¹ In *Trias Thaum*: Derry is described "Doire Chalgach priscis, nunc vulgo Doire Cholumchille et latine Doria nunc sedes Episcopalis et civitas nobilis in Tircounalia regione Ultoniae." Derry was a favourite spot with the saint:

"The reason why I love Derry is,
For its quietness, for its purity;
Crowded full of heaven's angels
Is every leaf of the oaks of Derry."²

The original church was called Black Church, as we find stated in the ancient lines of Tighernach:

"Three years without light was Columb in his
Black Church. He passed to angels from his body,
After seven years and seventy."

Again, we find in an old document of the fourteenth century, the church called *Cella Nigra*, and it is probable that it was so called to distinguish it from the more modern church erected in 1164.³

Durrow was the best known of Columba's churches. *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* state that "Hugh MacBrenayn, king of the country of Teffia that granted Dorowe to St. Columbkille, A.D. 588." *The Four Masters* dates it 585. Dairmach (Durrow) is situated in the north of the King's County, close to the boundary of Westmeath. Durrow, at the period of its foundation comprised part of the territory of Teffia, and the chieftain Brendan, who bestowed it upon St. Columba, was ancestor of the O'Carharney clan, whose name was afterwards changed to Fox.

¹ *Four Masters*.

² St. Columba would never permit any of the oaks of Derry to be cut down. (Montalembert, *Monks of the West*.)

³ *Trias Thaum*, page 398.

Adamnan describes Durrow thus :—"Vir Beatus in mediterranea Hiberniae parte Monasterium quod Scoticè dicitur Darmaig divino fundavit nutu."

Venerable Bede tells us, "Fecerat (Columbae) priusquam Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia quod a copia Roborum Dearthach lingua Scotorum hoc est campus Roborum cognominatur."¹

A sculptured cross, called St. Columbkille's Cross, stands in the churchyard, and near it is the saint's Well. The most interesting relic of the Abbey is the beautiful Evangelium, known as *The Book of Durrow*, a MS. now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Gilbert, the eminent historian, describes *The Book of Durrow*, in his *Facsimiles National MSS. of Ireland* :—

"*The Book of Durrow* is an ornamental copy of the Four Gospels, in Vulgate version, written across the page, mainly in single columns, and preceded by the Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, explanation of Hebrew names, Eusebian canons and synoptical tables. . . This volume [continues Mr. Gilbert] acquired its name from having belonged to the monastery founded by St. Columba, about A.D. 553, at Durrow, or *Darmaig*, the Plain of the Oaks, in the central district of Ireland. A now partly obliterated entry in Latin prays 'remembrance of the scribe Columba, who wrote this Evangel in the space of twelve days.'"

In *The Martyrology of Donegal* it is stated that the book of Columbkille, called *The Book of Durrow*, a copy of the New Testament, in Irish, was at Durrow (circa A.D. 1620) in the district of the Mageoghegans, with gems and silver on its cover.

In *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, Mageoghegan states that *The Book of Durrow*, like other MSS. written by the saint, was impervious to water.²

The Book of Durrow was presented to Trinity College, by Henry Jones, who became Protestant bishop of Meath, 1661.

¹ *Hist.*, lib. iii., c. 4.

² Ussher, writing of this MS., says :—"In Regio comitatu ea est Durrogh vulgo appellati; qua monasterium, habuit S. Columba nomine insigne, inter cujus κειμήλια evangelorum codex vetustissimus asservabatur quem ipsius Columbae fuisse monachi dictitabant."

The Martyrology of Donegal gives the feast of a St. Cormac of Durrow for June 21st: "Corbmac Ua Liathian, Abbot of Durrow (he was an anchorite), successor to Columbkille; he was of the race Oilioll Olum." O'Curry, in his *Lectures on Ancient Irish History*, alludes to the crozier of Durrow, a fragment of which has been preserved. It is believed that the crozier belonged to St. Columba, and was presented by him to Cormac, "his dear friend and successor."

The Canon Regular of St. Augustine, in the twelfth century, founded a monastery at Durrow, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and St. Columba. There are no traces of St. Columba's Church at Kells. It is not till about 800 that our Annals relate anything of a monastic foundation in that town. However, the saint's name is associated with Kells; for it is mentioned that it was granted to him by Diarmid, to make amendment for injuries which he had done to him: and his son, Aidh Slaine, was a consenting party.¹

We find Kells called a "fort of Diarmada, son of Kerbaill; and Columbkille marked out the city in extent as it now is, and blessed it all, and said it would become the most illustrious he should have in the land."² The most interesting relic of St. Columba at Kells is the old stone house bearing his name, which he is said to have used as an oratory. This house is nineteen feet long, by fifteen broad, and is twenty-five feet from the level of the floor to the highest part of the arched ceiling. A subterraneous passage is said to have existed, which led from it to the church. Our Annals inform us that St. Columba's Church at Kells was destroyed in the year 807.

Tory Island is situate off the north coast of Donegal, in the barony of Kilmacrenan, and diocese of Raphoe. It was formerly called *Torach*, from the Torrs, or pinnacles of rock, for which it is famous. A strange legend is still vividly preserved of St. Columba's journey to Tory Island, and of the monks who accompanied him. The legend runs as follows:—"The servant of Christ proceeded into the part of the country commonly designated *Tuatha*, territories in the

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, page 278.

² See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*.

northern plain on the sea-coast of Tirconnell. Being there admonished by an angel of the Lord to cross into Tory—an island in the open sea of those parts, stretching northward from the mainland—and, having consecrated it, to erect a magnificent church, he proceeded towards it, accompanied by several other holy men. On reaching, however, *Belach-an-Adhraidh*, 'the Way of Adoration'—a high hill that lay in his course, whence Tory is obscurely visible in the distance—there arose dissension amongst the holy men, with respect to the individual who should consecrate the island, and thereby acquire a right to it for the future, each renouncing, from humility and a love of poverty, the office of consecrator and right of territory. After discussing the question in all its several bearings, they all assented to the opinion of Columba, that such a difference was best settled by lot, and they determined on his recommendation to throw their staves in the direction of the island, with the understanding that he whose staff reached it nearest, should perform the office of consecrator, and acquire authority over Tory. Each threw his staff; but that of Columbkille, at the moment of issuing from his hand, assumed the form of a dart or missile, and reached the island by supernatural agency. The saint called before him Baedan, Toparch of the island, who refused to permit its consecration, or the erection of any building. Columba demanded then as much land as his cloak would cover. To this proposal the Toparch assented. Columba's cloak stretched over the entire island. The Toparch was so enraged at this miraculous occurrence, that he let loose a ferocious dog to attack the saint, but by the power of the Sign of the Cross, the dog was destroyed. The saint met with no further opposition; he consecrated Tory, and built a magnificent church, over which he placed St. Ernan as first Abbot.¹

Dr. Reeves observes that there are many traces of antiquity in Tory Island. The most remarkable is the round tower, fifty-one feet high, which was the nucleus of an old monastic establishment. It is worthy of notice that almost

¹ See papers on Tory Island, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., pages 27-37, 106-116, 142-158, Edmund Getty.

in every place where St. Columba founded a church, there you are sure to find a round tower, or the remains of one.

Drumcliff (*Drum cliabh*) lies in the barony of Carbery, County Sligo. St. Mothoria is said to have been the first Abbot placed there, by the founder St. Columba. There still remains a portion of a round tower. The date of foundation as given by Lewis is 590. In the tenth century there ruled over this monastery St. Torannan, who afterwards was regarded as the special patron of Drumcliff. Kilmaerenan bore the ancient name Doire-Ethne,¹ and is a parish in Donegal connected with the labours of St. Columba. In the immediate neighbourhood in his birthplace, Gartan, which likewise claims a church founded by the saint. Temple Douglas is where he was baptized. The old Church of Kilmaerenan stood a little north of the village of the same name, and beside it are the remains of a small Franciscan monastery. The hereditary wardens of this Church were the O'Firghels (now Freely) whose privilege it was to inaugurate the chiefs of the O'Donnells at the rock of Doon, in this parish.

A strange legend is preserved about Temple Douglas, namely, that it was here, the saint first learnt how to walk. The remains of an old church still exist. Raphoe is mentioned by O'Donnell as having a church founded by St. Columba; but St. Adamnan is the patron of the place. The round tower of Raphoe is mentioned by Sir James Ware as "built on a hill in which the bishops of Raphoe formerly kept their studies;" but when he wrote, the tower did not exist.²

Glencolumbkille, in the barony of Banagh, Donegal, has connected with it one of those wonderful legends so frequently to be met with in the life of our saint. This place was formerly called *Seangleann*. When St. Columba was proceeding hither, he took up his abode in this wild district, and by the direction of an angel he rid the place of its foul inhabitants. He engaged in a violent struggle with the demons, and succeeded in driving them into the sea with the help of his *Dubh-duaibseach*, or little bell. At Drum-

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, page 192.

Ibid., page 280.

columb, in the diocese of Elphin, Co. Sligo, St. Columba placed his disciple, St. Finbarr, in charge of the church, and gave him a bell called Glassan, and a cross.¹

Swords, in the Co. Dublin, claims St. Columba as the founder of the original church in that place: A.D. 512, is the date given. Sord was the old name for it, and afterwards *Sord-Cholum-chille*.

Colgan states that St. Finan, the Leper, was placed over this church by St. Columba.² The memory of the latter has always been held in special veneration by the people. To St. Finan, our saint presented a copy of the Gospels. The round tower surmounted by a cross marks the site of the ancient church.

It would be beyond the limit of this paper to enumerate the various other churches in Dr. Reeves' list, or to relate the antiquities connected with them; it will suffice to mention—Moore, in Kildare; Clonmore, in Louth; Lambay, in Dublin; Mornington, in Meath, as among the number of St. Columba's churches.

How wonderful was the zeal and energy of the saint, when we take into account his labours in Scotland and the churches he founded there!

Columba, though absent from Ireland, was always there in spirit; his poem discloses that intense love he had for the land of his birth:

“Beloved are Durrow, and Derry;
Beloved is Raphoe in purity;
Beloved Drumhorne of rich fruits;
Beloved are Swords and Kells.”

Again, filled with enthusiasm for his fellow-countrymen, he tells us:

“Melodious her clerics,
Melodious her birds,
Gentle her youths,
Wise her seniors;
Illustrious her men, noble to behold;
Illustrious her women, for fond espousal.”

JOHN M. THUNDER.

¹ O'Donnell, i., page 104.

² *Acta. SS.*, page 627.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

THE grave has already closed over all that is mortal of John Henry Newman. The English nation has mourned one of the greatest of her sons. The Catholic Church has paid the last duties of faith and of affection to one whom she cherished with almost unbounded love. We in Ireland should not fail to lay our wreath on the tomb of the great cardinal, and to join with our English brethren in doing honour to the memory of one who belonged to us all, whose services are our common property and our common inheritance. What memories are brought back to our minds; what hopes revived; what comforts realized; what mysteries of grace revealed and confirmed for ever, as we think of the long life, the heroic struggles, the strength, the faith, the purity of motive and of purpose of this illustrious convert! His was indeed no ordinary accession to the true fold. Combining in his person all that was noblest and best in the English nature, his unrivalled powers did battle for the Church during a period of forty years, removing difficulties, expounding what was misunderstood, breaking down prejudice and bigotry on every side. And yet he has left no bitter memories behind him. At the last scene of his extraordinary life there has scarcely been one discordant note. The gentleness of character and the sanctity of motive which shone so brightly even in the height of the cardinal's greatest intellectual conflicts disarmed all criticism, and those who would not follow the beacon-light which led him safely to the port could not at all events withhold their admiration of his marvellous gifts as a writer, of his vast learning, and the unrivalled acumen by which he made his way to the Catholic Church. There have been but few examples in ecclesiastical history of men who followed so steadily, so loyally, and so logically the ways of grace. Already the star had shone for him in 1833 when he penned the hymn that has become so popular with his countrymen:

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
 Lead Thou me on ;
 The night is dark, and I am far from home,
 Lead Thou me on.
 Keep Thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
 The distant scene—one step enough for me.

 I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
 Shouldst lead me on ;
 I loved to choose and see my path ; but now
 Lead Thou me on.
 I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
 Pride ruled my will : remember not past years.

 So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
 Will lead me on
 O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone.
 And with the morn those angel faces smile,
 Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

Faithfully and surely did he follow that light through the winding mazes of Protestantism. It was "in the middle of his life's course." Impediments almost innumerable blocked his way. He himself has told us with a power and charm that none can imitate, the incidents of his journey to that crowning day when the messenger of peace crossed his threshold at Littlemore. There is no need to retell the story. It is already a part of the religious history of England—how great a part has yet to be told, and it were fruitless now to speculate. All are agreed that it was an event of the deepest significance. In its accomplishment, Ireland, and Maynooth College in particular, had an honourable part. Writing of our former venerated president, Dr. Russell, the cardinal tells us in the *Apologia* :—

"He had, perhaps, more to do with my conversion than anyone else. He called upon me, in passing through Oxford in the summer of 1841, and I think I took him over some of the buildings of the university. He called again another summer on his way from Dublin to London. I do not recollect that he said a word on the subject of religion on either occasion. He sent me at different times several letters ; he was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial. He let me alone. He also gave me one or two books. Veron's *Rule of Faith* and some treatises of the Wallenburghs was one ; a volume of St. Liguori's sermons was another."

It was precisely some extracts from the works of St. Liguori and some devotional manifestations in honour of our Lady that most embarrassed Dr. Newman in regard to Catholicism. These difficulties Dr. Russell easily explained, and whilst the convert never entered fully into such manifestations, which he looked upon as matters of taste and sentiment, suitable perhaps to France and Italy though not suitable to England, he subsequently, as priest of the Oratory, wrote some exquisite verses which prove that in his own way, he was not insensible to the beauties of true devotion to the Mother of God :

“Green are the fields and sweet the flowers,
And rich the hues of May :
We see them in the gardens round
And market panniers gay.

“And e’en among our streets and lanes
And alleys we descry,
By fitful gleams, the fair sunshine,
The blue transparent sky.

“O Mary, pure and beautiful,
Thou art the Queen of May !
Our garlands wear about thy hair,
And they will ne’er decay.”

With what wonderful power the great neophyte had grasped the wide range of Catholic teaching and tradition, can be but faintly judged even from the works that he has left us. Perhaps nowhere else can the Christian traditions of England be found crystallized in form of such exceeding beauty as in his sermon on the “Second Spring,” preached in the chapel of St. Mary’s, at Oscott, on the occasion of the Synod held there after the restoration of the hierarchy :

“Three centuries ago [he said] and the Catholic Church, that great creation of God’s power, stood in this land in pride of place. It had honours of near a thousand years upon it. It was enthroned in some twenty Sees up and down the country. It was based in the will of a faithful people. It energized through ten thousand instruments of power and influence ; and it was ennobled by a host of saints and martyrs. The churches, one by one, recounted and rejoiced in the line of glorified intercessors who were the respectful objects of their grateful homage. Canter-

bury alone numbered some sixteen, from St. Augustine to St. Dunstan and St. Ethelphege, from St. Anselm and St. Thomas down to St. Edmund. York had its St. Paulinus, St. John, St. Wilfrid and St. William; London, its St. Erconwald; Durham, its St. Cuthbert; Winton, its St. Swithun. Then there were St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. Chad of Lichfield, and St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Oswald and St. Wulstan of Worcester, and St. Osmund of Salisbury, and St. Birinus of Dorchester, and St. Richard of Chichester. And then, too, its religious orders, its monastic establishments, its universities, its wide relations over Europe, its high prerogatives in the temporal state, its wealth, its dependencies, its popular honours. Where was there a more glorious hierarchy? Mixed up with civil institutions, with king and nobles, with the people; found in every village, in every town, it seemed destined to stand as long as England stood, and to outlast, it might be, England's greatness. But it was the high decree of Heaven that the majesty of that presence should be blotted out. The vivifying principle of truth, the shadow of St. Peter left it," &c.

Then follows his inspiring description of the Synod, through which the lost life revives again:—

"I listen, and I hear the sound of voices, grave and musical, renewing the old chant with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert on the Kentish Strand. It comes from a long procession, and it winds along the cloisters. Priests and religious, theologians from the schools and canons from the cathedral, walk in due precedence. And then there comes a vision of well-nigh twelve mitred heads; and last, I see a prince of the Church, in the royal dye of empire and of martyrdom—a pledge to us from Rome of Rome's unwearied love, a token that that goodly company is firm in Apostolic faith and hope."

And here again he records in eloquent words his Catholic conviction of the intercessory power of the Blessed Virgin when at the close of that great discourse he calls on her to claim back her own:

"Arise, Mary, and go forth in thy strength into the north country which once was thine own, and take possession of a land that knows thee not. Arise, Mother of God, and with thy thrilling voice, speak to those who labour with child, till the babe of grace leaps within them. Shine on us, dear Lady, with thy bright countenance, like the sun in his strength, *O Stella Matutina*,

O harbinger of peace, till our year is one perpetual May. From thy sweet eyes, from thy pure smile, from thy majestic brow, let ten thousand influences rain down, not to confound or overwhelm, but to persuade, to win over thine enemies. O Mary, my hope, O Mother undefiled, fulfil to us the promise of this spring. A second temple rises on the ruins of the old. Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to naught; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost. Saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and preachers call to penance and justice, as at the beginning."

It has been said by some of Dr. Newman's critics that he has left no great, permanent, written work behind him. He was, indeed, essentially a man of his time. His personal influence on others could never be measured by his books. For many years he was occupied in working his own way, and when once he had reached the term of his own troubles he was compelled by the pressure of circumstances to meet the special wants of his day, of his time, of those around him. To this the highest gifts of his genius, and the wide store of his acquirements were made to serve. Posterity may suffer in one way, but it gains in another. There is a charm, a dignity, and a simplicity, a tone of lofty earnestness and of faith about his works that will never fade. *The Apologia*, *The Grammar of Assent*, *The Idea of a University*, are works the permanent value of which not even his worst opponents can dispute. His works on *The Arians* and on *The Church of the Fathers*, entitle him to be placed amongst the first rank of scholars, as well as amongst the ablest of disputants. When we remember with what strong prejudices, what belated pride, his countrymen looked down upon the thought, the civilization, the mental achievements of the middle ages, we cannot but admire the upright critic who so completely broke through those barriers, entering with manly power and honest purpose into an independent examination of them.

Here is the result. Writing of the mediæval universities, he says:—

“Time went on, a new state of things, intellectual and social, came in. The Church was girt with temporal power. The preachers of St. Dominic were in the ascendant; now at length we may ask with curious interest, did the Church alter her ancient rule of action, and proscribe intellectual activity? Just the contrary; this is the very age of universities; it is the classical period of the schoolmen; it is the splendid and palmary instance of the wise policy and large liberality of the Church, as regards philosophical inquiry. If ever there was a time when the intellect went wild, and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was there ever a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle metaphysical spirit not scrutinize? What premise was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? Aristotle was a somewhat more serious foe then than Bacon has been since. Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No, not though that philosophy was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of inquiry with fire and sword. But she determined to put it down by argument; she said: ‘Two can play at that, and my argument is the better.’ She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being St. Thomas, who in those mediæval universities fought the battle of revelation with the weapons of heathenism.”

Such is the estimate which is to be found in many forms in his university lectures.

Dr. Newman's life as Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin was singularly quiet. He was wholly occupied with the work committed to his care. Modest and unobtrusive, he sought not to import into our country notions at variance with our characteristics, opposed to our judgments, or unsuited to our tastes. His superiority of mind was made manifest here as elsewhere. He worked during the too brief years of his stay amongst us for the best interests of Ireland, and he left our shores with the reverence and love of all who had relations with him here. From the outset, the religious, the Catholic, part of the University work was set before his young hearers.

“Gentlemen, I do not expect of those who, like you, are
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employed in your secular callings, who are not monks, or friars, not priests, not theologians, not philosophers, to come forward as champions of the faith ; but I think that incalculable benefit may ensue to the Catholic cause, greater almost than that which even singularly gifted theologians or controversialists could effect, if a body of men in your station of life shall be found in the great towns of Ireland, not disputatious, contentious, loquacious, presumptuous, but gravely and solidly educated in Catholic knowledge, intelligent, acute, versed in their religion, sensitive of its beauty and majesty, alive to the arguments in its belief, and aware both of its difficulties and of the mode of treating them. And the first step in obtaining this desirable end is that you should submit yourselves to a curriculum of studies such as that which brings you with such praiseworthy diligence within these walls."

We have been able to trace here but a few of the many prominent features of so great a life. It is but fair to add that his memory and his work have been reverently dealt with even by those most opposed to the direction of his influence.

"A great leader of men [writes a Protestant critic in *The Athenæum*], an influential ecclesiastic, a man of saintly life, a spiritual force of great power, a master of English prose, has passed away with John Henry Newman. . . . He had the head of a lawyer, but it should be added, he had the heart of a saint. . . . The saintly life has never been more faithfully followed than by him. That the pendulum of public opinion about Roman Catholics in England has swung back from violent antipathy to sympathetic admiration is due in large measure to the saintly life of John Henry Newman."

Learning, strength, sanctity, these were his characteristics; and withal he was warm and gentle. There was probably no other man in England who had won the hearts of so many personal devoted friends. He was true to them, and rejoiced in their sincerity. Thus life with all its troubles had for him many natural consolations, not to speak of the supernatural peace and contentment which he ever enjoyed in the true Church. The patriarchal age to which he reached seemed a manifest token of the divine benevolence in his regard, a symbol, and as it were, a pledge of that life of endless bliss for which he strove so bravely. Well might he have

breathed at his last hour, like the angel in the *Dream of Gerontius* :

“ My work is done,
My task is o’er ;
And so I come
Taking it home ;
For the crown is won
For evermore.”

What Catholic is there who does not hope that others may be found with powers of mind and qualities of soul worthy to continue the work which received such an impetus from the great Cardinal that is gone, to walk in the footsteps of Milner and of Wiseman, of Faber and of Ward, of Newman and of Manning! By all those who come after, the name and the character of John Henry Newman is sure to be revered. His memory will remain with a perpetual influence for good over the surging multitudes of his countrymen, and it will be specially honoured by those who understand the Christian culture of the soul, who strive for virtue, or who work for truth.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND AND THEIR TRADITIONS.—II.

AS the history of Palestine, from the days of Christ down to the present century, is naught else in all truth than a narrative of what concerns its Christian sanctuaries, it may be truly said that the modern part of that history begins with the events which there took place immediately after the fall of the Latin kingdom established by the first Crusade. The condition of the sanctuaries, with regard at least to their possession by the Christian Church, both previous to the days of the founding of the so-called Latin kingdom by Godfrey of Boulogne, and until its fall, a century later, was ever the same. Christians professing one and the

same faith gathered around them, even from the earliest days of Christianity, in order to pray within their hallowed precincts. Both during the days of Pagan Rome's sway in those lands as well as under the sway of the conquering Saracens, they remained what they had been from the beginning, viz., Christian sanctuaries held by Christians, excepting that the peaceful condition under which they existed during the couple of centuries which followed immediately after the reign of Constantine the Great, ceased upon the downfall of Jerusalem in 637, when the followers of Islam, led on by Omar, conquered the Holy City, and so made the Christian Empire of the East yield up all Palestine and Syria as it had already yielded up to the conquering Moslem, Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs. There is no authority whatever for believing that, as far as the sanctuaries of Palestine were concerned, any of those dissensions which, from the Council of Trulle and henceforward, tended to divide the Christian Church into two great bodies, interfered in the least with the existing *status* of the sanctuaries, or caused to arise any dispute whatever regarding their possession. The Moslem conquerors, partly out of their half-Christian instincts, partly on account of their love of gain, left the sanctuaries practically in the possession of the Christians, in whose hands they found them on their coming into Palestine. Whatever effect the great schism of Photius (859-891) may have had with regard to the great mass of the faithful, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, there exist authentic documents which prove that both in the time of Photius as well as in the succeeding centuries—in fact, up to the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, in 1099—the sanctuaries were exclusively in the hands of those who professed allegiance to Rome.

This is brought out in documents, of which there can be no doubt as to their authenticity, dating back to the ninth century. Charlemagne built an hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of sick pilgrims; and whatever treaties were made during these centuries between the Moslem rulers and Christendom, the possession of the sanctuaries by the Christians who remained faithful to Rome was always an acknow-

ledged fact. Bernard the Wise, who travelled in Palestine in the year 867, mentions some buildings erected in the Holy City by Charlemagne, during the caliphate of Haroun-er-Raschid, who, according to many accounts, granted numerous privileges to pilgrims coming to Palestine.

In any case, in none of the writers previous to the eleventh century is there the least hint even at any claims being laid to any of the sanctuaries except by the Christians in communion with Rome: and the disputes which these writers speak of, were such as should naturally exist between the greedy Moslems who wanted to seize the sanctuaries either to destroy them, or, as generally happened when they succeeded in wresting them from the Christians, to hold them in order to obtain sums of money from the Christians who would visit them. Providentially, however, during the long course of many centuries few sanctuaries have fallen into the hands of the Moslems; and as far as history lets one see, previous to the days of the first Crusade, except as regards the site of the temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah, and probably the cave of Ephron at Hebron, every other sanctuary escaped their greed, or was but temporarily in their possession. They had other means of satisfying their lust of Christian gold besides the retaining of the sanctuaries, as will be seen further on.

The success of the first Crusade, in wresting Jerusalem from the yoke of the Moslem, removed every grievance which Christians had to bear for nigh five centuries previous. The fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Christian hosts was followed by the subjugation of every town and city of importance, from Gaza, in the land of the Philistines, to Aleppo in Syria; but the country remained faithful to the creed of the Prophet, and in every hamlet the followers of Islam awaited a day of vengeance. It is impossible, at present, to realize how completely the religion of Mahommed swept away every vestige of the older faith, Christianity, especially in the country towns and villages; but the fact remains that, except in Jerusalem and in a few other cities, there were few or any Christians at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Whatever may have been the spirit which aroused Europe at the fiery words of Peter the Hermit, it is quite clear that the zeal that urged the myriads of the first Christian hosts soon became degenerated. Divisions began to show themselves in the Christian camp, with the result that a kingdom which had cost perhaps millions of lives to establish was, in less than a century after its establishment, unable to resist the armies of the Sultans of Egypt and Babylon. One by one the cities which at first yielded to the Christian hosts, either shook off the yoke or opened their gates to the Moslem invader. Jerusalem became a prey to the victorious hosts led on by Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, in 1187. From that day the Latin kingdom was practically at an end. Though Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and a few other towns were ceded to the Christians in 1240, by reason of a treaty which Frederic II. made with the Moslems, in 1242 the Christians were once more driven out, and in a few years later on the banner of the Crusaders ceased to float over a single city throughout the length and breadth of Palestine.

Notwithstanding the celebrated cry that aroused Europe at the Council of Clermont, 1090—*Dieu le Veut*—it is impossible, judging by the events which followed, to regard the work of the Crusaders as a divinely inspired one. It failed in every object for which it was undertaken. Never in their whole existence were either the few native Christians who remained after the armies of the Crusaders had been driven from Palestine, or the sanctuaries of their faith, been in a more hopeless state of ever again returning to the possession of Christendom. A new crusade had already begun, and if there be less glory and less romance about it, either in its beginning or in its duration, it was, at least, to win for Christendom what the conquering hosts of Europe failed to achieve—the right of the Christian pilgrim to pray at the sanctuaries of his faith. Those who have read the life of St. Francis of Assisi—and what student of history has not read the lives of the two great reformers of the thirteenth century, Dominic Guzman and Francis of Assisi?—will remember that about the year 1219, with eleven

companions, he started off for Acre, leaving his young order under the government of the celebrated Fra Elias, and after reaching that city left for Damietta, leaving his companions at Acre. It was from the former city that, according to his biographers, he left the Christian camp, and in presence of Melealim, then Sultan of Egypt, and probably son of Saladin, who took Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187, professed his willingness to undergo the ordeal of fire, in proof of the truth of the faith he preached. How far this part of the story of his mission may be true, it is not given to the student of history to define; it is at least certain that his visit to Palestine, and his attempt to convert the Moslems are beyond all doubt, and are attested to by eye-witnesses of the events which then occurred in the East. Mrs. Oliphant, in her *Life of St. Francis*, seems to regard as naught but legendary lore the story of the conversion to Christianity of the Sultan of Egypt before whom St. Francis preached; yet his conversion is affirmed by such writers as St. Antoninus of Florence,¹ and Jacques de Vitry, Archbishop of Acre (fl. 1239).² It is true, Matthew Paris denies it, but his testimony cannot outweigh that of the cardinal of Acre, and in every case it removes the story very much from the sphere in which Mrs. Oliphant would place it.

St. Francis left the East towards the close of the year 1219. His mission, so far as the conversion of the Moslem world was concerned, was evidently a failure; but it appears he left all his companions there after him, with apparently no other object in view than to pray near the shrines of their faith. How soon the first convents or residences were constructed, is not known. In 1230, there is a Bull of Gregory IX., *Si Ordinis*, ordering the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch to allow the Franciscans to build regular convents in Jerusalem, Tyre, and Acre. About half a century from that, the last vestige of the Latin kingdom in Jerusalem is at an end; the Latin patriarch becomes henceforward a mere honorary title, and the sole guardians from

¹ *Opera Sti. Antonini Florentini*, tit. xix., cap. 3, as cited in Calaorra.

² Jacques de Vitry, in *Epistola ad Rel. et fam. Lotharing.*

that day to within a few years ago, of the faith of Rome throughout Palestine, have been the Franciscans. In 1336, every sanctuary in Palestine was in their hands: but from that day to the present the possession of the sanctuaries ceased to be an object of dispute between Christian and Moslem, and there then began that bitter war which the Greek Church, shortly after that time, becoming hopelessly separated from Rome, determined to wage, and even to the present day continues to wage, over the sanctuaries of the common faith of the East and West. Indeed, it may be truly said that the Eastern Church did not entirely throw off all allegiance to Rome till after the failure of the Council of Florence (1439) to unite, on a permanent basis, the two Churches. Up to that period the patriarchs and bishops of the East, as often returned to allegiance to Rome as they rejected it. The Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, with his entire flock, rejoined the Latin Church in 1247 (*vide*, Wadding, *canon*): but at the beginning of the sixteenth century this was absolutely at an end. There are still existing in the archives at Jerusalem firmans from the Sultans of Egypt, who up to the sixteenth century held Syria, dating from 1220, and in which the right of the Franciscans to hold the Christian sanctuaries is acknowledged.

As a matter of fact, the first dispute between the Latin Christians and the Easterns who had thrown off allegiance to Rome, of which there is record, is in the year 1494. It appears the Georgians, a sect whose origin is unknown—though in point of dogma they agree more or less with the “orthodox” Greek Church—wished to drive the Catholics from Calvary. A firman granted by the Pascia of Jerusalem declares the rights of the Franciscans to the absolute possession of Mount Calvary to date from *time immemorial*. It is true that even earlier than that year the Greeks and other sects dwelt either in or close by the Holy Sepulchre: but not until the present century had they any right to officiate therein. De la Brecquière, who travelled in Palestine about the middle of the fifteenth century, mentions this fact; and every other writer from that time up to the beginning of the present century testifies to the exclusive right of the

Catholics of the Western Church to officiate in the Holy Sepulchre.

No writer has left a fuller account of the state of the sanctuaries as they were in his time—of the rights of the Latins, of the disputes which were then occurring, as well as of the difficulties which beset the Franciscans in their endeavours to retain possession of the sanctuaries, than Boniface Stefani da Ragusa, who was Custos or Superior of the Mission in Palestine from the year 1550 to 1559. In his well-known work, *De perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae*, the many difficulties which Catholics in the East met with in their endeavours to retain possession of the sanctuaries are graphically described.

It would, indeed, be absolutely impossible in these pages to enter into any details, as there will be given further on a complete list of the sanctuaries which are now either wholly or partially in the possession of Roman Catholics, through the medium of the Franciscans. It will be sufficient to describe the circumstances of the loss of the only sanctuary of the first order which they have lost, viz., the Cænacle or Hall, where, according to a tradition dating beyond the second century, the “Last Supper” was celebrated. The account is from Calaharra, a Spanish Franciscan of the seventeenth century, who has left a full account of the history of the sanctuaries from the time of their falling into the hands of the Franciscans up to his time.

In 1518, some fanatical Turks presented to the Chief Mufti in Jerusalem a memorial begging him to reply whether it was lawful for the Christians to hold the place they (the Turks) regarded as the Tomb of King David. The answer given was, that such conduct was in opposition to the Law of the Prophet. Forthwith the Turks proceeded to turn the church into a mosque; but the convent remained; and as the Decree of the Mufti did not concern the convent, the Christians resolved to defeat the injustice of the Mufti. For thirty years the dispute continued. Money had to be squandered, as it is only by money justice can be obtained in Turkey even at the present day. Francis I. (1515–1547) interfered, but in vain; so in 1548

the Latins saw themselves excluded for ever from a sanctuary every ornament of which was due to their toil and labour. They were driven out by force from their possession of the tomb of the Virgin in 1762. The answer given by the Pascia of Jerusalem to the French Ambassador, M. de Vergennes, who protested against the robbery, is quite a specimen in its way. I have only a copy in French of the document, the original of which is, I believe, in the Royal Library at Paris.

“Ces lieux appartiennent au Sultan [?] mon maitre : et quoiqu'ils aient été jusqu'à present entre les mains des Frances, Sa Hautesse veut que désormais ils soient aux Grecs” [.]

It would be absolutely impossible in these few pages to give anything like an account of the struggles that had to be endured in order to retain a footing in the sanctuaries. Injustice of every kind, treachery on the part of the schismatic Greeks, both combined, made the struggle tenfold more difficult than when the fight for the right to pray around the sanctuaries of Christendom existed only between Christian and Moslem. Up to 1810 the Latins alone had the right to celebrate in the sanctuary of the Sepulchre of Christ : but that year, in spite of every right, the Sultan allowed the Greeks to repair the cupola of the Basilica, and granted them the right to officiate within the sanctuary. The disgraceful scenes which occurred in Bethlechem as late as 1873 are sufficient to show the difficulties Catholics had to endure in order to retain a right to pray within the shrines of Christendom. Lest some readers of the I. E. RECORD may not be acquainted with the circumstances, perhaps it is as well to tell it briefly, especially as I have heard all the circumstances from those who were present at the time, and which agree perfectly with every account which has been published thereupon. The fact is interesting, as it is recent, and also because it shows the spirit of those with whom the Catholics of the East have to deal in defending rights which have been admitted to date from time immemorial, and it answers the superficial statements of many writers who see in the continual struggle between Catholics and schismatics a cause of scandal with regard to the Catholics, instead of feeling

just sympathy with those who have to continually struggle against Turkish greed on the one hand, and the ignorance, duplicity, and fanaticism of the Greek popes and their followers on the other.

On the 25th of April, 1873, a few lay brothers of the Franciscan Convent at Bethlehem, while praying in the grotto—as it is the custom that some should be always there, both to keep the lamps over the altar lighted, as well to prevent any unseemly conduct, &c.—were surprised by a band of three hundred Greeks headed by their popes or priests, who instantly proceeded to destroy the lamps over the altars in the grotto which belonged to the Catholics, such as the altar which, according to tradition, marks the spot where the Blessed Virgin laid her new-born Babe immediately after birth, and the other where she received the shepherds. The altar which marks the spot of the Nativity had been seized by the Greeks at the close of the last century. They then proceeded to carry away all the ornaments placed in the sanctuary by Catholics from all parts of Christendom. The lay brothers made a brave stand against this desecration, but all five were seriously wounded, as the invaders were well armed. Notwithstanding the continual protests from the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as well as from the French Consul at Jerusalem, who forced the schismatics to yield the places they had thus violently usurped, still, up to the present day, not one of the guilty parties has been punished, and many of the rich ornaments, which the piety of Europe had placed there, have been up to the present unrestored.

Such is a picture of the manner in which Greek Christians have, since the middle of the last century, endeavoured to wrest from Catholics the sanctuaries which have from the beginning been theirs exclusively. In a country like Turkey, where violence and bribery are sufficient to uphold the greatest injustice or to overthrow the most firmly established right, it is, indeed, a miracle, and at the same time a testimony to the bravery with which the successors of the Crusaders have in a country where they are surrounded by enemies, where for centuries the complaints of Europe, the protests of

European governments, were utterly ignored by the Turk—it is, indeed, a testimony to their courage and steadfastness in the past that to-day Catholic Europe has still the right to visit the chief sanctuaries of Palestine, and at the same time to have the pleasure in feeling that these same sanctuaries are still her's, as they have been from the beginning. Indeed, if a few sanctuaries have been lost to Catholicity, the wonder is but the greater that they are so few, considering the circumstances under which they have been lost; and history will not fail to number amongst the heroes of Christendom the thousands of Franciscans who, from the days of St. Francis down to the last massacre in Damascus, in 1860, have lost their lives in their resolve to guard the spots hallowed by the presence of a man-god, and entrusted to them by their founder as heirlooms of his spirit of love of the Crucified. The eloquent words of Père Leon Patrens, in a discourse read by him to the *Assemblée Generale des Œuvres Catholiques*, held at Paris, 1879, may be here aptly quoted:—

“Quand S. Français est arrivé, il a dressé la tente de ses enfants près des sanctuaires; mais il n'avait rien pu remettre à leur garde: on ne lui avait rien confié. Ce sont eux qui, par une patience à l'épreuve de tout, même de la mort, ont obtenu de la bienveillance de quelques Sultans, ou racheté à l'aide des deniers que leur envoyait l'Occident, les sanctuaires qu'ils gardent maintenant au nom de l'Eglise Catholique.”

“When St. Francis came, he pitched the tents for his children around the sanctuaries; but he had nothing to confide to their charge, for naught had been confided to him. It is they themselves who, with a patience beyond all proof, even of death, have obtained either through the kindness of some Sultans, or have bought with the alms which Europe forwarded to them, the sanctuaries which they guard even to the present moment, in the name of the Catholic Church.”

It is not, indeed, intended here to write an eulogium on the guardians of the sanctuaries of Palestine; but Christendom cannot forget that as it has entrusted to the Franciscans the duty of watching around the shrines of its faith; their glory must redound unto it. That the Catholic priest from far-away New Zealand, from Central China, from the wilds of Patagonia, as well as from any other part of the world, can offer up at the principal shrines of his faith, the sacrifice of

Calvary ; that he can do what his Master commanded him to do, on spots for ever hallowed by the presence of his Master---all that is due to the courage of those to whom Catholicity has confided the sanctuaries of the faith of almost the entire civilized world.

It would be absolutely impossible, in these pages, to give anything like a full account of the actual state of each sanctuary, or of the circumstances which led to its loss by Catholicity. It will be sufficient, therefore, to enumerate the chief, or nearly all, the sanctuaries which pilgrims to Palestine generally visit ; to tell, when possible, the year each came into the possession of its present guardians ; the condition in which it now is, as well as the number of religious—Franciscan, at least—that are in charge thereof. This will form the subject of our next and concluding paper on the shrines of the Holy Land.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

(*To be continued.*)

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE SCAPULAR OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

This Confraternity is said to have been established about the middle of the thirteenth century by St. Simon Stock, at that time General of the Carmelites.¹ About the year 1251, we are told, St. Simon was one day praying to the Blessed Virgin for the welfare of his Order, which was then meeting with great opposition from both bishops and nobles. Suddenly the Help of Christians herself appeared to him, holding in her hands a scapular of brown cloth, and presenting this to the saint she said : “ *My beloved son, receive this scapular of your Order, the sign of my Confraternity, a privilege to you and to all Carmelites. Whoever dies clothed with it shall not suffer*

¹ Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, May 16.

hell-fire. Behold the sign of salvation, a treaty of peace, and of unending alliance."¹ Simon lost no time in having the members of his Order clothed with the scapular, and at once the evidences of our Lady's protection and assistance began to appear in the increased respect shown towards the Carmelites in the West. For, from being objects of suspicion and dislike, they came in a short time to be most popular among all classes.

In 1322 our Blessed Lady vouchsafed another vision regarding the scapular. This time she appeared to the Supreme Pontiff, John XXII., and revealed to him certain new privileges which she would confer on the Carmelites and on all others who wore her scapular. These privileges the Pontiff published, and confirmed by his authority, on the 3rd of March of the same year, in a Bull beginning *Sacratissimo uti culmine*, but better known as the *Sabbatine Bull*. This latter title is derived from one of the new privileges promised by our Lady to wearers of the scapulars, to the effect that she would release from Purgatory on the Saturday² (Sabbatum) after death the souls of those who had worn the scapular during life, and had been faithful in the observance of a few easy conditions which she mentioned.

This is not the place to discuss whether the Blessed Virgin ever gave the scapular to Simon Stock, or whether the Sabbatine Bull was ever written by John XXII. Neither one or other of these two points is an article of faith, and consequently everyone is free to hold whatever opinion he pleases. Moreover, whether the vision and the Bull be regarded as genuine or fictitious, the Brown Scapular must ever be regarded as the badge of Mary's favourite children, as a pledge of her special protection, as *a sign of her confraternity*. And any wearer of the scapular, who tries to imitate the virtues of his protectress, says the prayers and observes the

¹ "Dilectissime meus recipe hoc tui Ordinis Scapulare meae confraternitatis signum tibi et cunctis Carmelitis privilegium, in quo moriens aeternum non patietur incendium. Ecce signum salutis, foedus pacis, et pacti sempiterni." (*Dict. des Confreres*, page 896.)

² "Ego mater gratiose descendam sabbato post eorum obitum et quot inveniam in purgatorio liberabo, et eos in montem sanctum vitae aeternae reducam."

fasts enjoined for gaining the privilege of the Sabbatine Bull, may have a well-founded hope that his sufferings in Purgatory will be of very short duration. These statements hold, no matter what view we take regarding the origin of the scapular, or the Sabbatine Bull. But, in point of fact, there are the strongest grounds for believing both in the reality of the vision of St. Simon Stock, and in the authenticity of the Bull. "For our own part," writes Benedict XIV., "we believe the truth of the vision, and we think that everyone should believe it."¹ The same learned Pontiff regards the Bull as almost certainly genuine, and remarks that the arguments by which its genuineness is attacked are for the most part entirely void of foundation.² Besides, the privileges contained in the Bull, in so far as they are subject to the power of the Church, have been again and again confirmed by succeeding Popes;³ and Paul V. decreed that the Carmelites should be permitted to preach as a pious belief the promise of deliverance mentioned in the Bull.⁴ The terms of this decree satisfied Launoy himself, the most violent as well as the ablest opponent of the authenticity of the Bull, and of the reality of the vision of Simon Stock.

From whatever time the institution of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel may date, its extension began to be considerable only after the year 1600. In this year Clement VIII. granted permission to the General of the Carmelites to establish Confraternities wherever he pleased; to admit members, whether seculars or regulars, either by himself or by his delegates; and to regulate the exercises of piety, to which the members should devote themselves. Since that

¹ "Visionem quidem veram credimus, veramque habendam ab omnibus arbitramur." (*De Festis*, l. 2, cap. 6.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Julius II., Clement VII., Paul IV., &c.

⁴ "Patribus Carmelitanis permittatur prædicare quod populus Christianus possit pie credere de adiutorio animarum fratrum et confratrum in charitate decedentium qui in vita habitum gestaverint et castitatem pro suo statu coluerint, officiumque parvum recitaverint vel si recitare nesciverint Ecclesiae jejunia observaverint et feria quarta et Sabbato a carnibus abstinuerint, suis intercessionibus continuis, suisque suffragiis et meritis, et speciali protectione post eorum transitum, præcipue in die Sabbati (qui dies ab Ecclesia eidem Beatae Virgini dicatus est) adiuturam."

time the Confraternity has spread over the whole Catholic world. Children are invested in the Brown Scapular before they reach the age of reason; for the faithful believe—and are prepared to confirm their belief by many striking examples—that the scapular is a protection against corporal as well as spiritual ills. The sick will not be satisfied unless their scapular is round their neck; and those who have before neglected it, clamour to get invested, when stricken by disease or threatened with the approach of death.

MANNER OF ESTABLISHING A CONFRATERNITY OF THE SCAPULAR OF MOUNT CARMEL.

The first step to be taken for the establishment of this Confraternity, as of all others, is to obtain the written permission of the Bishop. In countries not under the care of the Propaganda a copy of the Bishop's letter of approval must be forwarded to the General of the Carmelites with a request that he will sanction the erection of the Confraternity. But in missionary countries, over which the Propaganda has charge, the permission of the Bishop alone is required. For, as has been already stated, in those countries the powers of Bishops regarding the erection of Confraternities are independent of the Religious Orders to whom the Confraternities pertain.

The Bishop next appoints a Director to whom either he or the General of the Carmelites, on application, will give the necessary faculties for blessing the scapular and investing the members. As soon as the Director has received these faculties he may at once set about establishing the Confraternity.

The faithful should be told some time previously the day on which the Confraternity is to be established, and those who purpose becoming members should be exhorted to prepare themselves to receive Communion on that morning. They should also be invited to assemble in the Church at a convenient hour in the afternoon or evening for the ceremony of reception into the Confraternity.

It would be advisable that the reception of the members should be preceded by an instruction on the nature and

advantages of the Confraternity of the Scapular, and followed by Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

After the Instruction, the Director, or another priest having the necessary faculties, vested in surplice and white stole¹ comes to the altar,² on which should be two lighted candles. At the foot of the altar he kneels and says a short prayer. The people also kneel, and remain on their knees until the conclusion of the ceremony.

The priest rises from his knees, and turning towards the people blesses the scapulars. He may bless all the scapulars at the same time, but should take care to make the necessary changes in the prayer.³ During the blessing each one may hold his scapular in his hand, or all may be laid together in a convenient place within the sanctuary. Having finished the prayer the priest sprinkles the scapulars with holy water and at once proceeds to invest the postulants. The scapular must be put over the shoulders of each one by the same priest who blessed them.⁴ If there is not a sufficient number of scapulars for all who wish to be enrolled, one will suffice for investing many. In this case the priest, after putting the scapular on the shoulders of one, immediately removes it and puts it on the next, and so on. It must, however, be borne in mind, that persons thus invested must have the first scapular which they use blessed by a priest having faculties.⁵

When a large number are to be invested at the same time the priest need not repeat the formula *Accipe*, &c., over each one. He may first put the scapular on the shoulders of

¹ Ritual, *De Bened.*

² The altar of the Blessed Virgin, if possible. Ritual, *ibid.*

³ It is not sufficient for the blessing of scapulars merely to make the sign of the Cross over them; some form of words must be used. (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Apr. 27, 1887.) The form given afterwards is, we believe, now obligatory.

⁴ " . . . Caeterum in impositionibus in futurum peragendis ab eodem sacerdote scapularia imponantur a quo ipsa scapularia benedicuntur." (*S. Ind. Cong.*, 16 Junii, 1872.)

⁵ "Utrum unum idemque scapulare semel benedictum valide possit pluribus per vicem imponi? *Affirmative*: ita tamen ut primum scapulare quod deinceps adscriptus induere debet sit benedictum." (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Augusti 18, 1868, *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vi., page 333.)

each—*nihil dicens*, and at the end repeat the formula in the plural.¹

Having recited the remainder of the form, with the necessary changes, he sprinkles all with holy water. The members may now rise from their knees, and come forward singly to have their names entered in the Register of the Confraternity.

The Director himself should write the names, but if there are a large number to be enrolled, or if he is otherwise occupied he may depute one or more, who need not be priests, to write them in his name. He should, however, afterwards put his initials at the foot of each sheet, as a sign of authentication.²

The prayers and ceremonies for the reception of individual members are precisely the same as those for the reception of many, except that the singular instead of the plural is used where necessary, and that the gender agrees with the sex of the person receiving the scapular.

A priest having faculties for blessing and imposing the scapular can invest himself.

The following is the text of the form for investing in the Brown Scapular, which all priests who do not belong to the Carmelite Order must use:—

“*Formula benedicendi et imponendi Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo ab omnibus adhibenda sacerdotibus facultatem habentibus adscribendi Christifideles Confraternitati ejusdem Scapularis.*

V. Ostende nobis Domine Misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

¹ *S. Ind. Cong.*, Feb 5, 1841. *Recueil d'Instructions*, chap. 16, sect. 5.

² “Si quando ob ingentem fidelium adgregandorum numerum aliave ratione contingat eorum nominum in albo recensitionem difficultatem sacerdoti co-optanti facessere, tunc designare is poterit unam vel plures pro opportunitate sibi visas personas, quae fidelium nomina scripto referant in catalogum quem ipse postea subsignabit.” (*Instr. S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide.* Jun., 1889.)

“OREMUS.

Domine Jesu Christi humani generis Salvator, hunc habitum, quem propter tuum, tuaeque Genitricis Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo amorem, servus tuus devote est delaturus dextera tua sanctifica ut eadem Genitrice tua intercedente ab hoste maligno defensus in tua gratia ad mortem perseveret; Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Deinde aspergat aqua benedicta habitum et postea imponat dicens :

Accipe hunc habitum benedictum precans Sanctissimam Virginem, ut ejus meritis illum perferas sine macula et te ab omni adversitate defendat atque ad vitam perducatur aeternam. Amen.

Deinde dicat :

Ego ex potestate mihi concessa recipio te ad participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium quae cooperante misericordia Jesu Christi a Religiosis de Monte Carmelo peraguntur. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Bene ✠ dicat te Conditor coeli et terrae, Deus omnipotens, qui te cooptare dignatus est in Confraternitatem B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo quam exoramus, ut in hora obitus tui conterat caput serpentis antiqui; atque palmam et coronam sempiternam haereditatis tandem consequaris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Aspergat aqua benedicta.*¹

The Confraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel is one of those to which the rule laid down by Clement VIII. regarding distance applies. As a consequence, a second Confraternity of this title cannot be established within a radius of three miles of another of the same title already established. There is no reason, however, why the faithful

¹ This formula was issued July 24, 1888, by the Congregation of Rites, accompanied by the following decree, of the same Congregation, approving of it:—

“*Decretum approbans breviorum formulam benedicendi etc. supra relatum.*

“*Sacra Rituum Congregatio utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter a S. D. N. Leone PP. XIII. tributis ad instantiam plurium Sacerdotum praesertim Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, suprascriptam breviorum formulam benedictionis et impositionis Scapularis Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo a sacerdotibus adhibendam, qui facultate gaudent adscribendi fideles Confraternitati ejusdem Deiparae sub enunciato titulo a Reverendissimo Assesore ipsius Sacrae Congregationis revisam approbavit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.*

“Die 24 Julii, 1888.

“A. Card. BIANCHI, S. R. C. Praefectus.

“LAURENTIUS SALVATI, S. R. C. Secretarius.”

of a parish in which there is no Confraternity of the Scapular should be deprived of the advantages accruing from membership. One of the priests of the parish can easily obtain through his bishop, or direct from the General of the Carmelites, faculties for investing in the scapular. He has then only to invest his people in the usual way, and forward their names either to the nearest Confraternity to be entered in its Register, or to a Carmelite convent. Members thus received, share in the indulgences and other privileges of the Confraternity from the moment their names are given to the priest who invests them with the scapular though they may not be entered in the Register of the Confraternity for some time afterwards.¹

The scapular of our Lady of Mount Carmel is composed of two pieces of cloth, connected by two cords or strings. The pieces of cloth must be made of wool, and must be brown, or at least of a dark colour.² They may be of any shape, and may, or may not, have devices worked on them.³ The strings may be of any material and of any colour.⁴

The first scapular which one wears must be blessed, as has been already stated. But those which are subsequently worn do not require any form of blessing; so that a person once invested can lay aside an old scapular and assume a new one without any ceremony.⁵

It is sometimes said that a person once invested, who through either carelessness or contempt, has not worn the scapular for a long time, requires to be reinvested. This is not so. Whatever may have been the cause of laying aside the scapular, how long soever it may have been neglected, a person once invested never again requires to be

¹ *Recueil*, chap. 16, sect. 19.

² "*Quæst.* Color *Tunicæ* pro scapularibus benedicendis et imponendis fidelibus tam stricte necne juxta regulas præscriptus est, ut diversitas coloris admissionem in distantia confraternitatum, nullam irritantque reddat?"

"*Resp.* Negative dummodo colori vulgo *Tunc* subrogetur tantum alter consimilis, seu niger." (*S. Ind. Cong.*, 12 Feb., 1840.)

³ *S. Ind. Cong.*, 10 Martii, 1856.

⁴ Reply of General of Carmelites, Nov. 19, 1831. *Recueil*, *ibid.*, sect. 2.

⁵ *S. Ind. Cong.*, 10 Martii, 1856, 20.

reinvested.¹ The scapular may be resumed after a lapse of years with as few ceremonies as after the lapse of as many seconds.

The scapular should be worn so that one of the pieces of cloth of which it is composed is on the chest, the other on the back.² It may be worn either over or under the dress.³

The Brown Scapular must be conferred separately and distinct from any other scapular. Priests have sometimes received faculties permitting them to confer all the scapulars, the brown included, by the same form and the same act. Such faculties will not be granted in future, and those already granted will hold only for ten years after April 27th, 1887.⁴

Those who received the Brown Scapular before the above date, enjoy all the privileges of the Confraternity without having their names enrolled in any Register. It would, however, be advisable even for those to have their names sent to an existing Confraternity of the Brown Scapular, or to a Carmelite convent. For such is evidently the wish of His Holiness; and moreover, those whose names are in the Registers of the Confraternities partake more largely after death of the suffrages of the members.

ADVANTAGES OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

1. The members of this Confraternity enjoy the privilege of being specially adopted by the Blessed Virgin as her favourite children. She herself has called this Confraternity her own by excellence, and has designed the livery which the members should wear in her honour. "*This is the sign of my Confraternity,*" she said, when presenting the scapular to

¹ "Scapulare deponens per contemptum cessatne eo ipso gaudere privilegiis ita ut poenitens indigent novo admissione? *Negative.* Quem admodum non est iterum ordinandus qui ex contemptu deponit per tempus longius, vel brevius habitum clericalem. Poeniteat et habitum sanctum ex se resumat." (*S. Ind. Cong., ibid., n. 22.*)

² "Scapulare deferendum est more Religiosorum cum una parte supra pectus, altera supra scapulas." (*S. Ind. Cong., 10 Martii, 1856, 24.*)

³ *Ibid., 11.*

S. Ind. Cong. Decret., April 27, 1887. I. E. RECORD, vol. viii., page 658.

Simon Stock. It is true that Mary is the Mother of all the faithful; but as God, who is the Father of all, adopts some, as He adopted Solomon,¹ into closer and more special sonship, so does the Blessed Virgin adopt the wearers of the Brown Scapular into a more abundant share of her maternal affection.

2. As a consequence of this peculiar adoption by the Blessed Virgin, the members of this Confraternity enjoy her special protection. The scapular, she said to her servant Simon, is a treaty of peace, and the seal of an unending compact of alliance. It is a treaty of peace between the soul and God, by virtue of which the soul is protected from sin; or, if it falls, is more powerfully assisted to rise again. It is the seal of an eternal engagement on the part of our Blessed Lady, to vouchsafe her special assistance during life and after death to all who are clothed with it. Moreover, the angels, attracted by the livery of their Queen, will guard its wearers more carefully and more tenderly.

3. The members participate in all the prayers, mortifications, and other good works of the priests and nuns of the Carmelite Order. This is an advantage not to be despised. In the convents of this most ancient Order, spread over every part of the earth, "the Clean Oblation is offered, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof;" fervent prayers are ever ascending to the throne of God for the living and the dead; and numberless holy souls, by their labours and mortifications, are continually making atonement for the faults of their weaker brethren. Of a truth, the members of this Confraternity reap a rich harvest where they have never scattered a single seed.²

4. The advantages already mentioned, though in themselves quite sufficient to render membership of this Confraternity a thing to be desired, will appear of little account beside the two great favours promised by the Blessed Virgin, namely, exemption from eternal punishment, and a speedy release from the pains of Purgatory: "*Whoever dies invested*

¹ "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son." (2 Kings, vii. 14.)

² Compare *Recueil*, chap. 7, sect. 3.

with this habit [she said to St. Simon Stock] shall not suffer hell fire." And to Pope John XXII. she said, "*I, their mother, will graciously go down on the Saturday after their death, and will release all whom I shall find in Purgatory, and will bring them to the holy mountain of eternal life.*"

5. Finally, the Church has enriched this Confraternity with countless indulgences.

CONDITIONS FOR GAINING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CONFRATERNITY.

To gain the indulgences of the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, it is merely required that one should be a member, that he should wear the scapular constantly, and that he should fulfil the special conditions mentioned for gaining each of the Indulgences.

To be validly invested with the Brown Scapular, and to be found wearing it at the hour of death, are the only conditions necessary to entitle one to the favours promised by the Blessed Virgin, when giving the scapulars to St. Simon Stock—the favour, namely, of exemption from eternal doom.

To gain the privilege of the Sabbatine Bull—as the second favour promised by our Blessed Lady is usually called—besides the above general conditions, some special conditions must also be fulfilled.

(a) Members of the Confraternity who can read should recite daily either the Canonical Office of the Church, or the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. Priests and all persons under an obligation arising from another source of reciting either of the above Offices, sufficiently satisfy this condition by fulfilling their obligation.¹ The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin must be read in Latin.²

(b) Members unable to read must observe strictly the fasts of the Church after the manner in which the local legislation of the diocese in which they live requires them to be observed. They must also abstain from flesh meat on all

¹ *Recueil*, chap. 16, sect. 28.

² Paul V., Bull *Superni*, March 11, 1571. A Nocturn with Lauds and the other hours constitutes the Little Office. (*Nocturnum dici cum Laudibus et cæteras horas ejusdem Officii.* S. Iud. Cong. Aug. 18, 1868.)

Wednesdays and Saturdays of the year, unless when Christmas Day falls on one or other of these days.

(c) Members must preserve inviolable the chastity of their state. This, of course, is an obligation of the natural law itself; but in making it a special condition for gaining her promised favour, the Blessed Virgin would have us to understand, that those who are privileged to wear her habit should be to all shining models of chastity.

Members unable to read, and at the same time unable from any reason to observe the prescribed fasts and abstinences, may get these works changed into others which they can perform. This change or commutation must be made by a priest having power to do so. And it must be borne in mind, that this power is not given as a matter of course with the power to bless and impose the scapular. Special mention of the power of commuting must be made in the diploma given to a priest, otherwise he cannot validly exercise it.¹

But members who cannot without grave inconvenience fulfil either of the two conditions above mentioned, whether the impediment be transitory or permanent, do not require any commutation. While the impediment remains they are dispensed from fulfilling the conditions, without being deprived of a right to the privilege.²

QUESTIONS REGARDING ENROLMENT IN THE CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

“SIR—In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI. issued an Indult dispensing with the condition that requires the names of the members of every Confraternity to be entered in the register of the Confraternity: and in 1887, the present Pope revoked this Indult. Now what about—(1) those people, still living, who were enrolled between the years 1837 and 1887? Is it necessary to get their names and have them entered now? (2) Those who

¹ *S. Ind. Cong.*, Jun. 22, 1842.

² “Accedente gravi impedimento non tenentur Confratres neque ad jejunium, neque ad recitationem Horarum Canonization, aut Officii parvi B. M. V. neque ad abstinentiam diebus mercurii et sabbati. Consulendi tamen fideles ut hoc in casu se subiciant iudicio docti et prudentis Confessarii pro aliqua commutatione.” *S. Ind. Cong.*, Aug. 12, 1840.

have been enrolled since April, 1887, and whose names are not entered?

"In many instances the revocation of April, 1887, did not become known to the priest until long after this date. Meanwhile the priest went on investing as before, without forwarding the names for insertion in register.

"An answer in next issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige.—
Yours faithfully, "B. D."

Both questions asked by our esteemed correspondent are substantially answered in the body of the preceding article on the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. But as it is of the utmost importance that every priest should be acquainted with the correct solutions of these questions, we shall repeat what has been already stated.

In reply to our correspondent's first question, we beg to state our opinion that the revocation of the Indult of 1838 does not in any way affect those who received the Brown Scapular between the date of the Indult and of its revocation. All these, we feel certain, continue to gain the Indulgences, &c., of the Confraternity without having their names inscribed. The confusion, the uncertainty, and the difficulties to which the contrary opinion, if adopted, would give rise, affords, we think, a sufficient argument for the soundness of the opinion we have put forward.

To the second question, we must reply, that since the date of the revocation of the Gregorian Indult of 1838, enrolment of the names of members has become necessary as a condition of gaining the privileges of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. It is, no doubt, true that many priests did not become aware of the revocation of this Indult for a considerable time after it had actually taken place; but this want of knowledge on their part could not, we fear, have had the effect of nullifying the condition insisted on by a Roman Congregation, and sanctioned by His Holiness. Registration is a condition for gaining certain Indulgences and other privileges granted to this Confraternity; and, as everyone knows, in order to gain an Indulgence, *all* the conditions

must be fulfilled. Neither ignorance of a condition, nor physical or moral inability to fulfil it, will suffice as an excuse for its non-fulfilment. The conditions must all be fulfilled, or the Indulgence must be dispensed with. Hence all persons invested with the Brown Scapular, since April 27th, 1887, must, in order to gain the advantages attached to the wearing of it, have their names entered in the Register of some Confraternity of Mount Carmel.

There are just two points regarding this enrolment to which it may be well to call special attention. The first is, that it is *not* necessary in all cases to forward the names to a Carmelite convent. We mention this, because we know that the contrary opinion is very prevalent. It is only necessary to have the names entered in the Register of a canonically established Confraternity. Such a Confraternity may be in nearly every parish, and the conditions for establishing such a Confraternity are so few and so simple, and the advantages derivable from it so many and so great, that we do not hesitate to say that such a Confraternity should be in every parish.

The second point to which it seems desirable to call attention is, that those who receive the Brown Scapular begin to partake of the advantages of the Confraternity even before their names are inscribed on the Register, provided the priest who invests them takes their names for the purpose of having them inscribed. In this case the persons invested become members of the Confraternity as soon as the priest receiving them has taken their names.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ See above, page 848.

DOCUMENT.

DISPENSATION IN THE LAW OF ABSTINENCE ON FRIDAY,
15TH OF AUGUST, 1890, THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION
OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

SANCTAE ROMANAE ET UNIVERSALIS INQUISITIONIS EPISTOLA AD
OMNES LOCORUM ORDINARIOS.

Cum festum gloriosae Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis hoc anno in feriam sextam incidat, Sanctissimus D. N. Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., precibus a plerisque locorum Ordinariis ei porrectis annuens, omnibus quotquot sunt in orbe Christifidelibus indulgere dignatus est, ut carnibus ea die vesci possint, firmo praecepto jejunii in ejusdem pervigilio. Optat autem Sanctitas Sua ut hanc benignitatem iidem fideles compensare studeant tertia Rosarii parte juxta ipsius mentem recitanda. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, die 25 Julii, 1890.

R. CARD. MONACO.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF GRIEVANCES OF IRISH CATHOLICS
IN THE MATTER OF EDUCATION, PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE,
AND UNIVERSITY. By the Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin:
Browne & Nolan.

NIHIL NON TETIGIT, ET NIHIL TETIGIT QUOD NON ORNAVIT may be said of the Archbishop of Dublin with quite as much truth as such general statements usually contain. But there is one subject in which he seems to have taken a peculiar interest, and on which, as a consequence, he has cast a peculiarly brilliant light. That subject is Education in Ireland. For years, aye for centuries past, the question of Irish Education has been a burning one. No statutes of the Penal Laws were more diabolical in their conception, or more oppressive in their administration than were

those regarding the education of the down-trodden "Papists." The Penal Laws, we are told, are repealed, there is no longer an "Established Church" in Ireland, and all sects and all forms of religious belief and practice are equal in the sight of the law. This, in substance, is nearly the only reply that is ever made to the demands of the Catholics of Ireland to be placed on terms of equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen in the matter of education. We know, indeed, and we freely admit, that many of the worst enactments of the Penal Laws have been blotted out of the Statute Book. But let no one say that the Penal Laws have been entirely repealed; let no one say that every form of religious worship is alike in the eyes of the law, so long as Irish Catholics have to bear with the innumerable grievances in the matter of Education, which his Grace so clearly points out in the present "Statement."

The responsibility for some of the most annoying of these grievances, especially in the matter of Primary Education, is to be charged not so much to the Ministers of the Crown who at different times governed—or mis-governed, if you like—this country, as to the Officials who had charge of that particular department. Of all the Officials of whom we have ever read, or heard, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland seem to us to carry off the palm for incompetence, wrong-headedness, and the spirit of contradiction. To this same conclusion, we feel certain, every reasonable man must come who will carefully read the part of the Archbishop's "Statement" which he devotes to Primary Education. In this part his Grace pillories the unfortunate Commissioners, and pelts them with hard facts until their greatest admirers must feel thoroughly ashamed of them. In 1866 the Irish Bishops drew up a strong indictment of this precious "Board" and forwarded it to Sir George Grey, then Secretary of State for Home Affairs. So forcible was the statement of their case against the Board by the Bishops, that the Ministry, however reluctant, were obliged to take some action. They forwarded the Bishops' letter to the Board itself, with a request for such observations from them as would enable the Lord Lieutenant to give a suitable reply. The charges, however, were so true that the Board could make no satisfactory defence.

But the Board managed to extricate themselves from the embarrassing position in which they now found themselves by simply *declining to comply with the request of the Government*. After an interval of over two months they replied in a letter extolling the merits of the National system, re-

greeting that any steps should be taken for its 'overthrow,' but point-blank declining to enter into any discussion of the questions raised in the Episcopal letter. Their 'function,' they said, was 'to act, and not to argue'!"

What a sorry figure this high and mighty Board cut on that occasion! Public Officials, they yet decline to comply with the request of the Government; they refuse to defend themselves against serious charges made by the united voices of the Bishops of the country over which they tyrannized! Their function, forsooth!—the function, bear in mind, of men supposed to be educated, of the *Commissioners of National Education*—was *not to argue!* The action of the Board with reference to the Model Schools more than justifies the hardest thing that can be said of these officials. The extracts regarding the Model Schools copied by his Grace from the Report of the Royal Commission of 1868 on Primary Education in Ireland embody such a scathing condemnation of the Board, that the wonder is that both the Board and the Model Schools still survive. Here is one extract from the Report:—

"In 1857 we find the Commissioners laying out £6,500 of public money upon a district Model School at Enniscorthy, without any support from the Established Church, in the face of a decided and well-reasoned declaration of hostility from the Roman Catholic Bishop who represented 88 per cent. of the population, and in spite of a strong remonstrance from their own Head Inspector. In such a case it would really seem as though the squandering of National funds, and not the education of the nation, were the object of the National Board."²

The same Report describes the official returns of the Board regarding the number of Catholics attending Model Schools as "*most fallacious*," and even accuses the Board of "cooking" the returns made to Parliament of the annual cost of working these schools:—

"Comparison will show that the total expense of each Model School for 1857, as returned by the Board to the Royal Commission, is, *in every case*, larger than the cost reported by the Board to Parliament. In some cases the excess of expenditure is remarkable."³

Speaking of the proficiency of the pupils, the Report—which, by the way, was drawn up by two members of the Commission, themselves Inspectors of Schools in England, who had visited

¹ Page 39.

² Pages 67-68.

³ Page 85.

and examined every Model School in Ireland—the Report says:

“Though their attainments are *not very creditable as they stand in our printed tables*, we are quite certain that if we had time to re-examine, and had taken the precautions which would have been necessary to insure accuracy, the percentage of those who passed . . . *would have been much lower than it is now.*”¹

The discipline of these so-called “Model” Schools, and the manner in which morality was safeguarded in them, did not appear to the members of the Royal Commission as entirely “model.”

“*The children never seem to have been examined in a proper manner. . . . No warnings of the necessity of honesty in examination, or hints as to the discredit which would be brought on the school by disobedience had any effect. We formed a very unfavourable opinion of the discipline.*”²

“It was not an unusual thing to find some of the superfluous young men employed as assistants and monitors in schools, where the numbers were small, in the girl’s school, or in some of the numerous class-rooms, passing the time in conversation with the similarly circumstanced female teachers. . . . We fear that *it would be unsafe to assert that no evil consequences had ever resulted from the facility with which the young people can seek one another’s society.*”

The annual “public examinations” and distribution of prizes in the Model Schools, of which the Board were so proud, and on which, in their yearly Reports, they lavished all the laudatory epithets in their vocabulary, found scant favour in the eyes of the practical members of the Royal Commission who visited the Model Schools. These “examinations” are described as “unreal,” and as “unworthy of a public department,” and not until a complete change should be made in the programme of these exhibitions “might a sensible man attend *without feeling that he was being made a fool of.*”⁴

Though this Report, so disgraceful and damaging to the National Board, was issued fully twenty years ago, no effort has been made by the Board to remedy a single one of the evils, or to remove a single one of the anomalies so strongly animadverted upon. Shall this contemptuous disregard for public opinion be permitted to continue? Can the Board itself afford any longer to despise the overwhelming evidence of its incompetence which his Grace has brought forward in this “Statement”? Unless the official hide be not only elephantine, but armour-plated, we must answer, no.

By the way, we had almost forgotten to say a word about the

¹ Page 78.

² Page 77.

³ Page 83.

⁴ Page 81.

form of the book under review, or of the scope which the illustrious author proposed to himself. Our only excuse for this departure from the reviewer's beaten path is the indignation excited in our mind against the National Board by the perusal of the first part of his Grace's work. And, as a parting shot at that effete institution, we may inform our readers that the chapter on the Training Colleges in the present work reveals a state of things if possible more humiliating and more disgraceful to the Board than anything that has gone before. It is with reluctance we refrain from giving some of the innumerable facts in this connection which his Grace has collected. A good deal, however, is epitomized in the fact that the English educational authorities *refuse to recognise* the training given in the Marlborough-street College.¹

The "Statement," then, naturally divides itself into three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to Primary, Intermediate, and University Education. Under each head, his Grace, with that grasp of details and clearness of exposition which characterizes his work, sets forth the grievances which Catholics have to suffer; shows who is primarily responsible for these gross injustices, and again and again calls attention to the lines on which the legitimate aspirations of the Irish Catholics in each of these branches of education may be and must be satisfied. We have dwelt at such length on the part dealing with primary education, not because the subject itself is more important than either of the others; nor because our grievances in this department are more numerous or more pressing; nor even because less regard to the prejudices and feelings of Irish Catholics has been paid in the conception and administration of the system of primary education than of the others. No; but the evils of the primary system are much older; their redress has been again and again called for, and now at length it seems to us a determined and persistent effort should be made to have them removed, and to have the Board which has been, and is, mainly responsible for them, either entirely dissolved, or at least thoroughly purified. Hence we deemed it our duty to call particular attention to this part of his Grace's "Statement." The other parts, however, are no less interesting, and should be carefully perused by everyone interested in the higher education of our people. The appendixes, too, of which there are several, are replete with useful information on the education question.

¹ See page 99, note 2.

THE PENITENT CHRISTIAN, IN SEVENTY-SIX SERMONS. By the Rev. Francis Hunolt, S.J. Translated from the German, by the Rev. J. Allen, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1889.

THE seventy-six sermons, of which *The Penitent Christian* is made up, are contained in two goodly volumes, brought out in the Messrs. Benziger's best style. These two volumes are the fifth and sixth of the complete collection of Father Hunolt's sermons, but are quite complete in themselves. The title *Penitent Christian* indicates the subject of the sermons. Penance in all its details, both as a virtue and as a sacrament, is considered. Its necessity is proved; the motives urging to it are explained, and everything necessary for making a good confession and for afterwards persevering in virtue is clearly and forcibly, and withal simply, expounded. We are not much in favour of the use of sermon-books. They may be, and no doubt are, used with profit by many. But by many others we fear they are abused. Keys and translations may be useful; but so rarely are they really useful to students, that in every good school both are strictly banned. Now to us it appears that sermon-books are, in the hands of the elders, what keys are in the hands of the juniors. They are made to supply the place of intellectual effort; and in this respect, so far from doing good, they do a world of harm.

If, however, we were purchasing a sermon-book, we know of none that we should prefer to these volumes of Father Hunolt. The sermons are clear, they are full of excellent matter, and are frequently relieved by apposite illustrations and anecdotes. There may be, here and there, an unwarrantable digression; but, notwithstanding, the harmony of the discourse is seldom injured. Father Hunolt, we may observe, died about the middle of the last century. He was one of the most distinguished preachers of the Jesuit Order in his own, or, indeed, in any other day. The bulk of his sermons were preached in the Cathedral of Treves. Dr. Allen's translation displays both great painstaking and great abilities.

D. O'L.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1890.

CARDINAL NEWMAN :

A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS, BY ONE OF HIS OLDEST
LIVING DISCIPLES.

I AM glad to be allowed to say a word in loving veneration of one to whom under God I owe my soul. Through having been providentially brought under his influence at Oxford, fifty years ago, I was guided to escape the quicksands of Rationalism, and to find the secure haven of the Catholic Church.

I went to Oxford in 1838, when Newman's influence was at its highest point. His great name drew me to his sermons, which he preached every Sunday evening at the parish service at St. Mary's, after the University Sermon was over. These sermons were attended by great numbers of undergraduates, bachelors, and masters of arts, the flower of young Oxford. They were wonderful, not because of any studied rhetoric or arts of eloquence, but because of their quiet earnestness. They spoke of God, as no man, I think, could speak unless God were with him; unless he were a Seer, like the prophets of old, and saw God.

For aboriginal Catholics, it is not easy to understand many of the characteristics of the life and influence of John Henry Newman; especially the long course of years it took him, and many others who are now Catholics, to find their way through the tangled mazes of religious error in which they had been brought up, and reach, at last, the City of God,

which to Catholics seems so manifestly "the City set upon a hill which cannot be hid." The Catholic who has received the Faith in his baptism, and has adhered from the earliest opening of his reason to the *motivum credendi*, i.e., God speaking by his infallible Church, cannot easily place himself in the position of a convert, who has climbed up to the high mountain, whence by the intuition of faith he sees God and the things of God, and holds them no longer as *opinions*, but as *verities*. To the Catholic, all seems so clear, because he has seen all from the first, glowing in the light of faith.

If ever he examines the *motiva credibilitatis*, or formal evidences of religion, wishing to have a well-ordered, reflected view of the reasons why he believes, it is never tentatively, i.e., taking the things of faith hypothetically; this would be for him an act against faith. But the convert has had to take all the articles of faith, in the first instance, hypothetically: he has had to weigh their probabilities *pro* and *contra*, and it was only through finding a multitude of probabilities all converging in one point, that he felt at last compelled by the exigence of duty towards truth and the God of truth, to give assent to the truth of revelation as a whole and in its parts—and to make his Act of Faith in the Catholic Church. But it may, perhaps, seem curious to Catholics, and a thing unexpected, that converts generally come to the Church, through being satisfied on *details*. They *e.g.* find, first of all—perhaps by reading some Catholic exposition or catechism—that the Church does *not* teach the errors they had supposed, that it is not idolatrous or anti-Christian; that, on the contrary, it holds all the doctrines of Christianity that Protestants themselves hold as essential. So that if ever they became Catholics, they would have to give up nothing that they had always believed, but would only have to add to their faith some matters which Catholics assert to be necessary logical consequences of the other doctrines which are not in dispute—and which are taught in the writings of the early centuries of Christianity—such, as these are, *e.g.*, the doctrines of the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, Purgatory, and the Infallibility of the Church and of its Head.

When the mind of one who seeks truth has come to this point, he has also become convinced that the Church which has its centre at Rome forms by far the largest portion of Christendom, and the burden of proof is shifted; he is bound to defend his position, to show good reason for his protest, and for his remaining outside the great communion of united Christendom. Such, more or less, has been the course by which we have had to pass. The Oxford movement was most important, because it was the first large and important exodus of Protestants, and of their return to the communion of the Mother Church. Newman was leader of a band of pioneers who cut their way, with great expenditure of time and labour, through the tangled forest that had grown up during three hundred years, between the insular Christianity of England and Catholic Christendom.

Another point which comes to some Catholics as a surprise is, when, in persons who are outside the visible Church, and involved in many erroneous opinions on religion, they find the most evident marks of Christian sanctity. John Henry Newman was an instance of this. No one who knew him could doubt that he was one in whom "wisdom had built herself a house;" as the Incarnate Wisdom says of the man who loves God: "My Father will love him, and We will come to him, and make Our abode with him." Of course, "out of the Church there is no salvation," and "without faith, it is impossible to please God;" but it is also true that those who are in invincible ignorance of the truth, considered as a whole, may yet hold what they do hold, by divine faith, through the grace of their baptism. These are no heretics, if they have never knowingly and wilfully rejected the truth. They are in a salvable condition, are implicit Catholics, *i.e.*, Catholics as God knows them. They belong to "the soul of the Church," as St. Augustine says, though they form no visible part of the Church's body.

Again, it must be remembered that men in Newman's position, who come into the Catholic Church, chiefly through the elaborate study of the Fathers and of ecclesiastical history, find many difficulties that have to be reconciled, knotty points of history that have to be disentangled;

especially, since many of the most telling arguments of Protestants against the Church are drawn from an elaborate, if one-sided, study of Ecclesiastical History, of documents of Fathers and of Popes.

Then, among historical difficulties, are to be noted the many scandals in the lives of Bishops and Popes, at particular periods; and all these are far greater difficulties to those without the Church, than they are to us who are within, and not looking out for the Church, but who know it, and possess it. We remember, always, the words of our Lord, that the kingdom of heaven on earth, was to be like to "a net cast into the sea, gathering into it good fish and bad;" and again it was to be like "cockle, growing in the midst of the good seed, until the harvest." A real survey of the almost boundless field of history is a gigantic work; and it is this which detained Newman so long upon the road. But it is not the road for ordinary wayfarers. It had to be done once for all, and John Henry Newman has done it, and has made a high-road for all time, by which men of good-will can easily find their way, even through the mazes of history, from the City of Confusion to the City of Truth.

I have a vivid remembrance of my first seeing John Henry Newman, when I was quite a youth at Oxford. He was pointed out to me in the High-street. I should not have noticed him if his name had not been mentioned by my companion. He was walking fast, with a very peculiar gait, which was his own. It was like a man walking fast in slippers, and not lifting his heel. It was not dignified; but you saw at a glance that he was a man intent on some thought, and earnest in pursuing some purpose, but who never gave a thought as to what impression he was making, or what people thought about him. When one came to know and study him, it was plain that his mind was so *objective* that his own subjectivity was well-nigh forgotten. Hence his simplicity, meekness, and humility. God, not self, was the centre of all his thoughts.

Newman's sermons had the most wonderful effect on us young men. It was to many of us as if God had spoken to us for the first time. I could never have believed before-

hand, that it was possible that a few words, read very quietly from a manuscript, without any rhetorical effort, could have so penetrated our souls. I do not see how this could have been, unless he who spoke was himself a *seer*, who saw God, and the things of God, and spoke that which he had seen, in the keen, bright, intuition of faith. We felt God speaking to us; turning our souls, as it were, "inside out," cutting clean through the traditions of human society, which are able so completely to corrupt and distort the spiritual insight of the soul.

The great defect of Protestant training is, that no one (I speak of fifty years since) ever spoke clearly of the essential immorality of all impurity. Certain things which injured life, health, or reputation, were reprobated; nothing else was ever hinted at. There was, of course, no training of the Confessional, by which, alone, with Catholics, this evil is generally nipped in the bud. For the Catholic child knows by the instinct of faith, and through the few modest words said to him by teachers or parents when he is preparing to make his examination of conscience before confession, that *immodest thoughts* even, if deliberately indulged in, would be mortal sin. This is the great defence of Catholic morality; it is "a fortification with a strong outwork"—*murus et ante-murale*. The absence of this training left English Protestant society in a very corrupted state. It was, indeed, considered *bad form*, among gentlemen, to talk of impurity; the grossness of language and the drunken orgies of a previous generation had passed away. But there was a kind of tacit understanding among middle-aged men, fathers of families, clergymen, &c., that it would not do to be too hard on the young; that we must keep our blind eye on the doings of our young sons, that "youths must sow their wild oats." They would learn prudence and wisdom by experience, as their elders had done, and they would turn out as well as these old squires, and "grave and reverend seniors," felt, complacently, they had done. While I say this, let me bear testimony to the extraordinary purity, in those days, among the women of the upper and middle classes; the classes from which the clergy of the Church of England

of that time chiefly came. Especially, I remember, that the daughters of the families of the clergy were models of English gentlewomen, brought up under home influences; while the sons, educated at public schools, were far below their sisters in education, refinement, and Christian morals and piety. The public, and still more the private schools, were such, that it was rare, indeed, if any innocent youth passed through them without being stained; too often he was utterly corrupted.

It was of such materials that the youth of Oxford were chiefly composed; and on such as these Newman's sermons came down like a new revelation. He had the wondrous, the supernatural power of raising the mind to God, and of rooting deeply in us a personal conviction of God, a sense of His presence. He compelled us to an intuitive perception of moral obligation—of that Natural Law of right, which is written in the mind by the Word and Wisdom of God, and which St. Augustine and St. Thomas say is the "Reason of the Divine Wisdom, imparted to man by the light of Human Reason."

It was not at first sight that Newman's personal appearance struck me. It was only when I came to hear him and study his countenance that I understood its majesty, and saw in him a something different from any human being I had ever known. Everything about him was unstudied, self-forgetting. To see him come into St. Mary's, in his long white surplice, was like nothing one had seen before. He seemed to glide in swiftly like a spirit incarnate; for with him it was the spirit that had the power of impressing you. When he reached the lectern, in the middle aisle, he would drop down on his knees, and remain fixed in mental prayer for a few moments; then he rose in the same strange unearthly way, and began the evening service. His reading of the lessons from the Old and New Testament, as I have heard him many a time at Oxford and at Littlemore, was the most marvellous expression of soul. It showed how imperfect a medium of ideas are words in themselves; it is only soul can speak to soul; and some men, but very few like Newman in this, have the power of using words, as some extraordinary

violinists are said to have used their instruments, so as to draw forth sounds that would have seemed beyond the reach of earthly music.

Newman had the power of so impressing your soul as to efface himself, and you thought only of that majestic soul that saw God. You felt that it was God speaking to you, as He speaks in all the wonderful handwriting of the book of nature, but in a deeper way, by the articulate voice of man made to the *image*, raised to the *likeness* of God; conveying, through intelligence, and sense, and imagination, and the voice of words, which are the most efficacious signs of ideas, a *transcript*, as it were, of the architypal thoughts of God.

Never shall I forget hearing him read the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "In the beginning God created. . . and the Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters:" and that wonderful chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "God, who at sundry times and in diverse manners spake in times past to our fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. . . But to the Son He saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." The faith in the One God, and in the One Lord Jesus Christ, God of God, came home to many of us, in his reading, as it had never before come home when we had heard the Creed read, or repeated these dogmas of the faith in our catechism.

What struck me as the characteristic of his whole teaching and influence was, that he made us think, reflect, know that we knew, or that we did not know; thus he led us to seek for the last reasons of things, and so on to the Last Reason of all things—the First Cause of all—God the Creator. This was the first thing he did for us young men; he rooted in us a personal faith and knowledge of God, a sense of His presence, and of the exigency of our duty to Him in all things, in and for Him. As we had thus learned practically to know God, we felt the urgent need of further knowledge of God than nature could give us. We accepted Christianity as being, in fact, beyond the shadow of doubt, God's last revelation of Himself to man. If God was present in man, by the light of nature and of grace, and if the voice of conscience is the voice of God, what more probable than that He should have

sent his final message to man by a Man, who was Personally "God manifest in the flesh." Christianity, we doubted not; and the Christianity of the Church of England we doubted not, was that which was taught by Christ and His Apostles. We had some notion that all Protestant sects were substantially one in doctrine, differing chiefly on matters of Church government. We believed, however, that there were certain corrupted forms of Christianity that had to be avoided as a pestilence; especially that of Roman Catholics, who had lapsed into idolatry, worshipped the Virgin Mary in place of God, and belonged to an apostate church, the anti-Christian apostacy foretold in prophecy. We, therefore, set to work to try our best to be good Church of England Christians, to repent of our sins and to amend our lives, to pray earnestly, and to frequent the Communion as it was celebrated every Sunday by Newman in the chancel of St. Mary's.

Just at this time a series of sermons preached and published by Dr. Pusey on *Baptismal Regeneration*, and *Post-Baptismal Sin* were making a great impression. We were convinced that these doctrines were clearly those of the Church of England, of the Scripture, and of the early Fathers of the Christian Church. It was clear that by baptism we had been made temples of God, as St. Paul also teaches. But then had we not banished God's Spirit, and made our soul a temple of devils?

The Church of England had nothing to tell us, as to how post-baptismal sin was to be remitted. Providentially for me, a Roman Catholic book had come into my hands—Milner's *End of Controversy*. I had taken it away from a great friend of mine, who had received it from a Catholic priest in London. My friend became a Catholic shortly after. He is Ignatius Grant, S. J. In this book I read a full exposition of what Catholics believe. I found that I had been completely misled, and that they really held all Christian doctrines which Protestants consider essential. I also saw clearly that there had always been in the Christian Church the belief and the practice of the sacrament of penance, confession, and absolution, by which the sins committed after baptism could

be remitted. Milner also showed me that in the Church of England Prayer-Book, the whole doctrine of the power of absolution conferred by Christ on the priesthood was plainly laid down in the *Ordination Service*; and the practice of auricular confession, in order to obtain absolution, was set forth in the *Office for the Visitation of the Sick*. The reading of this book effected a revolution in my mind. It was difficult to believe in a Church which, while laying down the doctrine of absolution and of confession as necessary for all who needed it by reason of grievous sin, had so utterly neglected it in practice, that I, educated among religious people, had never heard of it until I read about it in a Catholic book. I saw, moreover, that if the Roman Catholic Church was not an apostate church, it was by far the largest portion of the Church, and I could not see how the Church of England could be justified in separating from the Pope, and from the greater part of the Church, at the bidding of the Tudor sovereigns.

During all this time we had all been following the line taken by the *Tracts for the Times*. The main argument of these publications was, that the Church of England, in the Creeds, and in her Articles, Canons, and Homelies, professes to follow the doctrines taught by the Fathers of the first four or five centuries. We had read enough of these authorities, to see that they clearly taught nearly every doctrine held by the Roman Catholic Church; and it seemed to us evident that the Bishop of Rome had always held a primacy of jurisdiction, or supremacy over the whole Church. Many of us were, therefore, disposed to become Catholics at once.

Newman had not as yet come to see that separation from Rome involved separation from the visible Church, and as long as he did not see this, he thought himself bound to remain where he was, and to use his influence to retain others in the Church of England. It was with this view that he published the famous *Tract* 90, the object of which was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not irreconcilable with the decrees of the Council of Trent; that the Articles were intended to include Roman

Catholics, if they were willing to give up the Roman obedience, which he thought concerned rather the temporal accidents of spiritual things.

Tract 90 produced an immense sensation throughout the country. But after a time the heads of the University and the bishops raised a universal protest against it, and against all attempts to minimize the differences between the Church of England and the Catholic Church. Newman felt that his *Eirenicon* had failed.

On us young men *Tract 90* had the effect of strengthening greatly our growing convictions that Rome was right, and the Church of England wrong. But we were immensely influenced by our respect for Newman's learning and conscientiousness, and were willing to try all we could to be contented in the Church of England, if it were possible to show that it was a portion of the visible Church. Several of us, with this view, put ourselves under Newman, at Littlemore, near Oxford. This was a kind of monastic life of prayer, fasting, and study. We rose at midnight to say the Divine Office. We fasted always till 12 o'clock, except on Sundays and great festivals; till 5 o'clock during Advent and Lent. The rest of the time we passed in study.

I soon found that Newman himself was seriously shaken as to the position of the Church of England. This confirmed all my previous doubts and convictions, and made me feel that it was my duty to make my act of submission to the Church, Catholic and Roman. Two years later, Newman and his companions at Littlemore were received into the Church.

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THE POPES, INTERNATIONAL PEACE-MAKERS.

MR. STEAD introduces a late number of *The Review of Reviews* with a reference to the report that the dispute between the United States and England over the Seal Fisheries of Behring's Straits is likely to be submitted to the arbitration of the Pope. He calls it "the most startling and suggestive of all the facts and rumours current since the month began." He says, also, that "it is not incredible, and that, even it should have been invented, is a remarkable and suggestive illustration of the trend of modern thought."

Whether the report be true or not, an appeal to Papa intervention in such a case would be nothing wonderful or nothing new. It is in the memory of all what success attended the arbitration of Leo XIII. on the question of the Caroline Islands a few years ago. All praised his impartiality and wisdom, and the parties concerned were satisfied and grateful. But, that the great chancellor and patron of the *Kulturkampf* should have gone to Canossa, at all, came with surprise upon everyone; it came with despair upon those who say that the influence of the papacy is a thing of the past. And, as to the present rumour, "that even it should have been invented," though it may not be true, shows how rightly Macaulay recognised its vitality when he said, just half a century ago, that "the papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour." The Germans of three hundred years ago cast off papal authority as an iniquitous thing; their descendants to-day, though they deny its true origin, admit that it is quite other than iniquitous. England disowned it also; yet, according to Mr. Stead, if the rumoured proposal were made by Mr. Blaine it is not improbable that Lord Salisbury would accept it. Quite recently, also, the German Emperor, when calling a conference on the labour question, sent a special communication to the Holy Father, expressing his recognition of the necessity that his Holiness should use his influence in solving the social difficulty.

It is instructive to reflect how that power, whose influence Catholic England and Catholic Germany sought to destroy, and whose impending doom they prophesied, is acknowledged to-day as living and strong by Protestant England and Protestant Germany after three centuries of separation and defiance. Twenty years ago the Piedmontese took Rome, and have kept the Pope a prisoner; and recent events in Italy are likely to bring them to their senses, and may be the prelude to another Canossa. It is an evidence of the Church's vitality and power, and of the world's weakness and defeat. It is an evidence that the papacy lives, "full of life and youthful vigour," in spite of the boast of those who would wish it dead. It is an acknowledgment also, albeit an unconscious one, of its origin and of its mission.

Our divine Lord came as the Prince of Peace to found His kingdom in a world which peace had quitted. He came as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," to cast out error, and to bring life once more into "the land of darkness and of the shadow of death." He came as the Liberator; for He said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free." He founded the Church to continue His mission. He said to His Apostles; "My peace I leave you, My peace I give you;" and He sent the "Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, to teach them all truth, and to abide with them for ever." That mission of truth, and liberty, and peace, which the Church received from its divine Founder, was not meant merely for man as an individual. As his fall necessarily involved the ruin of the family and of society, so the mission of the Church, in the work of his regeneration, should not rest with the individual, but should embrace also the family and the State.

Before Roman society came to be informed by Christian polity, Roman jurisconsults had written, and wise laws were made. Nevertheless, the fact was that force was the active principle of its Constitutional Law. Throughout it, as through all paganism, the *jus gladii* was the *jus publicum*. That was the natural outcome of human history; for, when men became wilful and rebellious, nothing

remained but to rule one another by force; and the weak became the slaves of the strong. It was the mission of the Church to change all this; to establish truth, and liberty, and peace, instead of error, and slavery, and discord. It did not, nor does it, condemn the use of the sword. It may well happen that war would be the only means left to a nation to maintain its rights, to defend its liberty. But Christian civilization got the world to recognise a *jus gentium*, to which appeal should before all be made for the settlement of international disputes. The process of civilization was, of course, gradual. To eliminate the spirit of force that penetrated society, was slow work; and in the meantime, war was the general tendency and the first arbiter usually invoked. It therefore became necessary, then as now, to have, in the words of Mr. Stead, "in all international disputes an appeal to some authority sufficiently high above the disputants to take an impartial view of the whole case, and sufficiently honest to decide the question on its merits without being 'nobbled' by either party in the quarrel." But the Church was not merely such. It held its commission from Him who is the origin of civil society, and the spring of all authority that rules it. It was, therefore, the lieutenant of the Prince of Peace, the guardian of national liberty, the avenger of national wrongs. In the new civilization which it had created its authority was acknowledged, its sanctions were feared, and its decisions were respected by rulers and people. It was committed in its patronage to no particular form of government; nor is it to-day. Whilst it remained independent and above them all, it consecrated and protected all. The feudal system came out of the social confusion that followed the irruption of the barbarians; it helped to reorganize society, and the Church blessed it therefore. But when feudal lords began to engage with one another in frequent and needless quarrels, the Church was again ready with a remedy in the *Truce of God*. It blessed alike the Celtic clan-system, the Norman monarchy, and the Communes of Italy; and it is notorious that the American republic, palpitating with modern life, is regarded by Leo XIII. with pride and hope.

We shall now see in detail how the Church has succeeded in its mission of peace.

St. Leo the Great is the first Pope who appears in history as a mediator in the cause of international peace. Indeed, it was only in his time that the first occasion presented itself. Until the early part of the fourth century the Church had to struggle for its existence. It preached its gospel of peace in secret, but it could not yet carry its influence into the reality of public affairs. During those three centuries it was not a question of *how* the Church was to live, but as to *whether* it should live at all. It had not yet come into relation with the State, for the State considered it as juridically not existing. But, with peace and freedom came at once the manifestation of its missionary activity, and the world began to see that Rome was the centre of a new life which was putting forth a mysterious influence over society—over tyrant and slave. In the middle of the fifth century, the Huns, weary of repose and eager for plunder, set out under Attila, from the forests of Pannonia, crossed the Rhine, and penetrated into Gaul, as far as Orleans. They retreated again towards the Rhine, and pouring into Northern Italy spread devastation through the rich plains of Lombardy, and along the valley of the Po. Weak and dissolute, the Emperor Valentinian III. was powerless in the presence of such a force. Attila was making his way direct towards Rome, and it seemed hopeless to oppose him. In their despair the Emperor and his subjects asked the Pope to interfere in their behalf, and to try what he could do to turn the Huns from their purpose. It was an embassy of universal importance, and of enduring results. If Rome and Italy became a prey to the wild power of the barbarians, there was no place else that could at the time be made the centre of Christian civilisation. The Vandals were already in possession of Africa: the Goths ruled in Spain and Gaul; the provinces of the East had become the hunting-ground of heresiarchs. It was one of those great crises in history in which national traditions are threatened and national hopes are blasted; one of those eventful opportunities in which heroic resolution and usefulness immortalize

a great man. The Pope, accompanied by a few illustrious personages of Rome, went to the north and confronted Attila at the present Governolo where the Mincio flows into the Po. The result of the interview was that Attila desisted from his purpose, and led back his warriors beyond the Danube. When the Pope returned to Rome, he was hailed by the people as the saviour of his country. The circuses and the theatres were deserted, the people thronged to the churches and to the shrines of the martyrs to thank Providence for having averted their doom. But when the first gush of gratitude was over, their devotion vanished, and the cause of their joy was forgotten. The churches were again forsaken for the circuses, and the misguided people attributed their good fortune to the influence of the stars—of course, as a justification of their guilt. The Pope rebuked them for their ingratitude, and his words of reproof were prophetic. Only a few years had passed when they had to appeal to his mediation again. The appearance of Genseric before their gates made them turn from the circuses and the stars to that Providence which a few years before they had no sooner thanked than forgotten. Again the Pope was equal to the occasion, and Rome was saved.¹

In the year 568, the Lombards, under Alboin, invaded Italy, and established a kingdom there. Their rule extended over a great part of the country, in the north, the centre, and the south. Their capital was Pavia. The provinces which remained independent of them and subject to the Empire were ruled by representatives of the Emperor—by an exarch at Ravenna, and by dukes at Pentapoli, Rome and Naples, &c. The first exarch was appointed in 568 to defend the Italian provinces against the Lombards. But, through external attacks and internal discords the power of the Empire was waning, and its Italian provinces looked in vain to Constantinople or to Ravenna for protection against the barbarians. Even the Emperor was not always able to keep

See *Roma ed i Papi: Studi storici, filosofici, &c.*, by Conte Tullio Dandolo, vol. i., chap. 13. Jungmann, *Dissertationes in Hist. Eccl.*, tom. iii., Dissert 14, No. 9.

his own exarch and dukes in the best of order. Moreover, religious and social differences kept the Italians and Lombards apart, and even when the latter became all civilised and Christian, the two races did not unite more closely than before. The Lombards abolished Roman law in the conquered provinces, and excluded the Italians from all civil and military offices. They treated them, in fact, as a subject and inferior race, whilst the Italians regarded them as intruders, and helplessly resented the domination of barbarian upstarts. In the midst of such confusion the influence of the Popes in civil affairs became very great. They alone had an unselfish interest in the people, and sufficient power to protect them; and their neutral and independent position gave them an influence for good in the quarrels between the Lombards and the exarchs, and between the latter and their imperial masters. But let us see some of the results of their influence.

Pope Gregory the Great induced Agilulph, the husband of the famous Queen Theodolinda, to raise the siege of Rome after he had been besieging it for some time, and when it was on the point of falling into his hands. A few years later Italy was spared the ravages of another war by the intervention of St. Gregory. He got Agilulph and the exarch to come to terms of peace, each party promising to repair any wrongs done to the other side before or during the war. But, during these negotiations, the claims of the rival parties were not his only or his greatest difficulty. The greatest obstacles were thrown in his way by public officials at Rome and Ravenna, for whom peace would mean loss, and war would mean gain, and who cared more for private interest than for the public welfare which they were trusted to promote. They even went so far as to put up a placard in Ravenna denouncing the Pope, and charging him with unworthy motives in trying to restore peace; but the Pope excommunicated those who did it, for not either withdrawing or proving the charges. At length, in the year 599, after four years of negotiation, he succeeded in bringing the exarch and the king to terms of peace, and for the observance of it he continued to use his

influence on both sides.¹ Hence we can understand what feelings moved him when, in writing to John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, he used the words:—"Hoc in loco (i.e. Rome) *quisquis Pastor dicitur, curis exterioribus graviter occupatur, ita ut saepe incertum fiat, utrum Pastoris officium aut terreni proceris agat.*"²

In the year 741 Luitprand invaded the Roman province. He took four cities, besides several patrimonies, and many prisoners, amongst them some of consular rank. The Romans appealed to Pope Zachary, who had just then ascended the pontifical throne, and at his bidding Luitprand restored the captured cities and patrimonies, and the prisoners he had taken. But no sooner had he made peace with Rome than he made preparations to attack Ravenna. The Pope, in answer to the prayers of the exarch and his subjects, sent envoys to Pavia to treat with the king. Luitprand being inexorable, the Pope himself went to meet him, and got him not only to desist from his enterprise, but also to restore the cities which he had already taken.³

During the pontificate of Stephen II., the successor of St. Zachary, Astulph, king of the Lombards, invaded the Roman provinces, and imposed a heavy tribute on the people. The Pope wrote to Constantine Copronymus, telling him of the condition of his Italian subjects, and asking him to protect them. But that emperor was more occupied with image-breaking than with the cares of his provinces, and the Pope prayed his protection in vain. The Pope then, having on his way interviewed Astulph at Pavia, went to Pepin, king of the Franks, whose aid he sought and obtained. A few years later, in 756, Astulph was killed whilst hunting,

¹ Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, vol. ii., book 3. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. viii., liv. 35.

² *Epistolae S. Greg.*, lib. i., Ep. 24. In reading his letters—in which he often bitterly regrets having to mix so much in civil affairs so foreign to his actual calling and past life—one is pained to think that such men as Gibbon and Hallam should accuse him of ambition. However, he is well defended by several Protestant writers more trustworthy than those when dealing with the character of Popes.

³ Those two facts are mentioned by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Vita Zachariae*. See also "*Commentarii Storico-critici di S. Zaccaria Papa, &c.*" By the late Cardinal Bartolini. *Commentario* ii.

and the Duke of Tuscany tried to become king. The brother of Astulph opposed him, and the country would be plunged into a civil war had not Pope Stephen interfered, and brought about a reconciliation. In these events is to be found the formal beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes.

The Popes henceforth ruled as temporal sovereigns over the people whom the emperor had neglected and whom they had saved. We have already followed their footsteps, upholding in Italy the authority of the powers that were, and at all times the successful promoters of peace. As their influence spread, and new kingdoms arose over Europe, their mission of mediation became wider and wider. In tracing political history through all the middle ages, and on to the present day, we shall see that "all their paths are peace," as was the case during the period we have gone over.

M. O'Riordan.

PLAIN-CHANT, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

ONE of the most remarkable and marvellous characteristics of that most remarkable and marvellous institution, called by those who are without her pale, the Church of Rome, but by "those who are of the household of the faith," the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, is the wondrous facility with which she adapts herself to the manners and customs, needs and necessities, of all men, of all nations and every period, while at the same time she ever maintains and preserves her innate conservatism. And perhaps the conservatism of the Catholic Church is nowhere more clearly marked than in the songs and anthems which she puts into the mouths of her children, that is to say in her official chant, that system of music which goes by the name of Gregorian or Plain-Chant. For, although in the present day, the plain-chant passages which it is of obligation to sing at the solemn celebration of the Holy Mysteries, are but fragmentary and

disconnected, nevertheless the Church has carefully preserved and handed down intact her old choral books, and has taken care from time to time to have new editions of them printed.

There is an old world flavour about these ancient melodies which carries one back to the time when Fulc the Good chanted with the canons in the choir of Tours; or to the chamber of Alwinna, where Dunstan is designing a stole which she is to embroider, when his harp, hanging against the wall, suddenly, without touch of mortal hand sounds forth the anthem "*Gaudent in coelis animae Sanctorum qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti; et quia pro Ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo regnabunt in aeternum;*" or to that far-off Sunday morning, when the same saint, clad in his sacred vestments, and waiting near the altar to say Mass till King Edgar should return from hunting, is "of a sudden overcome by sleep, and rapt to heaven, and associated with blessed choirs of angels, hears them singing with alternate voices to the Most High Trinity, and saying, "*Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison,*" and awakening, dictates to his attendants the heavenly melody to which he has been listening, and which, according to Capgrane, was identified in his days with the celebrated trope "*Kyrie Rex splendens.*" Or again, we are carried back in thought by those quaint melodies to the age of chivalry, and behold with the mind's eye St. Louis and his knightly train kneel down on the sea-shore, and in fancy hear them break out singing Charlemagne's "*Veni Creator,*" to implore God's blessing on the crusade on which they are about to embark.

Now, notwithstanding that the time-honoured chants of St. Gregory are still to be found intact in the old choral books of the Western Church, and that various more or less faithful editions of these same choral books have, during the last few years, from time to time, appeared, nevertheless a very large proportion of the melodies is seldom heard, and the few that are sung are little known and less loved.

That this kind of music, however, was at one time popular there can be no doubt, and we know that these same melodies were wont to delight the ears and move the hearts

of our forefathers. What was it that brought tears to the eyes of St. Augustin, and stirred up devotion within his soul, but “the hymns and songs, O my God, and the sweet chant of Thy Church”?

Who does not know the story of King Chut? How, one evening when the royal Dane was being rowed over the fens which then surrounded the Abbey of Ely, the sound of music wafted by the evening breeze over the water met his ears. It was the monks chanting their Vesper Office. The king bids the boatmen rest on their oars, in order that he may fill his ears with the sacred melody. He listens, and as he listens composes a song. “Merrily sung the monks of Ely when Chut King rowed by. Row, boatmen, near the land, and hear we these monks sing,” runs the couplet, which, rude as it is, evidently records to posterity the fact that King Chut loved plain-chant.

How is it, then, that church song has fallen into such disrepute? Is it that modern ears are incapable of appreciating the music of the past, or that the old Gregorian melodies are nowadays so altered and mutilated in their execution, that St. Gregory himself would never recognise his own handiwork in the mangled, distorted, ragged thing which to-day passes for plain-chant?

The above questions will best be answered by taking a short survey of the history of church music, and for this purpose we can have no better guides than Dom Pothier of Solesme, the editor of the *Liber Gradualis*, which contains an exact reproduction of the Gregorian melodies used at Mass, as they existed in the time of St. Gregory, written in the beautiful notation of the fourteenth century, and Dom Kiente of Beuron, author of *Plain-Chant in Theory and in Practice*.

But, first of all, perhaps it would be well, in order to clear the ground, to point out in what respects the “cantus planus,” differs from the “cantus figuratus;” in other words, the difference between plain-chant and her daughter modern music.

To begin with, plain-chant is purely diatonic: that is to say, has no accidentals, with the single exception of B flat, which is used instead of B natural, if a B happens to come

before or after an F, in order to avoid the augmented fourth.

Secondly, modern music is capable of measurement; each note has a fixed and determined time-value. For example, two quavers equal one crochet; two crochets make one minim; two minims, one semibreve, and so forth. Again, each composition is divided into bars containing an equal number of notes, or their equivalent, six quavers, four crochets, &c.

On the other hand, plain-chant, being purely vocal, knows nothing of time in its modern sense; the length of the notes, the pauses, &c., are determined entirely by the text. It is true, however, that so far as regards metrical compositions, where the same accents occur at regular intervals, the effect is practically the same as that which modern music obtains by what is termed time.

Then, as to modes: whereas modern music possesses but two—the major mode and the minor mode, plain-chant is enriched by no less than eight; and of these eight, the fifth and the first are practically identical with the major and minor modes of modern music. Each mode or tone has its dominant, around which the melody, as it were, hovers continually, and its final, on which note the voice naturally seeks repose at the termination of each of the principal divisions of the melody. The dominants and finals vary in the different tones, and a melody written in any particular tone, is restricted within the limits of the octave of that tone. This last observation, however, must not be taken too literally.

The following table gives the dominants, finals, and octaves of the various tones:—

NUMBER OF TONE	OCTAVE	DOMINANT	FINAL
1.....	D.....	A.....	D
2.....	A.....	F.....	
3.....	E.....	C.....	E
4.....	B.....	A.....	
5.....	F.....	C.....	F
6.....	C.....	A.....	
7.....	G.....	D.....	G
8.....	D.....	C.....	

The first, third, fifth and seventh tones are termed

authentic, or primitive; the second, fourth, sixth and eighth plagal, or derivative.

Now it will be seen from the above Table that each authentic mode has the same final as its corresponding plagal, and that the notes that are in the fifth above this final are common to both.

Adam of Fulda thus quaintly describes the various characters of the eight tones:—

“Omnibus est primus, sed alter est tristibus aptus;
Tertius iratus, quartus dicitur fieri blandus;
Quintum da laetis, sextum pietate probatis;
Septimus est juvenum, sed postremus sapientum.”

Fourthly, and lastly, there is a vast difference between the two styles of music in the manner in which they are written.

In modern music the note indicates not only the elevation but the duration of the sound; in plain-chant, on the contrary, the note serves exclusively to direct the modulation of the voice, and does not exercise the slightest influence on the length or brevity, the strength or weakness, of the syllable to which it is applied. It is the text, and the text alone, which assigns its especial value to each note. In plain-chant, as a certain Spanish author aptly puts it, “La letra es la reyna, y su esclava la musica.”

It is not possible within the limits of a short article to give more than a rough sketch or outline, as it were, of the principles of plain-chant; the above remarks, however, will suffice to indicate to the reader some of the chief differences which exist between plain-chant and figured music.

The history of church song from the earliest times to our own day may be divided into four great periods:—

1. The period of formation, anterior to the time of St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 600.
2. The period of splendour, from A.D. 600 to 1300.
3. The period of decadence, from A.D. 1300 to 1800, when plain-chant may be said practically to have died.
4. The period of restoration, from 1845 up to the present date.

A short *coup d'œil* over the first three of these four periods

will, I think, be sufficient to enable us to answer the inquiries with which we set out at the beginning of this essay.

In the early days of Christianity, when men had to meet together stealthily, for fear of their persecutors, in caves and secret chambers hewn out in the very bowels of the earth the Holy Sacrifice had of necessity to be offered with as much simplicity as possible; but no sooner had the Church emerged from the catacombs (A.D. 313) than she began to display a magnificence and splendour in her services far more becoming the nature of the august mysteries she had to celebrate. Thus it was that the primitive and universal liturgy established by the Apostles had, per force, to undergo some modifications and alterations in order to adapt it to the new exigencies of the times.

It was to one of the Popes of the fourth century that Rome owed her liturgy. St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were the authors of the Greek liturgies, while the Church of Milan claims St. Ambrose as the founder of her ancient rite.

In these early days the whole of the sacred offices were chanted; the melodies employed, which were very simple, and probably resembled our less ornate antiphons and recitatives, were responsorial and antiphonal, and the whole body of the faithful joined their voices to those of the clergy. It may be of interest to note that the introduction of this antiphonal singing is attributed to the Apostolic Father, St. Ignatius of Antioch.

The singing of metrical hymns was probably first introduced in the Western Church, by St. Ambrose at Milan, towards the close of the fifth century. Be this as it may, the custom having once taken root rapidly spread throughout the whole of Christendom, and St. Ambrose certainly rendered great service to church music by the introduction of what are known as the Ambrosian chants, which chants are still to this day sung at Milan and throughout the diocese.

But more than to any other the Western Church is indebted for the dignity and sweetness of her song to the man who by his prudent counsels saved Italy in the time of her deep degradation and shame, who was the author and

founder of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, who clothed the liturgy of the Church of Rome with a splendour and majesty which it had never known before—the glorious Benedictine saint and pontiff, Gregory the Great. He it was who, amid the cares and troubles of state, and notwithstanding his “daily instance, the solicitude of all the churches,” found time to collect together all the liturgical melodies which then existed, and to unite them in an antiphonarium which he caused to be chained to the high altar of St. Peter’s, and not only to found at Rome a school of church song, but to himself initiate the young scholars in the mysteries of plain-chant.

To this school was entrusted the task of faithfully conserving and handing down intact the sacred melodies, and of disseminating them to newly-converted peoples; and in such high estimation was it held by all, that during the lifetime of St. Gregory, and for two hundred years after his demise, the Roman *schola* was regarded as the centre and focus, the very *sanctum sanctorum* of liturgical song. According to the portrait which tradition has painted of this venerable pontiff, Gregory was himself a marvellous singer, and a composer of such genius as is seldom met with in the course of long centuries. Even in the eyes of his contemporaries, so mighty and puissant did he appear that, in their opinion, none of his predecessors had ever attained to the height of his genius; and in the middle ages, men did not hesitate to say that his chants and melodies were composed under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

The antiphonary which St. Gregory had drawn up was, of course, regarded as a sacred and inviolable monument. It was, indeed, held in such veneration that although several of his successors introduced various modifications into the sacred liturgy, nevertheless the antiphonary remained intact.

As an example of this, the case of Gregory II. may be cited, who, when he introduced special Masses for the Thursdays of Lent, did not venture to place new compositions beside the old Gregorian melodies, but gleaned throughout the whole liturgical year the chants with

which the music for these seven Masses was composed. Not but that in after years the category of church music was enriched by new and not unworthy compositions: Fulbert of Chartres (1029), for example, set to music the beautiful responses which had been written by King Robert of France; Letaudus of Micy (997) composed a magnificent Office in honour of St. Julianus of Mans; St. Leo IX., in addition to his celebrated *Gloria* and various other compositions, wrote a very beautiful Office in honour of St. Gregory; while St. Hildegarde, Abbess of Mont St. Rupert, who tradition says was supernaturally initiated in the principles of plain-chant, wrote no less than seventy compositions, which, for sublimity of style and richness of jubilation, come very near to, if they do not equal, the choicest of the ancient Gregorian melodies.

Adopted, at length, throughout the whole of western Christendom, the "cantus firmus" played a rôle in the world's drama which sacred song had never played before, and which, perhaps, she is never destined to play again. From the time of St. Gregory until the close of the middle ages—that is, for a period of more than a thousand years—the sweet melodies of the great musician pontiff, chanted by thousands of voices, resounded night and day throughout the echoing vaults of thousands of cathedrals and monastic churches, in one long and uninterrupted harmony of praise.

Nor is this an exaggeration, for it must be borne in mind that during this period the whole of the Divine Office was sung daily, not merely recited, as it is nowadays, and that by a numerous choir of men; for by far the larger number of monasteries counted over a hundred monks, who regarded the chanting of the Divine Office as a sacred obligation and the principal end of their life.

In this nineteenth century, and especially in this land of a thousand-and-one rival Christian sects, where every form of heretical worship rides rampant, from the vulgar buffoonery of the Salvationist to the pinchbeck sacerdotalism of the Protestant minister who masquerades in Rome's left-off garments, it is difficult to picture to oneself the unity, dignity,

and splendour of Christian worship throughout the ages of Faith. Kings and statesmen, the highest and mightiest in the land, considered it an honour and a privilege, not only to be present at, but to take an active part in, the Divine Office. Strange that their sole representative in modern times—I speak under correction—should be without the pale of the Catholic Church!

Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, Louis the Fat, Robert Capet, Fulk the Count-canon of Anjou, deemed it their duty to assist daily at the Canonical Hours; while many of the nobles carried in their train, more perhaps on account of vanity than devotion (nevertheless the fact remains the same), a numerous suite of chaplains, cantors and choristers, with coffers filled with precious stuffs, rich vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments, and in some cases also even portable organs, in order that the service of God might be celebrated wherever they went with becoming dignity and splendour.

It was about the year 1140 that an event occurred the consequences of which had an unprecedented influence not only on the future of plain-chant, but on that of every other system of music.

Guido of Arezzo about this time invented, or at all events perfected, the stave, thereby rendering it possible to indicate in writing the precise elevation of the sound intended to be conveyed by each note. But little has been known hitherto of the life and history of the great singer of Arezzo. Several documents, however, have lately been discovered which throw a considerable amount of light on his obscure and chequered career.¹ As the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* is possibly not very widely circulated in England, a short biographical sketch, according to these latest discoveries, might not be without interest to my readers.

Born at the beginning of the eleventh, or towards the close of the tenth century, Guy seems to have been a native

¹ See Dom Morin's interesting article "Guy d'Arezzo, ou de Saint Maur des Fosses d'après plusieurs textes inédits." *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, July, 1888.

of France; but, however this may be, he was certainly brought up and educated from his earliest childhood at the great Abbey of St. Maur des Fossés, near Paris, and there he afterwards became musical preceptor to the choir children of the Abbey Church.

“*Praesentes atque posterī preces pro eo pariter,
Deo fundant, ac pueri, quos docet specialiter.*”

It was probably in allusion to this period of his life, that years after, when time and sorrow had blanched his hair, we find him writing to his friend and patron, Theobald, Bishop of Arezzo, “*Coepi inter alia studia musicam tradere pueris.*”

But the poor monk-musician does not seem to have been suffered to continue for long the peaceful rôle of choir master. His superior genius stirred up envy and hatred in the hearts of some of his associates, and petty jealousies and cruel persecutions drove him into exile. He fled to Italy, and took refuge in probably one of the monasteries subject to the jurisdiction of the great Abbot Guy of Pomposa. Here again misfortune tracked his heel: new enemies rose up against him, among them one Leo Dean of Pavia, and, strong in the support of the Abbot of Pomposa, then little *au courant* with the facts, forced him again to flight. This time he went further afield, and sought and found shelter at Arezzo, where Bishop Theobald took him under his protection. But Guy had grown old in the course of his long and weary perigrinations, and now began to think that he would devote the few remaining years of his life to the service of God in some quiet monastery, perhaps in the neighbouring solitude of Camaldoli. This, however, was not to be. Theobald who had some title to his gratitude, and prevailed on him not only to write his celebrated micrology, the most practical of all the manuals on plain-chant written during the middle ages, but also again to undertake the duties of choir master, this time at the Cathedral Church of Arezzo. It was not long before his school of choristers gained such renown that its fame reached the Eternal City, and at length came to the ears of Pope John XIX., who brought our

musician to Rome, and treated him with the greatest honour and distinction.

It may be added that the last retreat of this great master of plain-song was probably "the venerable monastery of St. Mary at Pomposa," which at that time was still under the jurisdiction of the holy Abbot Guy, before mentioned, between whom and our hero a complete understanding seems to have been ere this established. Indeed, from a certain letter of his to one Michael, a brother monk, it may be inferred that they were on terms of the greatest cordiality and affection, for in this letter Guy speaks of the Abbot as his "father, and the other half of his soul."

One word as to personal appearance. Guy seems to have been a man of small, if not diminutive stature, but, in compensation, to have been endowed with a stupendous intellect, if the following quaint verses are any criterion:—

— *Uti acor ingenio pollere pythagoro,
Si quis te tenero docuisset doctus ab aevo.
Nempe, nisi fallor, mens est tibi corpore major :
Corpus habes modicum, sed cordis acumen acutum,
Parvus et astutus melior quam longus ineptus.
Est ysopo malva procerior atque cicuta.
Quae tamen est malva preciosior atque cicuta
Mimica vel ape minimis animantibus esse
Invenies usquam non ingeniosius unquam,
Sed cor iners asini nil habet ingenii,
Mimica vel ape cum sit sat grandior ipse."*

It is impossible fully to appreciate the importance of the innovation brought about by Guy of Arezzo, without having some knowledge of the way in which music was previously written.


Now the earliest form of notation employed for plain-chant, and the form most generally in vogue anterior to the introduction of the stave, was that which is usually termed neumatic, from the Greek word *νεῦμα*, a sign, or possibly from *πνεῦμα*, breath.

The neumata or neumes, as Dom Pothier calls them, were in their original form nothing more or less than the ordinary accents employed by grammarians to indicate that the sound of the voice on such or such a syllable should be relatively grave or acute.

Now with grammarians the *acute* accent indicates that the syllable over which it is placed should be pronounced with a certain elevation of voice ; as a musical sign, therefore, it was used to point out that the accentuated syllable should be sung to a relatively high note.

When the *grave* accent, on the other hand, is placed over a syllable, it signifies that the voice should be lowered in pronouncing that syllable ; in music, therefore, it is the sign of a relatively low note.

The *circumflex* accent, as its form indicates, is a union of the acute accent and the grave accent, and the ancients seem to have used it as an indication that, in the pronunciation of the syllable over which it was placed, the voice should be first raised and then lowered ; in musical notation, then, it signified a high note followed immediately by a low note.

Employed as musical notes, these signs of accentuation assumed new names and new forms. The grave accent, for example, when it was not combined with the acute accent, was very early reduced to a simple point or dot, and was termed a *punctum*. The acute accent retained as a musical note, at all events until the invention of the stave, its ancient accentual form, but took the name of *virga*. The circumflex retained with some authors the name of *flexa*, but was called by others *clivis* or *clinis*, for *inclivis*, or *inclinis* ; while the anti-circumflex doubtless on account of its foot-like form (), became the *pes* or *podatus*.

A multitude of other combinations were employed, a detailed description of all of which would be out of place in a magazine article. Let it suffice then, for the present, to remark, in the first place, that, as to their shape, the tendency was to round off the angular points where the accents joined, and that when it happened that several grave accents followed one another, either in ascending or descending, they were always represented by simple dots ; and, in the second place, that should any of my readers desire further information on this most interesting subject, they will be able to obtain it in Dom Pothier's excellent work on plain-chant, entitled *Les Melodies Gregoriennes* (Desclée & Co., Tournay).

From the above observations it will be clear that the

neumes in their original form were simply signs or notes whereby indeed a melody might be recalled, but which in no way determined the precise elevation of the sound intended to be conveyed. The importance, therefore, of Guido's invention will at once be apparent, for by it he not only rendered it a much less difficult task to preserve the ancient Gregorian melodies free from corruption; but, as it were, prepared the soil for a more elaborate and harmonized form of music, the writing of which would have been practically impossible under the old system of notation.

The long period of prosperity which plain-chant enjoyed during the earlier part of the middle ages may be divided into two epochs. The first, which extended from the year A.D. 600 to the year A.D. 1000, was the golden age of plain-chant. Then it was that church song reached its apogee. The second extended from the year A.D. 1000 to the year A.D. 1300. The Gregorian melodies were during this period still maintained intact, but the various new compositions with which the liturgy was enriched—for this was an age of great musical fecundity—no longer breathed that pure Gregorian spirit with which the preceding period had been so deeply imbued. This was the age, *par excellence*, of hymns, sequences, and tropes, comparatively few Mass chants, properly so called, being composed. The new compositions were, indeed, still good, but they lacked the grandeur, the freshness, the originality, the spontaneity of the old Gregorian melodies. The period of decadence may also be divided into two parts, the first of which—that is the period from the year A.D. 1300 to the year A.D. 1600—saw, as it were, the beginning of the end. The vigour and life which church song had never ceased to maintain for seven hundred years, now, at length, began to be exhausted. Death had laid his hand upon her, and gradually, and at first almost imperceptibly, there crept in that decay and feebleness which was destined to be the ultimate cause of her dissolution.

There is a wonderful similarity in the life, decline, and death of those twin sisters, Christian art and Christian song. Hand in hand they went together from the cradle to the grave, and hand in hand they rose again from the dead. If we look at

the monuments of the last Gothic period, what do we find? Gorgeous and magnificent, as they certainly are, they have strangely swerved from those just principles which animated artists and designers during the earlier periods of Gothic art. The architects of this last epoch have ceased to look to nature as their guide. Instead of each component part of a building being in itself beautiful and ornamental, ornament is everywhere constructed, and applied without rhyme or reason. Their very skill in engineering was one cause of their fall; not content with surmounting the obstacles which they met with in the just exercise of their profession, they seem, as it were, to have constructed difficulties, in order to show their skill in overcoming them.

Architecture, too, became a tyrant who crushed all the other arts beneath his iron heel; or, rather, they one and all became his sycophants and toadies. The goldsmith, the carver in wood, the embroiderer, the window painter, each in their own material—gold, silver, oak, chestnut, velvet, silks, stained glass, and so forth—sought to imitate the bastard ornament with which the architects of the period were in the habit of encumbering their buildings. Thus it was that an enfeebled and moribund Christian art at length yielded and died before the onsets of the pagan renaissance.

Not dissimilar was the end of Christian song. From the commencement of the fourteenth century the taste and zeal for plain-chant began to wane.

The introduction of measured music which took place about this time dealt her a rude blow—a blow from which she still staggered when she breathed her last, towards the close of the eighteenth century. The composition of motets, the calculation of perfect and imperfect time, now began to absorb all the leisure and all the attention of the musicians of the period. Counter-point and measured music at length began to invade the sanctuary itself. Plain-chant was no longer mistress; nay, men began even to neglect her; and later on, at the time of the renaissance, when it became the fashion to despise everything mediæval, she was relegated still further to the background.

The numerous excrescences with which the liturgy had

syllable, it is obviously apparent that there must be certain pauses, certain relaxations of speed, that some of the notes must be more closely bound together than others, if there is to be anything rhythmical, anything harmonious, anything pleasing to the ear about the passage.

Now in order to indicate to the singer the manner in which these notes were to be grouped together, the musicians of the first and second periods made use of certain signs or neumes, which had for their elements, as I pointed out on another page, the grave and acute accents of the grammarian.

In addition to those neumes which I have already described, various other combinations were employed. Dom Pothier enumerates, in the preface to his *Liber Gradualis*, no less than twenty, exclusive of the virga and punctum. Let it suffice here to point out a few of the most simple. The *torculus*, for example, a combination of three notes, of which the centre one is tonically higher than either of the others; its inverse, the *porrectus*, a combination of three notes, with the centre note lower than either of its fellows; then there is the *scandicus* and *climacus*, the first three ascending, the second three descending notes; the *torculus resupinus* and the *climacus resupinus*, each of these combinations of four notes, being, in fact, made up respectively of the ordinary torculus, and the ordinary climacus, with a fourth note higher than the third note added to each respectively, and so forth.

Now with the introduction of the stave, no really new system of notation was introduced. All that was done was to put the old neumes on the lines and between the spaces of the stave. In the case of the punctum, and of those portions of the various neumes of which one or more puncta formed a part, it was easy for the copyist to indicate the elevation of the note he intended to be sung; all he had to do was to place the punctum on the line, or in the space required. But with the virga, and with those neumes made up of inclined lines, the case was different; it then was not so easy to decipher at once what line or space was intended to be indicated. To obviate this difficulty, the top of the virga

was marked with a square head, and this square head was written on the required line or space, while in order that the other lined neumes might be the more conveniently read when they were placed on the stave, those parts of them which were intended to indicate the required elevation of the notes were likewise marked with square heads, or became larger and thicker, according as the exigencies of the case might demand. This was practically the only change in notation effected by the Guidonian system.

Until the beginning of the fourteenth century the traditional grouping of the notes was faithfully maintained; but from this period, and during the two succeeding centuries, the manner of grouping them became more and more arbitrary.

The writers of those marvellously illuminated fourteenth-century manuscripts did not trouble their heads much about the correctness of their neumes: they mutilated them and cut them up without mercy, and reconstructed them according to their own sweet will, and thought nothing of detaching a note from one group in order to add it to another group. Thus, for example, if the scribe found himself, towards the end of a line, with a neume which was too long to go into the space which remained, he did not scruple to break up the series of notes which composed the group, and to take of them as many as he required to finish his line, and to carry the remainder on to the following line. The confusion which ensued was lamentable.

But this was not all: things went from bad to worse. At first the scribes were content to substitute one group for another, still maintaining the old traditional series of notes. Thus, for example, in the place of a torculus occurring three times consecutively, they would, perhaps, substitute a pes subpunctis, a climacus, and a clivis; but, time progressing, unaccustomed and hitherto unheard-of neumes appeared in their manuscripts; little by little the old neumes became disorganised, and as it were crumbled away, until at length they were entirely superseded by the little square disconnected notes of modern Gregorian music; and, as a natural consequence, the soft harmonious rippling melodies of the great musician-pontiff, had to give place to that heavy,

broken, rhythmless spelling, that solemn monotonous nasalization which nowadays, too often, masquerades in the tattered garments of St. Gregory.

The task which we imposed on ourselves is accomplished, and the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions without further comment from me.

But, perhaps, someone may say, what of the restoration alluded to more than once in these pages? Is plain-chant anywhere sung as it should be nowadays; and, if so, is it really a kind of music likely to charm the modern ear? Will it ever again become popular? Is this little grain of mustard-seed, supposing it to exist, destined to grow up, and be greater than all herbs, and to become a tree, so that the birds of the air may come and dwell in the branches thereof? And to such an one I would say, go to Maredsous, or to Solesme, or, if you do not like to cross the sea, make a pilgrimage to Stanbroke in Warwickshire, and judge for yourself.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

IMPRESSIONS OF OBER-AMMERGAU, AND ITS PASSION PLAY IN 1890.

SO much has been said and written concerning the Passion Play within the past twenty years, during which time it has grown into a thing of such importance in the eyes of the world, that it seems almost impertinent to treat of a subject already done justice to by the press of to-day. The Very Rev. Dr. Molloy's work, which appeared first in 1871, that of Canon M'Coll, and lastly, Mr. Stead's marvellous shilling's worth of one hundred and thirty pages, giving full text, German and English, with sixty illustrations, would seem to leave nothing more to be said on the matter. And yet the writer, with due deference, ventures to offer his own personal impressions, and especially to those readers of the I. E. RECORD who, living in distant parts of the globe, may care to hear about so interesting a topic from a priest

who was present at two representations, July 27th and July 28th.

The fact of having read so many vivid descriptions of it in the Protestant papers, and of having heard so many glowing accounts from eye-witnesses, both in 1871 and 1880, could not but make one unconsciously critical and expectant beyond measure. How few things in this world come up to our ideas of perfection! But here was to be a pleasing contradiction to the rule, as our visit to this delightful Bavarian village was one chain of surprises. The approach of six miles up a steep wild road from the station of Oberau, the first sight of Ober-Ammergau in its rock-bound glen, the simple and polite peasantry, together with their play and the theatre—all surpassed what each of us had expected. Such a place one might have dreamed about, but here it was in existence, an ideal colony of seventeen hundred devout Bavarian Catholics! It has often been said that an English cottage and garden were a thing unknown outside the kingdom, but here was a village of unconnected cottages, each with its garden, teeming with flowers and vegetables, with many a rustic portico, balcony and arbour, overgrown by roses and wild-hops. The only apology for a street was a crooked sort of road, which extended from the entrance of the village near the church, and on to the north end, where in a spacious field stood the large and half-open wooden theatre. The Ammer, a clear stream of greenish tint, ran along the left side of the road, crossed by rude bridges, consisting often of a single plank. In the distance, on the mountain side, about half a mile away, stood the gigantic stone "Calvary," erected by the King of Bavaria, and given to the people as a souvenir of the Royal visit in 1871. Many of the cottages had a hut at the back, in which were stored those logs of wood which, by busy carving, were destined to become those beautiful crucifixes and pious objects of every size which stand for sale in the cottage windows. Over many a door was painted a bright fresco of some sacred subject, and a well-carved cross adorned the gable. Clearly, the "Passion of Christ" was an old and cherished story with one and all; and besides the portrayal of

it each tenth year, the "the subtle brains and lissom fingers" of these good peasants were ever busy, working out the same great story in those unique carvings which, for delicacy of execution, are the delight of the world. As our car slowly climbed the steep road from Oberau, the beautiful way-side "Calvaries" began to appear at frequent intervals, which for detail and colouring might have come from Munich. Here are paintings, also, on the beetling cliff at our right hand, whilst on a post to the left, by the river side, is a small picture of a sad accident, viz., the crushing of a labourer under a cart which was conveying the stone images, above alluded to, as given by the king.

The Ammergauers are an ideal peasantry, sturdy, well-clad, and of simple rustic manners. The smiling courtesy with which they one and all salute a stranger—their bow and "Gottgrüss!"—captivate you at first sight. The children, with their brown faces and long hair, though often bare-headed and bare-footed, were always scrupulously clean and neat. Not a dirty or ragged child did we see anywhere, though we strolled about, and were getting lost continually amid that pleasing entanglement of cottages and gardens, that we must certainly have found any, had they existed. What a peaceful Catholic republic was this in the Bavarian Highlands, whose wants were so few, whose habits were so frugal and temperate! While their spiritual wants are well looked after by the parish priest and his curate, their Burgomeister (chosen by themselves), Herr Lang, is chief guardian of the small community, whose duties are surely very slight in a village lighted by a few oil-lamps, and the peace of which is never disturbed by shrill voices crying out the daily papers, with its latest murder or suicide! Hence the children, who are so well brought up in that day-school near the Presbytery, may not be so 'cute as those in our smallest English villages, to whom these horrors are known daily by placard and paper. Still, there is the inestimable consolation, that the boys and girls of Ober-Ammergau fulfil the words of St. Paul: "*Non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem.*"

This year many little hearts must throb with anxious

expectation, as one hundred and thirty children take their part in the play, and help to compose those wonderful *tableaux vivants*, which astonish by their beauty and vividness. The behaviour of these young folks, as carriages and vehicles of every description poured in the whole of that Saturday afternoon, showed a total absence of that disposition to "mob" and stare, which is, alas! so peculiar to the lower orders of the British Empire. As the entire village has only about three thousand possible beds for visitors, a large number of whom had already arrived on the Friday, it was a puzzle to know where the owners of the cottages and their families ever found a place of rest. Our lodgings were scrupulously neat, the food good, and fare very cheap, and that, too, at a time when "famine prices" might naturally have been demanded. Often was the query made by our Catholic party, clerical and lay, as we met for meals at good Madame Tobias Zwink's, could any peasant or artisan at home have put us up so comfortably, or looked after our wants with such assiduity and cheerfulness?

According to a custom at Ober-Ammergau, a cannon is discharged at intervals during the Saturday evening from a hill near the theatre, the reverberation of which among the mountains proclaims the advent of next day's performance to the hamlets around. On this special evening, July 26th, the brass band of youths and boys came out to serenade the Prince Regent, who with his two daughters had come to witness the play, on which occasion we learned, for the first time, that *their* national melody was the same as *ours*—"God save the Queen!"

Early next morning the music of church bells and sound of artillery awoke us all, and Masses began in the parish church at about 4.30, and continued at five altars, without a moment's delay, up to 8 A.M. At 6 o'clock the sacred edifice, by no means a small one, was crowded to overflowing: many were unable to enter by either of the two porches. The choir, organ, and orchestra were giving their services at the parochial Mass, at which all the actors communicated. The chancel overflowed with priests, and the prince and his daughters were present in a stall at the Gospel side, draped

with red velvet. The scene was one not to be forgotten. The pleasing spectacle of sovereign and people worshipping at one common altar, round which were grouped clergy of many nationalities, including at least three bishops, brought back to one's mind the happier features of the Church in the good old "middle ages." At a quarter to eight, a warning cannon was fired, and, without delay, the happy five thousand persons, who had secured tickets, were all wending their way to the large wooden theatre. They are models of punctuality in this out-of-the-way village, and as the last gun went off at eight, the choir, with stately step, came promptly forward and stood in line, while a plaintive overture broke forth from the unseen orchestra. The general plan of the "*Passions-Spiel*" may be here given, and for clearness the subject shall be classified under four heads; viz., chorus, tableaux, music, and drama.

I. *Chorus*.—The chorus, styled "*Schutzgeist*" (angel-guardians), comprising fourteen women and eleven men, are robed very effectively in a species of white alb and girdle, over which is fastened a loose cape of brilliant hue. A gilt crown, and sandals, complete their costume. They sing between each portion of the drama for about the space of fifteen minutes, and whilst the tableaux are being exhibited, to which their song refers, they divide, and retire to each side without any interruption of the music. Here the classic student will be reminded of the old Greek chorus, to which their functions are analogous, as the singers explain the tableaux and prophecies of the Old Law, and unfold their special reference to the next scene of the Passion. Their share in the day's work is thus very important, as they appear no less than eighteen times. When it is remembered how careful public singers are of their voices, and the high price at which they often put their efforts during two hours in a comfortable concert-hall, this Bavarian chorus must be allowed to divide the honour of the day along with the actors. The latter may be under cover or not, but the singers are invariably in the open air, and on nearly every occasion are at one time drenched with sudden showers, or scorched by the sun's rays. Of their patience under such drawbacks, we were

witnesses on two consecutive days, and, despite the changing weather, choral numbers, mingled with solos the most artistic, were given in a faultless manner, aided by an orchestra of thirty youths and boys, whose execution was simply perfect. Another special charm of this part of the performance is the constant and varied gesture of the singers as they pour forth their sad strains and unfold the awful story. At one moment the hands are uplifted, at another extended or joined upon the breast; yet amid this continual change there is ever present the most perfect grace and dignity.

II. *Tableaux*.—In the midst of the choral numbers are shown the tableaux, or living groups, depicting some well-known subject from the Old Testament, selected with reference to the various scenes of the Passion. As a small bell is heard, the chorus, still singing, retire a short distance, half to either side, and whilst the vivid living picture remains in view for four minutes, they describe, with outstretched hands, the meaning thereof, and its application to the scene which is next to appear. Then, as the curtain falls, they again close into line to finish their song, and as the last notes fall from the band, they glide away through a door in the pavilion at the extreme right and left.

As already mentioned at the opening of this article, so much has been written well and wisely on the entire "Passions-Spiel," that any praise of these tableaux is almost unnecessary. If any be selected as most worthy of mention, perhaps the "Manna" scene appears by common consent to be the finest, since it is the most complex, brilliant, and statuesque in effect. Here are massed together a wonderful group of over three hundred figures—men of all ages, women with little ones in their arms, boys and girls—all of whom form a crowd of immovable beings gradually extending upwards to the very back of the inner stage. In the centre, conspicuous by his rays of glory, stands the great "Law-giver," and near him the first High Priest in his robes of office, and for the four minutes that this coloured picture is exhibited there is ever falling steadily a shower of silvery snow. After a pause the curtain, which has fallen on this scene again rises, and discloses to us the same tableau; but

in the foreground are now introduced the two messengers from the "Promised Land," bearing a huge bunch of grapes, which some of the little ones are trying to pluck. Meanwhile the chorus, in a melodious refrain, sing of this "bread from heaven," and the grapes, as typical of the new banquet of Christ's body and blood.

The two most remarkable tableaux after these are, perhaps, those preceding the agony and betrayal at Gethsemane. In the first, Adam is at work, spade in hand, while two boys are tearing up the thorns and briars at his side. Eve sits sadly on a log, embracing two little girls, and holding an infant on her lap. There is a pathetic look of great desolation about the entire scene that tells of God's curse on our first parents. Meanwhile the chorus sing of the parallel between the first Adam, toiling in the sweat of his brow, and of the second, sweating blood in the Garden of Olives, and end with the words:

" O, come, ye faithful souls, come all,
Look on the woes that Him befall,
In shadow first, and then in glory,
We all shall see
The sorrowful, sweet story
Of Gethsemane."¹

The next tableau displays a group of soldiers with their spears and standards, and in the centre Joab is embracing Amasa, whilst he thrusts a dagger into his left side. Here, a fine effect is produced by a hidden chorus behind the scene answering the twenty-five choristers, who stand at either side. The latter sing:

" Ye rocks of Gibeon! why do you mourning stand,
That once were counted joy of all the land?
Oh! tell me, I adjure you, what befell."

And the hidden chorus reply:

" Fly hence, O wanderer, swiftly fly from hence!
This bloodstained spot is cursed in all the land," &c.

* * * *

" The foulest deed will soon be done,
That earth or hell displays.
Alas! ere this night's course be done,
" Judas his Lord betrays!"²

Of all the remaining tableaux, the group around the "Brazen Serpent" is a grand colour-picture, whilst for sadness and simplicity may be cited the first murder, where Cain, clad in a leopard-skin, and holding his blood-stained club, flees from the rude stone altar, before which lies the bleeding form of Abel.

III. *Music*.—Not the least surprise, as many visitors testify, is the boldness and power of the music, and its perfect execution by the native orchestra of thirty instrumentalists, who are often mere youths and boys. That any village, of about seventeen hundred souls, should yield seven hundred and fifty actors (of whom one hundred and twenty-three speak), a chorus of twenty-five good voices, and thirty well-trained performers on string, wood, and brass, is certainly a marvel! What town in England, even of two or three thousand, but would be taxed to its utmost resources, to produce by its *own unaided efforts*, an oratorio, or sacred concert, to last the usual three hours of an evening?

The music of Ober-Ammergau is cast in a thoroughly German mould, powerful and earnest, yet at times, as critics have noticed, it recalls that melodious style peculiar to Mozart. How much older than the present century the score is, it may be hard to determine: but it was certainly revised about ninety years ago by the village organist and schoolmaster, Dedler, at which time Dom Ottmar Weis, a Benedictine of Ettal monastery, improved the text.' Up to late years no one was allowed to carry away either the words or music of the "Passions-Spiel." But Mr. Stead seems to have been favoured in this respect, and in his work gives us three valuable specimens of different types of music. The first, a bold air, the Hosanna, in chorale-style, is sung in unison by all the Hebrew crowd in the opening scene, with a fine harmony for the orchestra. The second specimen is a grand chorale, sung before the "Via Dolorosa" scene, and is quite in the style of Bach, the accompaniment

of soft horns imparting a funereal effect to the words, "Betet an," &c.

"Worship now, and praise and thank !
Who the cup of suffering drank,
Now the way to death has trod,
Reconciling us to God."¹

The last piece, given by Mr. Stead, is a rather operatic soprano solo, with chorus, full of pathos, and is sung to the tableau of the Bride in the mystical garden lamenting the absence of her Beloved !

The orchestral prelude to the lament of the chorus over Jerusalem, which heralds the scene where Christ weeps over it, is sad and weird, and almost note for note of Handel's "Behold, darkness," from *The Messiah*. Of all the airs in this wonderful score, one will haunt the memory long afterwards—the oft-repeated sad refrain "Ihr Felsen Gabaon !" ("Ye Mountains of Gibeon," &c.) It is nearly an exact passage from Mozart's *Requiem Mass*.

The hidden choir of angels impart great solemnity to the scene of the "Last Supper," and as Christ goes round to give each of the Apostles the Holy Eucharist, the distant chorus swells, and then gradually dies away.

IV. *Drama*.—As to the dramatic portion of the "Passions-Spiel," about which so much has appeared in the press, but little need be said here, especially as our readers will feel that this article has grown to an unwarrantable length. Certain Protestant critics have manifested surprise, but in a kindly manner, at certain points in the play, which to an ordinary Catholic occasion no difficulty whatever. Thus, a Mr. Russell, editor of *The Liverpool Post*, in a small book reprinted from his paper, expected to see Christ jubilant in His hour of triumph, in the Palm Sunday scene. He says : "In His rapt expression of wistful abstraction you miss the gracious, smiling character of previous conceptions, and read the sad intensity consistently maintained by Joseph Mayr throughout his reading of the part." But in the old account

¹ Stead's *Passion Play*, page 104.

of the Messiah, sent to Rome by the Consul Lentulus, is it not stated, that "He had often been observed to weep, never to smile"; which exactly tallies with the general tradition of the Church. Nor can we hardly imagine smiles on the face of Him who ever beheld the sins of the world around Him, and especially on the occasion above alluded to, when He knew how soon that "Hosanna" would be turned into "Crucifigatur!" This opening scene is generally admitted to be one of the finest, since it gives us, what Doré and Flandrin have pourtrayed respectively in oils and fresco, the effect of a vast concourse of people, for which the Ober-Ammergau double stage is so exactly suited. Here, slowly advancing from the further stage and the side streets, we see some five hundred persons of every age, singing and waving long palms, till the very air seems green, and ever and anon glancing back. Then, appears in the distance the calm and dignified form of the Christus, riding slowly forward on an ass, led by John, and as the people gather closer around, His hand is raised from side to side in solemn benediction. After the Twelve Apostles have closed up the procession the curtain of the centre theatre falls behind them, and as Christ dismounts and addresses the crowd, it quickly rises again, when we see the busy scene of the Temple, full of priests and scribes, the buyers and sellers. With a calm dignity, Mayr advances, upbraids the profaners of God's house, and with a small scourge of cord expels the men with sheep, overthrows the money-tables and cages, from which latter some white doves fly off to the mountains. Finally after an altercation with the enraged priests, who retire by the side street, the Messiah enters the Temple in triumph, followed by the palm-bearing multitude. From this moment until the conclusion of the play, the patient and reverent face of Joseph Mayr fascinates the entire audience, and through the whole of that eventful Sunday, we seemed to be living in other ages and other climes. The eyes of that five thousand followed his form from scene to scene; now, with the fool's garment cast over him; then, again, in the red mantle of scorn; and, finally, rising from the grave in glittering robes of white.

Around the leading figure of the Christus are naturally grouped, in the early portion of the "Passions-Spiel," the Twelve Apostles, of whom it may be observed, in passing, that whilst Judas is vehement and rather too spasmodic, the others are thoughtful and simple in manner, often wearing a puzzled look, as of those who understand not the mystery of the Passion. The part of the "beloved disciple," however, represented by Peter Rendl, a youth of nineteen, is characterized by a deep and tearful sympathy for his Master, and exhibits a refined nature entirely different to the rest of the fishermen of Galilee.

Of the other performers, the cleverest is the turbulent and energetic Caiaphas, Burgomeister Lang; whilst first among the female actors is undoubtedly the difficult rôle of Mary, played by his daughter. Curious to relate, though it may cause but little surprise to a devout Catholic, the most affecting scene in the whole play is one nevertheless not drawn from Holy Writ—the scene where the heartbroken Mother bids adieu to her Son on the road to Bethany. The Protestant writer, Stead, in his work (page 11), writing of this scene, says: "Let persons gaze upon this sad leave-taking *with dry eyes, if they can*;" and he declares, and truly so, that "the most pathetic character in the play is not Christ, but His Mother." The effect of this scene upon the vast audience on both the occasions it was witnessed by the writer, certainly bore out the truth of what has just been stated. Sighs and groans broke forth on all sides, as that white-veiled and tearful Mother, surrounded by the holy woman, clasped His hand in hers, and with clear but tremulous voice besought that she might die with Him. Then, having thanked her for her "tender love and motherly care during thirty-three years," He handed her gently over to Magdalene and the others. She now piteously asks, where she shall see Him again. The slow and sad answer comes: "There, beloved Mother, where the Scripture shall be fulfilled, 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and he opened not His mouth.'" Then, the Messiah leaves, along with His Apostles, who mutter sadly, "What affliction lies before us all;" and the Mater Dolorosa, upheld in the arms of those around, gazes after his retreating

form. The curtain falls, and that vast multitude give way to their pent-up feelings—feelings as holy and ennobling as ever pervaded the human breast!

The next appearance of the Virgin Mother is similar, in its effect on the audience, to the one just described. It occurs in Act xv., when the "Via Dolorosa" is about to be enacted, which it is beyond the power of our feeble words to adequately describe. Coming up the left-hand street, near Pilate's palace, is seen slowly approaching the sad group of holy women, with Mary and John in the centre. Soon distant shouts and cries are heard in the other street, near the house of Annas, and another procession of a very different nature gradually comes on to the front stage, led by the Roman centurion. Christ totters feebly along, followed by the two thieves and a band of soldiers, and as He falls to the ground under the cross, the vast mob of priests and people surge around Him. The Apostle John stops, shudders, listens, and goes forward to see what is occurring. Then he returns to the holy women, now joined by Veronica and the weeping "daughters of Sion," and supports Mary, who now beholds Christ falling for the second time. All this combines to make a scene so overpowering, as not to be easily effaced from the coldest heart.

And now this article must have an ending, and, perhaps, an apology is needed for its length.

Truly, this village of the Passion has been faithful to its noble vocation! Truly, it has brought all, both rich and poor, in this material age to study in the "School of the Passion!" May we not apply to them those words of our Saviour: "I confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones"? (Luke x. 21.)

It was with a real pang we tore ourselves away that bright Tuesday morning in July last, as our carriage took us through the now quiet lanes—for streets they can hardly be called—and with wistful eyes we gazed on the bright gardens and cross-crowned cottages. The village church disappeared as we turned a corner of the road, but the huge

cross, forty feet high, on the summit of the lofty rock Kofel, could be still seen for a long distance. One by one the handsome wayside Calvaries were passed, and the brightly flowing Ammer was left behind, as our car suddenly began the rapid descent to the station at Oberau, and we were once more flung back into that age of hurry and excitement, from which for a time we had escaped.

It may be asked, What is the general feeling of those who have witnessed the "Passions-Spiel" of Ober-Ammergau? It would seem to be this. We thought we had by frequent reading and meditation come to understand the Passion of Christ, but this drama, acted by simple Bavarian peasants, had taught us to *realize* what was only known before, as it were, "in a dark manner."

WILFRID DALLOW.

THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND AND THEIR TRADITIONS.—III.

IN Jerusalem, in the basilica of the Resurrection, it appears that before the close of the thirteenth century the Franciscans had the entire basilica with all its sanctuaries in their hands. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre left the city after it had fallen a second time into the hands of the Moslems; but according to the facts that are known, it appears they returned at regular intervals with the patriarchs (Latin) from Acre, where they took up their residence upon their withdrawal from Jerusalem, until the year 1291. In all likelihood they confided, as far as it was in their power, the charge of the entire basilica to the Franciscans, who appear to have remained behind. It was not until the taking and sacking of the city by the Turks, in 1518, that there is any record of the Eastern Christians who were separated from Rome, pretending to any right in the basilica. From that time the basilica has been more or less divided amongst the different

religious bodies, including the Catholics, with regard to the sanctuaries within its precincts. Up to the present century only the Catholics could celebrate on the tomb of Christ, which is beneath the great dome. At present the Franciscans have their convent, which is attached to the basilica, and in which five or six religious generally reside; then their large chapel, looking into the basilica, and which, according to tradition, marks the spot where Christ appeared to His mother after His resurrection. They have also within the basilica the altar which likewise marks the spot where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen. On Mount Calvary, which is likewise within the precincts of the basilica, they have but one half—that where, according to tradition, Christ was nailed to the cross: the other half is in the possession of the Greeks. The grotto or cave wherein the three crosses were found by St. Helena, is likewise still in the possession of the Franciscans. The large choir which faces the round building under which the Holy Sepulchre stands, formerly formed the choir for the canonry established there under Godfrey of Boulogne. It is now in the hands of the Greeks, and most probably may have been from the departure of the canons, in 1241. It must, however, be remembered that the Greek Christians of Jerusalem remained united to Rome until the Council of Trent (*Vide, Guide Indicat.*, par Frère Lieden, vol. i., page 165, ed. 1887).

Besides these sanctuaries, all the others within the basilica belong either exclusively to the three other Christian sects, viz., orthodox Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, or are considered the common property of all. The Holy Sepulchre itself, since 1808, has become thus common to the Greeks, and is now regarded as belonging to all the religious bodies holding sanctuaries within the precincts of the basilica. Moreover, on certain occasions religious service is performed by the Latins at every sanctuary there. This is, as it were, a vestige of those rights of which in the course of time they have been violently or fraudulently deprived.

Again, within the city, the sanctuary of the "Flagellation" is still in their hands. They had been for years deprived of this shrine, but Ibrahim Pascia, when he took Jerusalem, in

1832, restored the spot to them. On the so-called "Via Dolorosa" they have possession of the fifth station, or the spot which marks, according to tradition, the spot where Simon the Cyrenean was forced to carry the cross of Jesus Christ. This spot has been acquired only since a few years past. Besides the sanctuary on the "Via Dolorosa," all the others, with the exception of the sixth, seventh, ninth, and twelfth, are in the hands of the Franciscans. The third and fourth, however, belong of late to the Armenian Catholics. The sanctuary of the Cænacle or Supper-hall has been lost since 1551.

Of the other sanctuaries in the city—such as the house of Caiphas, which is now a church belonging to the schismatic Armenians; the house of Ananias, also a church belonging to the same religious body; and a few others of secondary interest—with the exception of the doubtful sanctuary lately yielded up to the French Government, and now in the possession of the Missionary priests placed there by Cardinal Lavigerie, probably these were all at one time in the possession of the Franciscans, who have in the course of time been violently driven out. Indeed, up to a few years ago their right to officiate within all these sanctuaries now in the hands of the schismatics was recognized; but the influence of Russia on behalf of the schismatical sects more than counterbalances the ineffectual protests of the French Government for the restitution of the rights of the Catholics of the East, especially in the matter of the sanctuaries. Except in the convent of St. Saviour's, whither the Franciscans retreated after their expulsion from the Convent of Mount Sion at the Cænacle, and that within the basilica on Calvary, as well as a small residence at the sanctuary of the "Flagellation," the Franciscans have other residences within the city. The other sanctuaries therein, and in their hands, are merely open each day for the celebration of Mass, or at the request of pilgrims.

Outside the city, the Garden of Gethsemani is still in their hands, as well as the sanctuary of the "Agony." The "Tomb of the Virgin" has been taken from them since 1757; and, notwithstanding several protests of the

French Government, they have been unable to recover their former possession. Mount Olivet has been a mosque almost from the fourteenth century; but the Franciscans have had from the beginning, and even at the present day, the right to celebrate Mass there on the Feast of the Ascension. Bethphage, or at least where tradition locates the spot where Christ began His memorable ride into Jerusalem, has for more than the second time come again into the hands of the Franciscans, and a chapel is now erected on the site. Bethania, beyond the Mount of Olives, has the sanctuaries where Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, and also where he dwelt with Martha and Mary. Though driven out during the last century from the large church erected over the tomb of Lazarus, still within the past few years they have been enabled to get within the precincts of their former residence, and at present there is a church on part of the ruins of the early basilica. The other sanctuaries in and around Jerusalem are either of no great importance, or are regarded by the Ottoman Government as the common property of the different religious bodies in Jerusalem.

At Bethlehem, from the year 1244, a short while after the city had again fallen into the hands of the Moslem, until the year 1757, the entire basilica, with all its sanctuaries, was in the exclusive possession of the Franciscans. It appears, however, that owing to troubles which befell the Franciscans in the year 1365, that the basilica was seized by the schismatical Armenians and Greeks; but these were afterwards driven out, and the rights of the Latins acknowledged. In 1757, owing to extensive bribery on the part of the schismatics with the Ottoman Court, a firman was issued granting them entire possession of the basilica, with its sanctuaries, as well as that of the two other sanctuaries outside the city, viz., the *Grotta di Latte* and the *Grotta dei Pastori*. In vain did the Franciscans protest, as the aid given by Europe was but very feeble. The result was that the basilica should remain common property; the sanctuary, or rather the altar erected on the spot which tradition marks as where our Saviour was born, was taken possession of by

the Greeks; the other sanctuaries, all of which are beneath the transept of the basilica, were retained by the Franciscans. These sanctuaries are, viz., the spot where the Blessed Virgin received the shepherds, where she laid the Infant Saviour after His birth; the grotto of St. Jerome; the grotto where are enshrined the bodies of many of the "Holy Innocents," together with the places where St. Paula and St. Eustachia are buried, as well as a few other historical cavities under the basilica and adjoining the grotto of the Nativity, are still in their hands. Forced out of the basilica itself, in order to have a church for their exclusive use, where they could administer to the spiritual wants of the Catholics of Bethlehem, they have erected alongside the basilica the large church dedicated to St. Catherine.

Outside Bethlehem they still retain possession of the *Grotta di Latte*, as well as a large garden, in which, according to an ancient tradition, is the cistern, the waters of which David longed for, when his army was encamped near the Cave of Odollam. They have also of late acquired a little ruin which, according to a very ancient tradition, marks the site of a house in which the Holy Family dwelt, probably after the birth of the Infant Saviour. Indeed, this tradition would seem to coincide more with the words of the Evangelist in his account of the reception of the Magi than to represent the Holy Family as still residing in the grotto or cave at the time of their arrival in Bethlehem. The grotto of the Shepherds, though formerly in the hands of the Franciscans, has been in the possession of the schismatic Greeks since 1618, who, in that year, took it by force from its former proprietors. As to the two sanctuaries in the town where the Baptist was born—*ain Karim*—it is difficult to say when they came into the possession of the Franciscans. Dr. Thomson, in his work on the Holy Land, laughs at the idea of the two sanctuaries in *ain Karim*; and his reason is a proof of his ignorance of the most ordinary of Syrian customs even to the present day. The first sanctuary is within the town, and marks the place of the nativity of the Baptist; the other lies beyond the village, and, according to tradition, was the summer residence of the

parents of the Baptist, and in which Elizabeth received Mary, who there uttered that sublime canticle, the *Magnificat*. It is certain that in 1621 both sanctuaries were in the possession of the Franciscans. A chapel has been erected over the second, amidst the ruins of a large church, probably built during the Latin occupation of Jerusalem. Over the birth-place of the Baptist there have been, almost from the moment the Franciscans came into possession of it, a church, a convent, and guest-house for pilgrims. The church has been recently rebuilt.

The Emmaus of the Gospel lies about an hour's distance to the west of Jerusalem. The sanctuary there is the site whereon stood the house of Cleophas. For many centuries only the ruins of the old city were all that remained to recall to the mind of the pilgrims the celebrated miracle recorded in the Gospel. Of late years, almost through a miracle, the entire site has been bought, and, excavations having been carried out under the able direction of several French archeologists, the ruins of the ancient basilica have been brought to light. A convent and chapel have been erected by the Franciscans, aided by the extreme generosity of Mademoiselle de Nicolay, by whose aid the sanctuaries of Palestine have been in many instances entirely restored. A large guest-house for pilgrims has also been erected alongside the convent. At Ramleh, which according to tradition is the Arimathea of the Gospel, the earliest accounts place the Franciscans in possession of the house of Joseph, who obtained from Pilate the body of Christ, and also the house of Nicodemus, about the year 1395. Since then they have been driven out several times from their convent; and after Napoleon, whose apartments in the convent are still shown to travellers, had been driven out of Syria, the Turks, in revenge for the hospitality shown to the invaders, massacred the entire community. There is a guest-house attached to the convent, where pilgrims on their way to the Holy City from Jaffa are hospitably entertained.

The only sanctuary which Jaffa possesses is that which, according to tradition, marks the site of the house of Simon the Tanner. It is doubtful if it were ever in the hands of

the Franciscans. The moment the last of the Crusaders abandoned Jaffa, about the year 1197, the place was turned into a mosque, and it so continues to this day. St. Louis of France took Jaffa in 1252, and, during his brief occupation of the city, built a church for the Franciscans; but the city fell again into the hands of the Moslem in 1267.

The sanctuaries of Nazareth have never been lost sight of, notwithstanding the wars and sieges that again and again have desolated Galilee. Areulf speaks of the two principal sanctuaries as having churches erected over their sites: viz., the place of the Annunciation, and that where the Holy Family dwelt, upon their return from Bethlehem. There is also another sanctuary which, according to an old tradition, marks the place where Christ sat with His disciples many times after His resurrection. It is called the *Mensa Christi*. The Crusaders were driven out of Nazareth in the year 1291, and a short time after the Franciscans entered. They were in possession of the place of the Annunciation in the beginning of the fourteenth century. They also obtained the other two within a short period after their coming, but from all three were many times driven out. They are still in possession of all three, and have a large convent and guest-house near the Church of the Annunciation. Over the other two, chapels have been erected midst the *débris* of the early erections.

On Mount Tabor, as far back as the close of the sixteenth century, the Franciscans were in possession of whatever ruins of former times existed there. As Tabor is but three hours' distance from Nazareth, in all probability, owing to the pilgrimages which were continually being made there, they were more or less, from the moment of their arrival in Nazareth, the guardians of Tabor; but not until the reign of the celebrated Emir Facardin of Lebanon were they declared the real proprietors. Henry Maundrell visited it in 1697, and from his account it is evident there was no regular building on the spot. Only in 1763 did the Franciscans erect a chapel; but since 1858 they have been able to erect a church and a small residence, with a place for the reception of pilgrims.

From the year 1641 they have been in possession of the

ruins of the old church erected over the spot in Cana of Galilee, where, according to tradition, Christ wrought His first miracle. Strange to say, a fierce attempt was made in 1865 by the Protestants in Palestine to obtain possession of the place: but, happily, without result. On the shore of the Sea of Galilee it is only since 1816 that they have obtained exclusive possession of the site where tradition marks the place in which Christ conferred the supremacy of His Church to Peter. They had been even from the thirteenth century in the habit of visiting it once a year. At present there is a chapel, but as yet no regular residence.

In Naim, which is but a few miles to the south of Tabor, from the time of their first coming into Palestine, the Franciscans have had a chapel on the site marked by tradition as that where the miracle of the raising of the widow's son from the dead took place. As, with their possession of all the other sanctuaries, they have been many times driven out, but since 1678 their right has been undisturbed, and within the past few years a residence has been built for the accommodation of one or two religious, as well as for those pilgrims who may visit there.

Such is but a brief account of the history of the principal sanctuaries in Palestine. It would, indeed, have been impossible to give anything like a full account of them, and still more so to enumerate a number of other sanctuaries which are not of the same importance as those enumerated. Besides, it was not intended to give any account of the missionary work done in Palestine and Syria, or a list of the religious establishments throughout the length and breadth of these countries, and which are solely devoted to the religious instruction of the people. Those who would wish a full account of such matters, will be fully satisfied by reading the latest editions of Frère Lieden's *Guide Indicateur de la T. Sainte*. (Imprimerie des Pères Franciscans à Jerusalem, 1887.) An English translation has lately appeared, but, so far, I have not seen a copy of it. Every information required either by the pilgrims or historians is accurately given by the author: and those who would wish to visit Palestine, and at the same time to be fully informed

as to the means of visiting the sanctuaries, and the probable expenses they will incur, will be fully satisfied after a perusal of the above work.

A few words in conclusion. Undoubtedly the historical sketch of the sanctuaries of Palestine, given in these pages, is meagre; yet, perhaps, the same may be said even of the larger works which have been, during the past and present century, published on the same subject. The history of the sanctuaries has yet to be written. The trials and sufferings which the children of St. Francis have been compelled to undergo, age after age—from the moment of their coming in the twelfth century, when they found the sanctuaries of Christianity abandoned by their former guardians, and in many instances desecrated by the fanaticism of the followers of Islam—have yet to be told. That Christianity can still pray within the sanctuaries where it was, so to speak, cradled, is due to their constancy and bravery. Within the past quarter of a century, undoubtedly a new era has more or less dawned upon the Levant. The pride of the Moslem is broken, Christianity is free even beneath the Crescent: but other difficulties have arisen—difficulties arising from the political jealousies of Christian Powers, as well as from the misguided zeal of many who of late years have endeavoured to oust the Franciscans from those very spots where their blood, shed century after century, has been the price paid for that possession which they, in the name of the Christian world, still hold and guard. Whether they will be able, in the future, to cope with these difficulties, remains to be seen. If they fail, Catholicity will once more see its most sacred shrines the prey of Moslem and schismatic. Indeed, the possession of the sanctuaries of Palestine is a question in which every Catholic should feel an intensely deep interest; and as a memorial of that feeling, the old custom of a collection on Good Friday, in each Church throughout the Christian world on behalf of the sanctuaries, has been again established by His Holiness Leo XIII. It could indeed be desired that the expenses incurred should in many instances be diminished, but the circumstances of the country, together with many other

causes, in a great measure, if not totally beyond the control of the guardians of the sanctuaries, prevent such a desirable end. Questions, however, of this nature, hardly enter into a sketch of the sanctuaries. That the great majority of them is still in Christian—in Catholic hands—is indeed a consoling thought, and a comfort beyond expression to the Catholic pilgrims to find that those hallowed shrines which his lips in childhood have learned to pronounce with feelings of love, are still hallowed by the sacred rights of his religion. That they may ever remain so is the hope of Christendom: and that the children of St. Francis, faithful in the future as in the past, to the crusade which he, their founder, confided to them—viz., that of guarding the hallowed shrines of Christendom—may as the years roll on win back the few sanctuaries which either Turkish greed or Greek and Armenian fanaticism has unjustly despoiled them of, is likewise the prayer of every true Catholic, who, acquainted with the story of their sufferings and privations, their courage and constancy in the past, cannot but wish that now when an era of peace has at length dawned for the Christians in these countries, and in the future, they may enjoy the fruit of their labours.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—VIII.

THE OLD CHAPELS.

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN.—That particular section of the Penal Laws entitled, “The Act for Registering the Popish Clergy,” came into force in July, 1704, and in that year we find Dean Russell registered as Pastor of St. Michael’s, living in Cook-street [“at Mr. Geoghegan’s,” *List* 1697], aged 45, ordained in Paris in 1682, and having for sureties Oliver Weston, of Michael’s-lane, Gent., £50, and Redmond Donoghue, of Ballytemple in Co. Longford, Gent., £50. Of the curates mentioned in a previous paper, Bryan Murry is the only one

I can trace as still ministering in St. Michael's. To satisfy the requirement of the law, which allowed only one priest to each (civil) parish, he registered himself as Pastor of Drumcondra, but continued to live in Cook-street, where his mission lay. Rivers and Luttrell had been moved apparently to St. James's and St. Michan's, as their residences are given in James's-street and Queen-street respectively. Ryan and Magennis do not appear at all on this list, and must either have died in the interim or been expatriated. No doubt their places were taken by some of the numerous priests who are registered as dwelling in Cook-street, but the indication of residence alone will not enable me to determine who served in St. Michael's, and who in the adjoining parish of St. Audoen. We may probably be safe in assigning to St. Michael's, Patrick Hughes, Patrick Carey, and Richard Murphy.

Throughout all Ireland 1080 priests were registered in conformity with this Act. The object of this registration manifestly was to ascertain the signatures and places of abode of the Catholic clergy, that they might the better prevent their evading the rigours of subsequent statutes—a fact which came into painful prominence when the Oath of Abjuration was proposed in 1709. "In the eyes of the law," writes Mr. Lecky, "the priest who, without having taken the abjuration oath, celebrated the worship which he believed to be essential to his salvation; the schoolmaster who, discharging a duty of the first utility, taught his children the rudiments of knowledge, were all felons, for whose apprehension a reward was offered, and who only remained in the country by connivance or concealment." This will go far to account for the utter absence of all ecclesiastical documents referring to this terrible period of our history. With the exception of the act recorded of the Franciscans, daring to hold a Chapter of their Order in Dublin, in that particularly awful year 1703, and this official registration of 1704, not a line, nor an incident about our Church or our clergy reaches us until 1705, when from abroad we learn of the death of Archbishop Creagh, and thence also, in 1707, of the Brief, appointing Dr. Edmund Byrne his successor.

The extreme cruelty of the enactments of the Penal Laws alienated the minds of the magistrates and inferior Protestant gentry from a stern and rigid enforcement of them. Hence there were pauses between times, amounting to a tacit connivance, and the Holy See, thinking to discern such a pause early in 1707, and encouraged, moreover, by a change of administration, ventured to provide pastors for a few of the derelict sees of Ireland. A letter from Cologne, dated June 23th, 1707, speaks of the expedition of four briefs. These were undoubtedly for Edmund Byrne to be Archbishop of Dublin, Hugh Macmahon to be Bishop of Clogher, Ambrose MacDermott to be Bishop of Elphin, and Thaddeus Francis O'Rourke to be Bishop of Killala. All four briefs bear the same date—March 15th, 1707. Three of these prelates lived abroad, and could easily get consecrated on the continent; but the Archbishop-elect of Dublin lived in Francis-street, where he was parish priest; and how was he to get episcopal consecration? At the time there were but *two bishops* in all Ireland, namely, Archbishop Comerford of Cashel, seriously infirm, and hunted from place to place like a deer, and Patrick Donnelly, Bishop of Dromore, a prisoner in Newgate, Dublin, on a charge of high treason.¹ On the 20th of March, in that same year, the Propaganda charitably “granted 100 scudi for relief of Bishop O'Donnelly, who was in prison in Dublin on a charge of high treason, and who was in danger of exile or death.”¹ Who, then, was to be the consecrating prelate? Here we have an interesting question. It was supremely dangerous for a bishop to enter into Ireland, and just as difficult to get in the brief of appointment. The following stratagem would seem to have been resorted to—at least I tender it as one solution of the difficulty. Dr. O'Rourke, appointed to Killala, was at the time of the appointment chaplain to Prince Eugene (then in alliance with England), and much esteemed by him. “The Prince on taking leave of him, presented him with a gold cross and ring, set in

¹ The date of death of Dr. Dempsey, Bishop of Kildare, is quite uncertain. He would appear to have been living in 1704. (See Dr. Comerford's *Collect.*, vol. ii., p. 96.)

² See Brady, vol. ii., p. 178.

diamonds, which are now in the author's possession [Rev. Charles O'Connor], and introduced him to the Emperor Leopold, who recommended him warmly to Queen Anne, by private letters, and to all his allies, by a passport written on parchment, signed by Leopold himself, and sealed with the great seal of the Empire, which is also in the author's possession."¹ This Imperial passport procured him an audience and letters from the Queen, and thus he was enabled to visit Dublin, not, however, as a consecrated bishop, but as a simple priest. But once in Dublin his papers procured him ready access to the imprisoned confessor of Dromore, and on the 24th of August, 1707, Dr. O'Rourke was consecrated Bishop of Killala, in Bishop Donnelly's cell in Newgate, "*assistentibus* Edmund Byrne, Archbishop-elect of Dublin, and the Very Rev. Fergus O'Ferrall, Archdeacon of Ardagh."² What a strange event! We read of martyrs in the early ages baptising their jailers, and of Popes in the catacombs ordaining priests and bishops, but I doubt if there is another instance on record of a bishop receiving episcopal consecration from the hands of an imprisoned bishop, and in his prison cell. Yet it was amidst such surroundings, and in such strange circumstances, that the episcopal unction was poured out upon the afflicted Church of Ireland, in the commencement of *only the last century*. It may be asked, how could such a solemn ceremonial be carried out within a prison, and escape detection? But anyone that has read Mr. Gilbert's vivid description of Newgate and the "Black Dog," where bribery and utter absence of discipline reigned supreme,³ need not be astounded when he reads of a bishop being consecrated within their precincts. Moreover, De Burgo, in his short biographical notice of Father Dominic Mac-Egan (*Hib. Dom.*, p. 587), who was a prisoner in the same jail of Newgate from 1700 until his death, in 1713, tells us, that he daily celebrated Mass in the prison, and with such impunity, that when a sudden enforcement of the extreme penal laws closed up the chapels through the city, many of the faithful, as he had

¹ *Memoirs of Charles O'Connor.*

² See Brady, vol. ii., p. 178.

³ Gilbert's *Dublin*, vol. i., p. 265.

it from some of themselves, assisted at Father Mac-Egan's Mass in the prison, and thus were enabled to fulfil their obligation. When Mass, therefore, could be said thus publicly by a prisoner within the precincts of a jail, and at a time when it was proscribed outside, the ceremony of episcopal consecration, stripped of all unessential pomp, could not have presented any insuperable difficulty. Besides there was no other place in which Dr. O'Rourke could have been consecrated, for Bishop Donnelly remained a prisoner until his death, in 1716, and it is not likely that the authorities would set him free, even for a day, in order that he might add another to the number of illegal Popish Bishops.

Lastly we have the contemporary evidence of that notorious quack, prophet, cobbler, almanack-maker, fanatic, and no-Popery firebrand, known as Dr. John Whalley, of Patrick-street. In a memorial to Parliament, got up by him for the enactment of still severer penal laws (some to be of a very peculiar character), and published as a Supplement to *Whalley's News-Letter*, amongst other reasons, he adduces, that many Popish priests who cannot conveniently conceal themselves, by reason of their being too well known, "chuse to abide imprisonment, where by interest of their goalers, they easily obtain leave to teach as schoolmasters, and have their daily masses, and thereby all *desired opportunity of ordaining others*, and otherwise propagating and perpetuating their dangerous idolatry."¹

Dr. O'Rourke once consecrated, Archbishop Byrne was in a position to receive Episcopal consecration at his hands, which we may presume was conferred as secretly as possible in the old chapel house in Francis-street, unless, indeed, he might have preferred to repeat the ceremony in Newgate, about which interesting fact, however, we have no definite information. The Pallium was not postulated for, as that ceremony, involving a public consistory would have disclosed his appointment to the Government; but he got a dispensation, enabling him to perform Episcopal functions without the Pallium.

¹ See Dr. Madden's *Irish Periodical Literature*, vol. i., p. 241.

The new Archbishop had a troubled reign before him; none so troubled since that of Archbishop Matthews. However he entered on his work bravely. His first care was to appoint Dr. Edward Murphy, P.P., St. Audoen's, his Vicar-General, as we learn from a document in Vol. III. of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (p. 138), and his next care was to make due provision for the spiritual requirements of the largely increased and increasing population of the city.

The population of Dublin—at no time previous to 1700, of any extent comparable to that to which it has since grown—had commenced to increase steadily and continuously from the time of the Restoration. A sense of security from the invasions of the Clans, now broken and crushed beyond the possibility of recovery, tempted enterprising citizens to build dwelling-houses outside the walls, and thus, what had been hitherto uninhabited suburbs, rapidly became new centres of population. On the south side of the river the tendency was eastward from the city, and within a period of twenty years from the accession of Charles II., Dame-street—hitherto numbering but a few houses on the south side, as far as George's-lane (now South Great George's-street)—was completely built upon. The new residences on the north side had handsome gardens, sloping down to the river's edge, and were inhabited mostly by the gentry and wealthier classes. The Green of Hogges, now known as College-green, similarly lost its appearance of a pasturage, and was quickly flanked on either side by a row of stately houses; whilst that portion of the Steyne lying between the north wall of the College and the river, formerly the site of the Lepers Hospital or Lazzaretto (hence called Lazer's hill), was covered by a line of dwellings facing the river, and extending right away to the "town's-end," which formed one extremity of the horse-shoe-shaped shore, of which "ring's-end," was the other extremity, a formation which may still be traced in the curved line of Sandwith-street. Grafton-street, and Dawson-street had just been called into existence, though even so late as 1708 a portion of the former was set as wheat-land, at 2s. 6d. an acre. The State authorities had already authorised a dismemberment of the recently resuscitated parish of St.

Andrew, and divided it into St. Andrew's, St. Mark's, and St. Anne's. The Catholic Archbishop, with a view to provide adequate spiritual succour for "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" that were certain to abound in this new quarter, divided the parish of St. Michael (which hitherto, as we have seen, had extended to the Dodder) into two parishes. Drawing a line down Aungier-street, South Great George's-street and Eustace-street, to the river, he erected all that lay east of that line into the new Catholic parish of St. Andrew, and appointed the Rev. Patrick Doyle to be its first pastor. As an account of St. Andrew's will require a special paper, I will leave it for the present, and continue the history of the now dimidiated parish of St. Michael.

The apparent lull in the persecution that made possible the introduction of a new archbishop, tempted also many of the regulars to return to the field of their labours. Father Stephen M'Egan, O.P., afterwards Bishop of Meath, stole back to Dublin in 1708, and attaching himself as curate to St. James's, quietly watched events and bided his time until he could safely recall his brethren. But soon the Government took alarm, and finding the irrepressible Papists still increasing and multiplying, a further enactment was passed in 1709, obliging all priests, even those who were registered in 1704, to take the oath of abjuration. This oath not merely abjured allegiance to the Pretender, but also allegiance to the Catholic doctrines of Transubstantiation, devotion to the Mother of God, &c. Any priest that had not taken this oath on or before the 25th of March, 1710, and that, after such neglect or refusal, had attempted to say Mass or discharge any other ecclesiastical function, would be subject to the same penalties as if he were a convicted Regular; *i.e.*, he would be liable to exile in the first instance, and if he returned, to death. Out of one thousand and eighty registered priests throughout all Ireland, but thirty were found to bend before the tempest and take this renegade's oath. In bundle 73, No. 445 of "Reports on Religion," preserved in the Irish Record Office, we have a faint insight into the consciences of nine of these unhappy jurors. This paper is headed: "A Dialogue between nine jurors and Father James Dillon at

Mrs. White's house before they entered the Court to take the oath of Abjuration." Mrs. White's house was situated in Rosemary-lane, and would seem to have been a favourite hostelry for the clergy all through the first half of the last century, for, in the population returns, compiled in 1766, we find "fifty Papists," returned as residing at Mrs. White's, out of a total Catholic population in Rosemary-lane of "one hundred and twenty-eight Papists." Father James Dillon was in all probability a curate in St. Michael's at this time. Some years later we meet him as Precentor of St. Patrick's, V.G. and P.P. Garristown. The dialogue takes the form of verse, but of the poorest doggerel, not deserving of record. Father Dillon was the champion of orthodoxy, and in each alternate verse strongly urges cogent reasons for refusing the oath, whilst the nine waverers as strongly put forward lame excuses and mental reservations. They assumed strange names together with their proper names (longside in brackets; thus, Solomon (Father James Dalton), Goderlechum (Father Kelly), Saul (Father Ferril), Absolom (Father Michael Dillon), Crafford (Hugh M'Donough), Cattle Drover (William Cullen), as *in praesenti* (Thomas Dillon), Bladerbuss (Father John Pierce); Fury and Coughlan came in after. None of them belonged to the diocese of Dublin, but from later records we have reason to hope that they repented of their sin. With regard to the censure incurred by those who took this oath we have recorded in the old Chapter Book in Dean Byrne's handwriting:—

"Ye following is an answer sent from Rome to Dr. Byrne upon ye Quaere what censure did they incur who took ye oath of abjuration:

"*Clarissime Dne.*

"*Notum tibi facio omnes Nostrales qui praestiterunt iuramentum incurrisse excommunicationem reservatam in Bulla Coenae utpote tanquam Defensores Haereticorum, a qua non possunt absolvi nisi a Summo Pontifice, vel ab alio qui specialem ad hoc habet auctoritatem: ita declaratum fuit in Curia Romana in mense Maii proxime elapso; doleo miserabilem illorem statum; Deus Optimus Maximus det ipsis gratiam vere poenitendi, nobis vero gratiam perseverandi, vale sicut optat tuus ignotus amicus, etc.*" C.D.

"*In loco nostri refugii 19 Octobris, MDCCX.*"

We have no way of knowing who this *ignotus amicus* was, but may presume that he was one of the Irish prelates who communicated the result of his own inquiry to the Archbishop of Dublin.

What became of our clergy under the lash of this new enactment must remain a matter of conjecture. By it the secular clergy were honoured with the same attentions of persecution as the regulars had been up to this. Henceforward no distinction was known between them. We may presume, therefore, that for a while, at all events, they lay quietly concealed, closed up their chapels, and observed all the mystery and secrecy imposed by their now desperate situation. The archbishop, it would seem, prudently withdrew to his relatives in the present parish of Borris, diocese of Leighlin. Dr. Comerford, in his valuable Collections, tells us of a slab let into the wall of the old parochial chapel of Killtennil, having armorial bearings on it with the motto, "*In Domino Confido*," and underneath the inscription: "Captain Edmund Byrne erected this chapel, and Dr Edmund Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin consecrated the same, 1709." (Vol. iii. p. 163.) A letter from the Vice-Provincial of Discalced Carmelites, dated September, 14th, 1709, says "the regular clergy are dying in the prisons, some after nine, some after seven years' imprisonment, and pious women, accused of bringing about the conversion of Protestants, share the lot of the clergy." A year later Father Ambrose O'Connor, ex-provincial of the Dominicans, writes from London to Propaganda, June 8th: 1710, "*Res hibernicae in dies pejores fiunt. A 28 Martii fidelis populus Dublinensis Missam audire nequit. Decem Ecclesiastici ibidem capti et incarcerati sunt.*" Sometimes at Mass a curtain was drawn between the priest and the worshippers to prevent the latter being able to identify the celebrant. All priests were at the mercy of the Government, their names and addresses being known from the registration; and, although the last Tory ministry of Anne was accused of being favourable to them, in 1711 a proclamation was issued for the rigid execution of the laws against Papists. These laws produced an unholy breed of scoundrels known as priest-hunters. They flourished plenti-

fully at this period. One more wicked than the rest, named Edward Tyrrell, and pronounced by the Chancellor to be "a great rogue," now appears frequently in Government correspondence. In an examination held in presence of the Lords Justices and Council he deposes that "he saw Primate M'Mahon¹ in Flanders, and is now in this kingdom, and knows he resides at Cullogh-Duffe M'Mahon's, near Carrickmacrosse, in the County Monaghan, and saith that he comes to Luske, in the County of Dublin, to ordain clergymen of the popish religion. Saith that John Taffe of Atherdee was present when Primate M'Mahon ordained priests at Patrick Marky's house at Glaspistol, in the County Louth, in the month of May last, when he ordained four priests. Saith that the names of the persons so ordained are Patrick Marky, son of the aforesaid Patrick; John Fleming, who lives near Atherdee; one Patrick Lawler, near Dunleer; and one Bellew, of the same county. That Dr. Verdon, Titular Bishop of Ferns was present, and assisted at the said ordination." He furthermore stated that he had informed Captain Bellingham of this ordination, that he might have the delinquents apprehended, "whereupon Captain Bellingham said he was an old man and infirm with the gout and was unfit for business, and therefore advised the informant to goe to Dublin and apply himself to the Government." Clearly, Bellingham, like many of his Protestant brethren on the magisterial bench did not approve of these atrocious laws, and was glad to have any excuse to rid himself of their enforcement. Tyrrell could not get any clue to the whereabouts of Archbishop Byrne, but he got what he considered the next best thing, for at the close of the examination he adds that "he believes Edmund Byrne, then Titular Archbishop of Dublin's papers are kept in the house of one Byrne, a cooper in Francis-street." (State Papers, Presentments, Affidavits, &c., I.R.O.)

This ruffian's career was befittingly terminated in the year following, for a paragraph in *The Dublin Intelligencer* of May 23rd, 1713, announces "that this day Terrel the famous

¹ Dr. M'Mahon was not Primate at this time, but Bishop of Clogher. However, he may have had the administration of Armagh, *sede vacante*, and thus been mistaken by Tyrrell for Primate.

priest-catcher, who was condemned this term for having several wives, was executed."

The terrible straits to which ecclesiastical government was reduced in this ferocious period, are, perhaps, best understood from a perusal of the regulations drawn up for the Diocese by Dr. Byrne, and published in the third volume of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, p. 128. The first of these forbids any priest to presume *contra leges patriae* to celebrate any sacred function in any public chapel where formerly the Holy Sacrifice had been usually offered, without the consent of the city clergy, to whose supervision he appears to completely hand over the administration of the city, at least, being unable to reside there safely or permanently. The year 1714, when George I. ascended the throne, and the year 1715, when rebellion was raging in Scotland, were naturally troubled years for the Catholics, and in the former year a proclamation was issued for putting the laws strictly in force; and though in most cases the priests succeeded in evading the vigilance of the magistrates, the laws were far from being dead letters. Father James Eustace, of Ballymore-Eustace, had been lying for several months in prison, awaiting the order for his transportation. Father McTee, or Tye, parish priest of Blessington, had been convicted of saying Mass, and sentenced to transportation. The warrant for the execution of the sentence had come down, but for want of shipping in the port of Wicklow, it was still unexecuted; but he was kept in close confinement.

The High Sheriff gives an animated description of his efforts to suppress the devotions of the Papists at the shrine of St. Kevin in Glendalough. A *posse comitatus* was raised, and, meeting at the Seven Churches on the morning of the 3rd of June, the Feast Day, dispersed the "rioters, pulled down the tents, demolished the crosses, filled up the wells, and apprehended and committed one Toole, a Popish school-master."

Notwithstanding the ferocity of the persecution, Dr. Byrne found an opportunity of consecrating a bishop for Kildare (in succession to Dr. Dempsey, who was some years dead) in the person of Dr. Edward Murphy, P.P. of St. Audoens, and

Vicar-General of Dublin. The Archbishop had recommended Dr. Murphy to Propaganda, and he was consecrated on the 18th of December, 1715, by Dr. Byrne, assisted by Patrick Goulding, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Simon Murphy, Treasurer of St. Patrick's. Archdeacon Goulding had just been summoned from Spain to fill the post of Vicar-General, vacated by Dr. Murphy's promotion; while Simon Murphy succeeded him as P.P. of St. Audoen's.

For a couple of years the laws were not so strictly enforced by the magistrates, and a breathing moment was accorded to the poor Papists of Dublin. But it was of short duration. When the work of the priest-hunter was declared by the Legislature "an honourable service," blood-hounds would not be wanting to merit the reward implied in this encomium. Since the flight of King James, there were no nuns in the Diocese of Dublin. Some of the Poor Clares of Galway, who were living scattered amongst their families, petitioned the Archbishop to receive them into the archdiocese. His Grace readily complied, and they were established, first in Channel-row, afterwards, through the bounty of the widowed Duchess of Tyrconnell, in a house in King-street. Soon after Father MacEgan did a similar service, with equal success, for the Dominican Nuns of Galway, and they commenced their career in Dublin in a small house in Fisher's-lane, to be exchanged in a few months for a better one in Channel-row—now North Brunswick-street. These were the first and only communities of nuns in Dublin in the early part of the last century.¹ Their establishment in Dublin, however, was near costing the Archbishop a brief termination to his episcopacy, for a Polish Jew, named Garcia, who in the disguise of a priest was successfully

¹ A monstrance in possession of the Carmelite Nuns, Ranelagh, bears an inscription stating that it was presented to the Carmelite Nuns of Dublin, "A.D. 1661." This seems hardly credible—an establishment of nuns so soon after Cromwell. It may be that the original Dublin community of Carmelites lay hid in some part of the country, still retaining their title of Dublin Carmelites; returning to Dublin about the second quarter of the last century to the house on Arran-quay, at the corner of Lincoln-lane, where they remained until the beginning of the present century, when they bought up what was known as the Ranelagh Gardens, and converted the Ranelagh Hotel into their present convent.

pursuing the rôle of a priest-hunter, denounced the Archbishop to the Government, and his Grace, together with five regulars, three secular priests, and the nuns, were apprehended and thrown into prison; but most of them (including all the nuns) were subsequently liberated on giving security to appear when called on. "The fear, however, prevails that there is an order for further arrests, and for this reason the Archbishop had brought to an abrupt conclusion some diocesan visitations in which he was engaged." Thus writes the Nuncio at Brussels to the Secretary of the Propaganda. This was the last scare to which the Archbishop was subjected, and profiting by the comparative tranquillity which ensued, he now figured in the capacity of a public controversialist. Dr. Clinch, his agent in Rome for a special purpose, thus describes his labours in this field:—"Cum Curia Parliamenti fecisset edictum quo cautum erat Praelatis et Doctoribus Catholicis et Protestantibus per spatium duorum mensium circiter congregari ad proponendas undeque difficultates super materiis ad fidem pertinentibus, laudatus archiepiscopus solus inter Praelatos intervenerit praefatis collationibus contra haereticæ pravitatis defensores, inibique tanto zelo tantaque sagacitate et eloquentia, quam supra hominem pene dixerim, dogmata nostræ religionis in Collegio publico Dublinensi propugnare ut plurimi veritatis radius illuminati excusso hæresis iugo in gremium Ecclesiæ portum salutis quaesiverunt. Nec omittendum hic videtur quod fercentibus hinc inde disputationum fluctibus, Antistes ille noster librum a quodam Achille Doctore Protestante compositum per alium librum ita rejellerit, ut suum ipse librum suppressere rogatus sit adeo pseudo dogmata hæretica debellabat."¹

To these high commendations he adds that, when it was proposed that all should take the oath *de non cognoscendo Jacobo III. tanquam Rege legitimo*, he opposed its being taken, and published a book in defence of his view, which had the effect of deterring many from taking this oath. Lastly, he recounts how he was the first among the Irish bishops to subscribe to the Bull "*Unigenitus*," and had it subscribed to

¹ Manuscript bound up with *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, in Trinity College Library.

by all his clergy. In his closing years, Dr. Byrne met with great trouble from one of his clergy, of which, however, I purpose to say something when dealing with the Parish of St. Catherine.

To Dr. Goulding, who died after a few years, Dr. Felix Cavanagh, brought from Paris, succeeded as Vicar-General, and he, dying after one year, was succeeded by Dr. John Clinch, the Archbishop's agent referred to, and whom we shall meet again. Archbishop Byrne died on the 22nd of January, 1723-4. The place of his burial I have not yet been able to discover, but in all probability it was in St. James's.¹

All this time I have been saying very little of St. Michael's Chapel in Skipper's-lane, or of its Pastor, Dean Russell. But of parochial records for this period there are none. However, with the death of Dr. Byrne, we meet the first records of the Metropolitan Chapter, commencing with rather interesting incidents, in which the Dean naturally had to take an active part. These, however, must wait for the next paper.

✠ N. DONNELLY.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CONFRATERNITY AND SCAPULAR OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

The Scapular of the Most Holy Trinity is the badge of the Confraternity, and admission into the latter consists in the valid reception of the former. The Scapular and Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity, like the Scapular and Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, are intended to

¹Three decades of Rosary Beads preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, are the only surviving relics of Archbishop Byrne. They were handed down amongst some of his relatives living in the Parish of Blackditches; from them they passed first to Eugene O'Curry, then to Father M. Molony, the late respected Pastor of Barndarrig, who deposited them in the Royal Irish Academy.

extend to persons in the world some of the spiritual advantages attaching to membership of a religious order. Like the brown scapular which is a substitute for the large scapular worn by the Carmelites, the white scapular of the Most Holy Trinity is a substitute for the habit of the Trinitarians.

The institution of the Trinitarian Order, as well as the colour and general design of their habit, was miraculous. The founders of the Order were St. John of Matha, and St. Felix of Valois, to whom may be joined Pope Innocent III. John of Matha was born in Provence, about the year 1160, and having completed his studies with great distinction at the University of Paris, was ordained priest in the year 1193. So high an opinion was even then entertained of his sanctity that it was considered a privilege to be permitted to assist at his first Mass. The Bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, requested him to celebrate his first Mass in his private chapel, and he himself with the Rector of the University and several of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the city were present. At the moment when the priest elevated the sacred Host, an angel in the form of a young man appeared over the altar, and was seen by all those who were in the chapel. He wore a white robe, having a red and blue cross on the breast; his arms were crossed, and his hands rested on two captives, the one a Christian, the other a Moor.

The bishop and the other ecclesiastics who were witnesses of this miracle discussed it long and anxiously, but were unable to arrive at any satisfactory explanation of its meaning. At length it was determined that the young priest himself, furnished with an authentic account of the miraculous occurrence, should proceed to Rome and consult the Holy Father. At first John consented, but his humility overcame his resolution, and instead of going to Rome, he hid himself in a forest in the diocese of Meaux. Here he met a hermit named Felix of Valois, in whose holy society he spent more than three years.

One day as the two saints were sitting together talking as was their wont on some spiritual subject, they saw a white stag of unusual proportions coming towards them, and

having between its antlers a red and blue cross. This sight recalled to John's mind the vision of the angel, which he then for the first time narrated to his companion. Both of them gave themselves to fervent prayer, and after some days, as if moved by a common impulse or inspiration, they determined to go to Rome. They reached the Holy City in the year 1198, just after Innocent III. had ascended the Papal throne, and to him they explained the object of their pilgrimage. The Pope received them kindly, gave them an attentive hearing, and carefully examined the documents with which they had been furnished by the Bishop of Paris and others. He also consulted the Cardinals, ordered a fast and special prayers in his household, and prepared himself with extraordinary fervour to celebrate Mass on the following day. At the elevation, the vision of the angel appeared to him precisely as it had already done to John of Matha. He was dressed in a white robe, a cross of red and blue was on his breast, and his hands, crossed in front of him, rested on two captives. The holy Pontiff immediately understood that the two strangers were commissioned by God to found an Order for the redemption of Christian captives from the Moors. He at once gave his approval, clothed them himself with a habit similar to that worn by the angel, and seeing in the three colours composing it an image of the Blessed Trinity, he conferred on it the title of the "Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives."

In course of time the Religious of this Order obtained permission to establish Confraternities, that as many as wished might be permitted to share in the merits and good works of the brothers, and in the graces plentifully poured down on their noble undertaking. The habit worn by the Religious was, of course, unsuitable for the use of others, yet its miraculous origin rendered it desirable that the members of the Confraternity should not be deprived of the protection which it afforded to those who were clothed with it. Hence the small scapular, which should be of *white woollen cloth*, having on each part a cross also of woollen material, the vertical or upright limb of which should be red, the transverse blue.

HOW TO ESTABLISH THIS CONFRATERNITY.

The Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity can be established in missionary countries without having recourse to the Superior-General of the Trinitarians; in other countries, however, his permission is requisite.

A priest wishing to establish a Confraternity of this title will communicate with his bishop, from whom, in a missionary country, he will receive all the necessary faculties for inscribing names, blessing scapulars, &c., with a copy of the rules and religious exercises which the bishop recommends to the members. In countries not under the care of the Propaganda, a copy of the bishop's license for establishing the Confraternity must be forwarded to the Superior-General of the Trinitarians, who will transmit the faculties required to the priest. These faculties must in turn be submitted to the bishop for his inspection and authentication.

The priest having completed these preliminaries, and being furnished with all the powers needed, sets about establishing the Confraternity in the usual way. Vested in surplice and white stole he blesses the scapular, and imposes it on those desirous of becoming members. If a large number are to be received at the same time he may use the plural form, but he must put the blessed scapular round the neck of each one. While putting on the scapular he may either repeat at each imposition the formula, *Accipe habitum*, or, having put on the scapular on each one without saying anything, he may then repeat the formula in the plural, *Accipite habitum*.

All having received the scapular, the priest enters their names in a Register. Should he be prevented from writing the names himself, he may appoint others to do it in his place, but he should afterwards authenticate each page by writing his initials at the bottom.

The white scapular, or scapular of the Most Holy Trinity, cannot be renewed in the same manner as other scapulars. When any of the other scapulars are worn out, a new one may be assumed without any blessing or other ceremony; but each time the white scapular is renewed, the

new one must be blessed by a priest having the necessary faculties.¹ This scapular loses its indulgences when the cross is defaced or removed; consequently, when this happens a new scapular duly blessed should be procured.²

CONDITIONS FOR GAINING THE INDULGENCES OF THIS CONFRATERNITY.

For gaining the Plenary Indulgences attached to wearing the scapular of the Most Holy Trinity, confession and communion are, of course, required; and, in addition, it is necessary to visit either a church of the Trinitarian Fathers, or a Confraternity chapel, and there pray for some time for the Pope's intentions.

In places, however, where there is neither a Trinitarian church, nor a Confraternity chapel, it is sufficient to visit the parish church, and to say there the necessary prayers.³ Religious, students, and others living in communities fulfil this condition by visiting their own chapel.⁴ And all wearers of the scapular legitimately impeded from visiting any church or chapel gain the indulgences without the fulfilment of this condition.⁵ It would be advisable, however, that they should get the visit commuted into some work which they are able to perform.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE SEVEN DOLOURS.

The Confraternity of the Seven Dolours, or of our Lady of the Seven Dolours, as the French style it, is the offspring of the religious order called the Servites of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This Order was founded in the year 1233 by seven noblemen of Florence, devout clients of our Blessed Lady. Before they received the call from their heavenly Patroness to found an Order in her honour, they were already members of one of the pious Confraternities for promoting devotion to her. On the Feast of the Assumption, 1233, they met in the church of their Confraternity to sing the praises

¹ *Trésor Spirituel*, page 109. Paris, 1863. *Les Indulgences leur nature et leur usage*, tom. ii., page 91. Paris, 1890.

² *Ibid.*

³ Gregory XVI., April 5th, 1843.

⁴ Pius IX., February 15th, 1848.

⁵ Clement XIII., August 2nd, 1760.

of the Blessed Virgin, and celebrate her triumphs. As they knelt before her altar they felt their souls moved with more than usual fervour, and experienced a holy joy resembling the joy of the blessed. To complete their ecstasy, the Blessed Virgin herself appeared to them, told them to quit the world for her sake, and to embrace a more perfect state of life. These holy men lost no time in obeying the command of their more than Mother. Having consulted the Bishop of Florence, the blessed Ardingho, they sold their property, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and, clad in coarse garments, took up their abode in a deserted cabin outside the city walls. Whenever they were seen in the city they were saluted by the people as the servants of Mary. "Behold the servants of Mary! behold the servants of Mary!" resounded on all sides of them as they passed along the streets, and even infants at the breast are said to have taken up the cry.

The fame of their sanctity and of the sacrifices they had made soon rendered it inconvenient for them to reside in such close proximity to the city. They determined, therefore, to remove to some distant retreat, and having communicated their design to the Bishop, he gave them, with the consent of the Chapter, a portion of church land situated far up among the heights of Mount Senar. In this seclusion they remained until 1239, steadily refusing the entreaties of their friend, the Bishop, that they should found an Order. In this year, however, the Papal Legate, Geoffrey de Chatillon, supported with his authority the request of the Bishop, and while the holy hermits were deliberating on what course to pursue, the Blessed Virgin, we are told, again appeared to them, commanded them to found an Order, and showed them a black habit, which she told them to wear in memory of her Son's Passion.

The Order was at once founded; six of the seven founders were ordained priests in 1241, and in 1248 the Order received the approval of the Holy See. The chief objects of their devotion were the Passion of Jesus Christ, and the Dolours of His Blessed Mother.

The Confraternity was established in 1667, by Alexander VII., at the request of Anne of Austria, Queen of France,

and mother of Louis XIV. Two years previously she and all the ladies of her court had received the scapular of the Seven Dolours—a miniature of the habit given by the Blessed Virgin to the founders of the Order, and invented like the other scapulars for the purpose of investing lay persons with a habit blessed by the hand of the Mother of God. The devout Queen Anne in her letter recommending the Confraternity to her courtiers, asked them to nominate one hundred ladies, who, with herself, should serve the Blessed Virgin in the quality, and under the title of *Ladies of her Great Sorrow*.

HOW TO ESTABLISH A CONFRATERNITY OF THE SEVEN DOLOURS.

To establish a Confraternity of the Seven Dolours, the customary rules must be followed. The written permission of the bishop must first be obtained. If the bishop has the required faculties, he will empower the priest to establish the Confraternity without reference to the General of the Servites. But in non-missionary countries the license of the latter must also be obtained.

The scapular, which should be of *black woollen cloth*, is blessed and conferred in the usual way. As in blessing and conferring the other scapulars, so with regard to this also, the formula may be used in the plural when a number are to be invested at the same time. The scapular, however, must be put on the shoulders of each one by the priest who blesses it.

It is necessary for membership that the names be written by the Director, or by another appointed by him, he himself taking care afterwards to examine and initial each page.

THE RED SCAPULAR OR SCAPULAR OF THE PASSION.¹

A miraculous origin is attributed to this scapular also. A French Sister of Charity, we are told, being in the chapel of her Convent on the evening of the 26th of July, 1846, the Octave of the Feast of St. Vincent, was favoured with

¹ The wearers of this scapular do not form a Confraternity. *S. Ind. Cong.*, 27 Apr., 1887.

a vision of her beloved Redeemer. In His sacred hands He held a scapular of red woollen cloth united by cords of the same material and colour. On one of the two pieces of cloth composing the scapular was a representation of our Lord hanging on the cross surrounded by the instruments of His Passion, and round the crucifix were the words *Holy Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, save us*. On the other end the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary were represented with a cross placed between, which seemed as it were to grow out of them, and round about was the inscription, *Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, protect us*.

This vision was frequently renewed to the holy nun, and among other occasions on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the 14th of September, of the same year. On this occasion she heard our divine Lord say: *All who shall wear this scapular shall receive every Friday a great increase of faith, hope, and charity*.

When she was spoken to about the difficulty of obtaining the necessary approval of this new devotion, she replied: "Our divine Saviour desires the establishment of the scapular of His holy Passion. Not the least doubt of this lingers in my mind. He will be well able, at the moment known only to Himself, to smooth away all the difficulties which usually stand in the way of new devotions, and to make the day of His precious death a special day, a day enriched from the treasures of the Church. I am happy to think that this will be one part of the riches of the Congregation of the Mission."

Little attention was at first paid to the words of the holy nun by her Superiors. In the month of June, however, of the following year, the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission and of the Sisters of Charity, being in Rome, determined to acquaint the Holy Father of the Sister's supposed visions. To his astonishment and delight Pius IX. offered no objection to the new devotion, but, on the contrary, expressed a great desire to see employed this new means for converting sinners and confirming the just; and without any inquiry or further explanation, he issued a Rescript on the 25th of June, 1847, authorizing the Priests of the Mission

to bless and distribute *the scapular of the Passion of Jesus Christ*. By the same Rescript he attached several indulgences to the wearing of this scapular. Other indulgences were added by a Rescript of the 21st of March, 1848, and on the same occasion the Superior of the Congregation of the Mission was empowered by the Holy Father to delegate to all priests, secular or regular, faculties to bless and distribute the red scapular.

The wearers of the red scapular do not constitute a Confraternity, but there can be little doubt that they share in a special manner in each other's prayers and good works, and in the merits and suffrages of the Priests of the Mission, and of the Sisters of Charity. Besides, their united devotion to His sacred Passion must be most pleasing to our Redeemer, and must secure for them the special love of the hearts of Jesus and Mary, which, along with the Passion, are offered to the wearers of this scapular as the particular objects of their devotion.

CONDITIONS FOR VALIDLY RECEIVING THE RED SCAPULAR.

1. One must receive the scapular from a priest having the necessary faculties. The Lazarists—Priests of the Congregation of the Mission, or Vincentians, as they are more usually styled in this country—all have these faculties; and any priest, secular or regular, can have them by applying directly to the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission,¹ or through a local Superior or Member of the Congregation.

2. The scapular as well as the strings must be made of wool, and must be red in colour.² This is the only scapular for which strings of a particular material or colour are prescribed. In all the other scapulars the strings may be of any material and of any colour. Hence, if one wears all the scapulars attached to the same strings, these strings must necessarily be of red woollen material, and should for greater safety be attached *immediately* to the red scapular.

These two conditions suffice. No enrolment of names is necessary, as there is no question of a Confraternity.

¹ Paris, Rue de Sèvres, 95.

² The first scapular alone requires to be blessed. When it is worn out or lost, the wearer can put on a new one without any blessing.

(ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.)

"THE LIVING ROSARY IN MISSIONARY COUNTRIES."

"In last issue of the I. E. RECORD, Father Byrne, O.P., says, at page 820 : "To gain the indulgences of the Living Rosary . . . one *must* use beads bearing the *Dominican* blessing." He grounds his statement on an Apostolic Brief, dated 17th August, 1877, which I believe was hitherto unheard of by most priests, and which, I take it, was never published in the I. E. RECORD.

"Now in the I. E. RECORD of June, 1871, at page 425, Dr. Walsh writes : "For the indulgences of the Living Rosary, neither the use nor possession of beads, &c., is required."

"The Sodality of the Living Rosary exists in almost every parish in Ireland ; but this Brief of 1877, if it applies to Ireland, practically puts an end to all such sodalities ; and yet how is it that we never had any reference made to it for fourteen years ?

"I see in the I. E. RECORD of this month (page 848), that the new regulations made in 1887, in regard to the Carmelite Scapular do not apply in their full force to countries under the care of the Propaganda.

"This question is one of great practical importance, and Father Byrne's statement might be examined, and the result given in next issue of the I. E. RECORD. I am sure hundreds of priests will be puzzled by the new doctrine. "R. M'L."

The article on the Living Rosary to which our correspondent refers has occasioned a widespread feeling of uneasiness among the Irish clergy, and the above is not the only communication received with reference to it. This feeling is natural. For, as our correspondent states, the Sodality of the Living Rosary exists in almost every parish in Ireland. In almost every parish in Ireland it has existed and flourished for nearly half a century, and has been a source of incalculable good not only to the spiritual, but also to the material well-being of the Irish Church. During all this time the directors and members of this Sodality imagined they were complying with all the conditions necessary for gaining the liberal indulgences attached to it by Gregory XVI. Our bishops seem to have been under the same impression, and even theologians, as is evidenced by the quotation given by our correspondent, shared in the

popular belief. But if Father Byrne's teaching is to be accepted as applying to this country, it will follow that, with very few exceptions, indeed, the Sodality has no valid existence amongst us, and that even where it exists validly very few of its members gain the indulgences. For Father Byrne's teaching, express and implied, is to the following effect. First, only those appointments of officials—directors, *zelatores*, *zelatrices*, &c.—made up to November 15th, 1877, received general confirmation, and all subsequent appointments in order to be valid should have been made, or at least confirmed, by the Provincial of the Dominicans, or by some local superior of the same Order. Secondly, the use of beads bearing the Dominican blessing is a necessary condition for gaining the indulgences of this Sodality.

Now a very large number of those who were officials of Living Rosary Sodalities in this country before the date mentioned above must have since died. Many, through increasing age or multiplied household cares, have assigned their places to others who are younger or have more leisure. And finally, many, as in the case of curates, have been obliged to transfer their labours from the sodality of one parish to that of another. But according to the teaching we are now discussing every new appointment of an official made since November 15th, 1877, whether to supply the place of a deceased or of a retired one, if it had not the requisite sanction from the Order of Preachers would be invalid; and invalid, consequently, would be all enrolment of new members made by them. Nay, since a change from one sodality to another is virtually a new appointment, a curate who at the above date was director of a sodality in a certain parish, could not validly discharge the duties of director in another parish to which he might have been afterwards transferred. Again, even in those very few places where the constitution of the sodality may still remain valid, a large proportion, at least, of the members have not beads bearing the Dominican blessing. Hence, if this condition be required, the indulgences of the Sodality of the Living Rosary are, speaking generally, not gained in Ireland at all, and the sodality itself is, as our correspondent says, practically at an end amongst us.

These consequences, which follow from Father Byrne's teaching, being so sweeping and revolutionary in their character, it is not to be wondered at that the clergy should feel uneasy, or that they should ask, as our correspondent does: "How is it that we never have had any reference made to it for fourteen years?" We hope to answer this question in a manner both simple and satisfactory.

Ireland, and, if we are not mistaken, all other English-speaking countries, are under the care of the Propaganda, and to bishops under the care of this Congregation extraordinary powers and faculties are always given. Among these is the power *to erect ALL SODALITIES approved of by the Holy See, to admit into these the faithful of both sexes, to bless the beads and scapulars proper to them, and to apply to them all the indulgences granted by the Popes to all such sodalities, beads, and scapulars.*¹ Recently a doubt arose as to whether these ample faculties granted to bishops in missionary countries had not been somewhat restricted by a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, published July 16th, 1887, with reference to the Confraternities of the Most Holy Trinity, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the Seven Dolours. This doubt was solved in an Instruction sent by the Propaganda in June, 1889, to the bishops of missionary countries. In this Instruction the Congregation states that the powers formerly granted by them to bishops in countries under their charge are still continued in all their plenitude.²

From these premises it is easy to deduce the answer to our correspondent's inquiry, why, namely, we have not heard before of the necessity of the conditions laid down by Father Byrne? It is simply because these conditions were

¹ *Sacrae huic Fidei Propagandae Congregationi dudum jam anteactis temporibus auctoritas per Summos Pontifices facta fuerit tribuendi Archiepiscopis Episcopis . . . aliisque Missionum moderatoribus ab eadem S. Congregatione dependentibus facultatem erigendi in locis sibi subjectis QUARUMQUE PIAS SODALITATES a S. Sede approbatas iisque adscribendi utriusque sexus Christifideles, ac benedicendi coronas et scapularia earundem sodalitatum propria cum applicatione omnium Indulgentiarum quas Summi Pontifices praedictis sodalitatibus, coronis et scapularibus impertiti sunt. Instr. S. Con. de Propaganda Fide, June, 1889. (I. E. RECORD, Third Series, Vol. x., No. 9, page 850.)*

² *Ibidem.*

not, and are not, necessary in this country. All the requisite faculties for instituting and carrying on the sodalities of the Living Rosary can be obtained, as they have always been, from our bishops, who have, in the comprehensive words of the *Instruction* already referred to, the power to erect *quascumque sodalitates a S. Sede approbatus*, and to bless the beads and scapulars pertaining to them. The bishops can appoint directors, who in their turn can appoint all the other officials; and these other officials can validly receive into the sodalities all who may wish to join. If blessed beads are necessary, the directors have faculties from their bishops for blessing them.

To sum up, then. Father Byrne's article on the Living Rosary, so far as it concerns this country, or any country subject to the Propaganda, might as well never have been written, and its teaching need not excite the least uneasiness or anxiety regarding the constitution or working of his Living Rosary sodality in the mind of any priest in any missionary country.

The strictures which it has been our duty to make on Father Byrne's teaching render it necessary for us to offer a word of explanation. With his teaching, so far as it regards non-missionary countries, we have no concern; but in justice to him we feel bound to state that the constitution of the Living Rosary in such countries is as he states. Since 1877, the entire organisation and direction of it has been in the hands of the illustrious Order of Preachers, to whom *jure hæreditario*—to use the phrase employed by Pius IX.—everything in connection with the Rosary belongs. We take it, therefore, that Father Byrne's intention was to lay down the general rules relating to the Living Rosary, without taking into account the special circumstances of this or that particular country; while many of his readers, being unaware of our peculiar legislation on this and kindred subjects, believed he was explaining the regulations for this country, *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*.

But we cannot conclude without a further reference to the statement that beads bearing the Dominican blessing are necessary. Already it has been shown that this condition

does not apply, to us, at least. Indeed, as our correspondent points out, we have eminent authority for holding that beads, whether blessed with this blessing, or that, or not blessed at all, are wholly unnecessary, or at least were unnecessary up to 1871. The reason for this opinion is that in detailing the conditions for gaining the indulgence of the Living Rosary no mention was made of beads. Gregory XVI., who made the first grant of indulgences to this sodality, does not speak of beads; neither does Pius IX., in transferring the supreme direction of the Living Rosary to the Order of Preachers. In a little pamphlet on the Rosary, printed in Dublin in 1887, and compiled, if we are rightly informed, by a very distinguished member of the Dominican Order, though the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the Living Rosary are enumerated, no mention is made of the use of beads. This condition, in the form in which it is given by Father Byrne, is first mentioned in a summary of indulgences approved by the Congregation of Indulgences, February 2, 1878. But even from this document it would appear that the use of beads having the Dominican blessing, is not by any means a condition for valid membership of the sodality, or even for gaining the general indulgences—including all the plenary—but merely a condition for gaining certain indulgences attached to the recital of the daily decade. Moreover, it may be very fairly doubted, notwithstanding this document, whether even these latter indulgences cannot be gained without the exact fulfilment of this supposed condition. But, as has been said already, this phase of the question has only a speculative interest for us.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS.

CONGREGATION OF THE INQUISITION.

INSTRUCTION REGARDING MIXED MARRIAGES, ADDRESSED TO
THE BISHOPS OF THE EAST.INSTRUCTIO SUPER MATRIMONIIS MIXTIS AD PATRIARCHAS, ARCHIE-
PISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS RITUUM ORIENTALIUM.

Cum Christianorum conjugium unionem inter Christum et Ecclesiam exprimat, monente Apostolo Paulo *Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*, aperte patet sanctum prorsus esse vinculum maritale quo inter se ipsi copulantur. Cum autem fides sit omnis sanctitatis radix atque fundamentum, pariter nemo non videt, conjuges ut mutua sese unione sanctificent, sicut in reliquis, ita et potissimum fide cohaerere debere. Mirum proinde non est, si inter cetera quae matrimonium impediunt, etiam illud accensetur quod *mixtae communionis* impedimentum proprio nomine appellatur.

Jam vero, cum in Orientalibus quibusdam regionibus nonnullae hac super re difficultates ortae sint, atque anxietatibus non paucis viam aperuerint, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo divina providentia PP. XIII., pro eo quo erga Orientales gentes zelo inflammatur, supremæ Congregationi S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis mandavit, ut ad hujusmodi difficultates et anxietates amoliendas opportunam Instructionem elaboraret. Quibus jussionibus obsecundans S. Congregatio, ea quae sequuntur statuenda censuit :

1 Hujus impedimenti natura, quemadmodum omnes norunt ea est, ut matrimonii foedus inter eos qui baptizati sunt, iniri nequeat, quando altera eorum pars haeretica vel schismatica sit. At catholicorum cum haeticis, et contra, nuptiae illicitae sunt quidem, sed nihilominus valent. Ingens propterea discrimen intercedit inter impedimentum mixtae communionis seu religionis et alterum quod propria appellatione dicitur *disparitatis cultus*. Primum enim locum habet inter Christianos; secundum afficit matrimonia Christianorum cum non baptizatis, sive judaei sint, sive infideles cujuscunque sectae, sive etiam catechumeni. Conjugia itaque inter personas cultu dispares sunt prorsus irrita; mixta vero valida, sed graviter illicita.

2. Facili porro negotio perspicitur cur connubia catholicorum

eum heterodoxis antiquissimi canones, quemadmodum recentiores Conciliorum ac Summorum Pontificum sanctiones, omnino reprobantur ac reprobant, damnantur ac damnant. Reprobanda enim sunt sive ob vetitam, quam secumferunt, in divinis rebus communionem, et exinde derivans scandalum, sive ob impendens catholico conjugii perversionis periculum, sive ob pravam sobolis institutionem. Accedit etiam hujusmodi conjunctionibus facile promoveri funestissimum in religionis negotio, uti vocant, indifferentissimum. Sed alia etiam perniciose consecutaria ex hujusmodi conjunctionibus dimanant, cum catholicos inter et acatholicos vix ac ne vix quidem ea inveniatur animorum concordia, quae inter conjuges necessaria prorsus est. “Quomodo enim,” ait S. Ambrosius, “potest congruere charitas, ubi discrepat fides?” Hinc vel ipse Zonaras jure animadvertit matrimonialem societatem catholicos inter et acatholicos eo etiam ex capite esse reprobendam, quod miscenda non sunt quae naturam, ut inter se misceri possint, non habent: “Nam qui simul ita vivunt, ut eorum animi in iis, quae ad fidem pertinent, contrario modo affecti sunt, quo pacto eos in aliis rebus convenire posse quispiam arbitrabitur? quorumque sensus in iis quae sunt fidei, quorum prima est atque praecipua ratio, minime congruunt, quo pacto inter se aequis animis in reliqua vitae societate communicabunt?”

3. Quare mirum non est, si antiqua Concilia vetant catholicis, ne nuptias cum haereticis, sicut et cum infidelibus, concilient, nisi hi orthodoxam fidem amplectantur. Sic Conc. Laodicenum de haereticis praescribit: *Quod non oportet cum omni haeretico matrimonium contrahere vel dare filios aut filias: sed magis accipere, si se christianos futuros profiteantur.* Consonat Agathense: *Quoniam non oportet cum omnibus haereticis miscere connubia et filios vel filias dare, sed potius accipere, si tamen profitentur christianos futuros esse se et catholicos.* Et Chalcedonense in superius memorato canone: *Sed neque haeretico vel pagano vel judaeo matrimonio conjungere, nisi utique persona, quae orthodoxae conjungitur, se ad orthodoxam fidem convertendam spondeat.*

4. Ex iis, ut alia silentio praetereamus, satis quidem apparet matrimonia mixta esse prorsus illicita: qua de causa S. Mater Ecclesia merito ea semper detestata est, ac fideles ab illis contrahendis abstertere studuit. Ad amovenda tamen pericula quae ex mixtis nuptiis provenire possunt, concurrere debent circumstantiae, ceu scribit s. m. Bened. XIV., quae cum ab eo, qui

facultatem dispensandi habet, expensae fuerint, aditum aperiant concessioni legitimae dispensationis, cujus vi matrimonium inter partes, haereticam unam alteramque catholicam, licitum reddatur. Hae circumstantiae, cujusmodi est Ecclesiae utilitas, bonum publicum, gravissimum malum vitandum, et aliae, quae canonicas causas ad elargiendas matrimoniales dispensationes generatim necessarias constituunt, praerequiruntur ad impedimentum mixtae communionis aliquo in casu relaxandum; sed, quod sedulo est animadvertendum, minime sufficiunt.

5. Exigendae enim praeterea sunt opportuna a contrahentibus cautiones de amovendo a conjugē catholico perversionis periculo, de conversione conjugis acatholici ab illo pro viribus curanda, ac de universa prole utriusque sexus in catholicae religionis sanctitate omnino educanda. Has autem cautiones jus naturale ac divinum cum postulet, nulla unquam humana auctoritate mixtae nuptiae sine ipsis permitti possunt.

6. Positis igitur canonicis causis, ac praehabitis memoratis cautionibus, quibus arcentur quae legi naturali aut divinae adversantur, ab ecclesiastica competente auctoritate dispensatio in lege mixta connubia prohibente impetranda est, ut absque piaculo celebrari possint, ea deficiente, nunquam gravi culpa vacant.

7. Illicitum porro ac sacrilegum est se sistere coram haeretico seu schismatico ministro ante vel post contractas mixtas nuptias, quoties ipse ut minister sacris addictus adsistat, et quasi parochi munere fungens: nam pars catholica ritui haeretico ut schismatico se consociaret, ex quo vetita omnibus haberetur cum haeticis in eorum sacris communicatio. Quare ita contrahentes mortaliter peccarent ac monendi sunt. Si vero, ut in nonnullis locis evenit, haeticus seu schismaticus personam agat magistratus mere civilis, et quidquid ipse praestat, civilis dumtaxat et politicus actus sit, ac civiles effectus respiciat, et nulla prorsus acatholici ritus professio habeatur, aut inde colligi possit, non improbatur quod pars catholica, urgentibus schismaticis seu haeticis, aut civili lege imperante, eundem ante vel post initum matrimonium adeat.

8. Sciant insuper animarum pastores, si interrogentur a contrahentibus vel si certe noverint eos adituros fore ministrum haeticum sacris addictum ad nuptialem consensum praestandum, silere se non posse, sed monere debere sponso de gravissimo peccato quod patrant. Veruntamen, ad gravia praecavenda mala, si in aliquo peculiari casu sacerdos seu parochus non fuerit

interpellatus a sponsis, an liceat nec ne adire ministrum haereticum vel schismaticum, et nulla fiat ab iisdem sponsis explicita declaratio de eodem adeundo, praevideat tamen eos forsan adituros ad matrimonialem praestandum vel renovandum consensum, atque insuper ex adjunctis in casu concurrentibus praevideat monitionem certo haud esse profuturam, imo nocituram, indeque peccatum materiale in formalem culpam vertendum; tunc sileat, remoto tamen scandalo et dummodo aliae ab Ecclesia requisitae conditiones atque cautiones rite positae sint, praesertim de libero religionis exercitio parti catholica concedendo, nec non de universa prole in religione catholica educanda. Quod si sponsi ad parochum, seu sacerdotem catholicum pro benedicendis nuptiis accedant postquam eas coram ministro haeretico seu schismatico celebraverint, idque publice notum sit vel ipsis sponsis notificetur, catholicus sacerdos huic matrimonio non intererit, nisi servatis, uti supponitur, ceteroquin servandis, pars catholica facti poenitens praeviis salutaribus poenitentiis a patrata culpa absolutionem rite prius obtinuerit.

9. Pauca de *sponsalibus* addenda supersunt. Sponsalia inter unam partem catholicam et alteram schismaticam seu haereticam illicita sunt atque adeo invalida, nisi praevia legitima dispensatione celebrentur.

10. Itaque pro ea sollicitudine qua erga commissas sibi oves gerunt, enixe curabunt locorum Antistites, ut eas a mixtis nuptiis quoad fieri possit, deterreant, aut saltem nonnisi observatis adamussim debitis cautelis, legitimeque impetrata dispensatione illas permittant, eisdem impense inculcantes catholicum dogma, quod nempe, extra catholicam Ecclesiam salus obtineri non possit. Insistant celebris Apostolorum discipuli S. Ignatii M. verbis: *Ne erretis, fratres mei: si quis schisma facientem sectatur, regni Dei haereditatem non consequitur.* Excitandus tum a Vobis ipsis, tum a reliquis animarum pastoribus, christianus populus ad catholicam fidem et unitatem ardentiori usque studio custodiendam, atque ideo ad omne illius deserendae periculum vitandum, ut praefixus finis circa matrimonia mixta obtineatur.

11. Erit pariter eorundem Praesulum efficere, ut ex fidelium memoria nunquam excidat notissimum naturalis divinaeque legis praeceptum, quo non solum peccata, sed et pericula ad peccatum proxime inducentia fugere jubemur; uti etiam aliud praeceptum quo parentibus injungitur filios educare in disciplina et correptione Domini, ac propterea ipsos erudire ad verum cultum, qui Deo

unice in catholica Ecclesia exhibetur. Hinc oportet, animarum curatores monere, ut gregi suo solerti invigilando, simul ac compererint adesse juvenes vel virgines conjugale foedus cum heterodoxis inire volentes, ipsos eorumque parentes salutaribus imbuant doctrinis, nihilque omittant, quo eos a transgrediendis Dei et Ecclesiae mandatis avertant. Edocendi deneque fideles, qua publicis catechesibus, qua privatis instructionibus circa constantem hac in re Ecclesiae doctrinam, ne unquam eos capiat oblivio canonum mixta connubia detestantium.

12. Et quoniam in gravissimo hoc negotio solius presbyteri arbitrio nil est relinquendum, ipsis injungendum erit, ut de quolibet mixto matrimonio contrahendo quantocius Episcopum certiores reddant, accuratissime delatis omnibus rerum, locorum, et personarum circumstantiis. Tam Episcopi quam parochi sedulo invigilent ut conjuges datas cautiones fideliter adimpleant.

Haec ut Summi Pontificis jussa faceret, Sacra Congregatio Vobis significando duxit, atque interim fausta omnia ac felicia adprecatur.

Datum Romae, ex Cancellaria S. Officii, die 12 Decembris, 1888

JOSEPHUS MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Notarius.*

CERTAIN MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS.

EME AC RME DNE MIHI OBSME.

Die 12 Januarii currentis anni, Eminentia Tua, dum Romae degeret, sequens proposuit dubium.

Suprema Congregatio, mense Martio 1888, ad episcopum Waycastren. in Statibus Unitis Americae, interrogantem utrum in processibus matrimonialibus Defensor vinculi teneretur provocare secundam sententiam appellando a prima, quando nullitas matrimonii evidens est, v. gr., ob impedimentum ligaminis, cognationis; etc., respondit: "Negative, dummodo per processum saltem extrajudicalem certo constet de nullitate matrimonii ob persistens impedimentum evidenter comprobatum."

Et postulatum a Te fuit utrum haec responsio habenda sit in futurum ut norma processibus similibus.

Re delata ad Congregationem Generalem S. O. habitam die 26 currentis mensis, Emi Dni Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales Eminentiae Tuae pro responsione communicandum mandarunt Decretum cujus authenticum exemplum includo.

Interim . . .

Romae, die 30 Martii 1890.

R. Card. MONACO.

Emo Cardinali Archiepiscopo Parisiensi.

DECRETUM.

Feria IV, die 3 Junii 1889.

Emi ac Rmi Cardinales Inquisitores Generales decreverunt Quando agitur de impedimento disparitatis cultus, et evidenter constat unam partem esse baptizatam et alteram non fuisse baptizatam; quando agitur de impedimento ligaminis et certo constat primum conjugem esse legitimum et adhuc vivere; quando denique agitur de consanguinitate aut affinitate ex copula licita, aut etiam de cognatione spirituali, vel de impedimento clandestinitatis in locis ubi Decretum Tridentinum *Tametsi* publicatum est, vel uti tale dici observatur; dummodo ex certo et authentico documento, vel, in hujus defectu, ex certis argumentis evidenter constet de existentia hujusmodi impedimentorum Ecclesiae auctoritate non dispensatorum, hiis in casibus, praetermissis solemnitatibus in Constitutione Apostolica *Dei miseratione* requisitis, matrimonium poterit ab Ordinario declarari nullum, cum interventu tamen defensoris vinculi matrimonialis, quin opus sit secunda sententia.

L. ✠ S.

J. MANCINI. S. R. et U. I. Not.

DECREE REGARDING CRANIOTOMY AND ANY SIMILAR SURGICAL
OPERATION.

Directe occisivam foetus vel matris.

Anno 1886, Amplitudinis Tuae Praedecessor dubia nonnulla huic Supremae Congregationi proposuit circa licitatem quarundam operationum chirurgicarum craniotomiae affinium. Quibus seculo perpensis, Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales, feria IV die 14 currentis mensis respondendum mandaverunt:

In scholis catholicis tuto doceri non posse licitam esse operationem chirurgicam quam craniotomiam appellant, sicut declaratum fuit die 28 maii 1884, et quaecunque chirurgicam operationem directe occisivam foetus vel matris gestantis.

Idque notum facio Amplitudini Tuae, ut significes professoribus facultatis medicae Universitatis catholicae Insulensis.

Interim fausta quaeque ac felicia tibi a Domino precor.

Romae, die 19 Augusti 1889.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus in Domino

R. Card. MONACO.

Reverendissimo Domino Archiepiscopo Cameracensi.

THE FIRE OF HELL.

[*Etudes Religieuses*, juin, 1390.]

SUMMARY.

A PRIEST of the diocese of Mantua submitted the following case to the Penitentiary:—A penitent declares to his confessor that he believes that the fire of hell is not a real fire, but only metaphorical—that is, that the pains of hell are called fire, because fire causes the most intense pain; and in order to express the intensity of the pain of hell, it is represented under the image of fire.

The priest asked if one can allow this opinion to spread by giving absolution to a penitent who holds it. There is not question, added the priest, of a mere isolated case, as the opinion is generally held in a certain part of the country, where one constantly hears it said, “Make children believe that in hell there is real fire.” (23rd April, 1890.)

The Penitentiary answered that it is necessary to instruct such penitents carefully, and if they continue obstinate, to refuse absolution.

RESPONSUM.

Sacra Pœnitentiaria ad præmissa respondit: hujusmodi pœnitentes diligenter instruendos esse; et pertinaces non esse absolvendos. Datum Romæ, in Sacra Pœnit., die 30 aprilis, 1890.

R. C. MONACO, P. M.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII., TO THE BISHOP OF VIGEVANO, WHO WAS BROUGHT BEFORE THE CIVIL TRIBUNALS FOR EXERCISING A FUNCTION OF HIS MINISTRY.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Graviter molesteque tulimus allatum Nobis nuncium de gravi contumelia Tibi irrogata, quum propter sacri muneris tui perfunctionem coram laico magistratu quaestioni obnoxius fuisti, quae de suspectis criminis haberi solet. Dolor autem quem tua causa cepimus eo fuit acerbior quod episcopalis dignitas in Te laederetur et novum suppeteret, triste satis indicium dirae insectionis qua in Italia conflictatur Ecclesia. Lenit tamen aegritudinem Nostram cogitatio effectum, quos necesse est oriri ex hujusmodi vexatione adversos consiliis hominum qui eam intulerunt. Quo enim exploratio fit injusta vis, qua saevit in Ecclesiam

civilis potestas quae ipsa conscientiae arcana contendit accensere ditioni suae metuque poenarum detertere ab officio dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, eo liquet apertius quam impudens mendacium sit quo religionis hostes sese justae libertatis jactant adsertores, et quam irritus eorum conatus ut sanctae militiae Christi proditores faciant qui sese illi addixere.

Illi enim, Deo, opitulante, neque minis cedent neque ab officio desciscient, novam inno e nobili certamine adepti gloriam gestient, Apostolorum instar, quippe eo nomine quod Deo paruerint digni habiti sint contumeliam pati.

Macte igitur animo, Venerabilis Frater, Nosque Tibi gratulari sinito pro sacerdotali zelo et constantia, qua pastorale ministerium obis: quam strenue iniisti viam ea pergito alacriter, neve molestias reformides quas Tibi forte vis et nequitia hominum adhuc erit allatura. Erigant Te veterum exempla fidelium de quibus illud traditum est "*quod in multo experimento tribulationis abundantia gaudii ipsorum fuit:*" erigat spes mercedis amplissimae manentis eos qui "*certamen sustinuerunt propter nomen Christi et non defecerunt.*" Tibique adjutricis gratiae Dei sit Apostolica Benedictio, quam nostri in Te animi testem Tibi, clero et populo Dioecesi cuius praeceps peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIII Junii anno MDCCCXC, Pontificatus Nostri decimotertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

S. CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS.

THE PROFESSION OF FAITH TO BE TAKEN BY A NEWLY APPOINTED PARISH PRIEST.

CAN A BISHOP DELEGATE ANY APPROVED PRIEST OF HIS DIOCESE TO RECEIVE IT.

CIRCA PROFESSIONEM FIDEI A NEO-PAROCIS EMITTENDAM.

BEATISSIME PATER,

N. . . . Episcopus N. . . . in Gallia, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter, provolutus, hucusque putavit sibi competere facultatem, de jure communi, subdelegandi quoscumque sacerdotes approbatos suae diocesis, ut possint dare investituram, seu mittere presbyteros institutos in possessionem beneficii. Sed cum episcopus Orator nuper compertum habuerit

nonnullos hodie de praedicta sententia dubitare, huic sacrae Congregationi proponit sequens dubium :

An de jure communi possit episcopus subdelegare omnes sacerdotes suae dioecesis, ut hanc institutionem faciant et professionem orthodoxae fidei audiant ?

Et quatenus negative, petit sanationem quoad praeteritum, et facultatem in futurum.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, ad primum mandavit rescribi prout sequitur, videlicet :

Juxta exposita, Ordinarium quoad immissionem in possessionem posse delegare quo vero ad fidei professionem excipiendam non posse.

Ad secundum autem, vigore specialium facultatum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro concessarum, eadem Sacra Congregatio benigne annuit *pro gratia sanationis quoad praeteritum ; quo vero ad futuram, providebitur in casibus particularibus, in quibus constiterit de impedimento emittendi professionem fidei in manibus Ordinarii.*

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, 14 Aprilis, 1890.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praef.*

FR. ALOYSIUS EPISCOPUS CALLINICEN, *Secr*

INDULTUM A S. C. EE. ET RR.

De professione fidei per delegatum accipienda.

Vigore specialium facultatum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro concessarum, Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverentissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, attentis expositis, benigne annuit precibus Episcopi Oratoris pro petita facultate delegandi decanos seu Vicarios foraneos aliosque, de quibus agitur, sacerdotes, ad recipiendam fidei professionem, ad quinquennium duratura, ea tamen lege, ut cum primum beneficiati ad Curiam accesserint, teneantur fidei professionem renovare coram Episcopo vel ejus Vicario generali.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, 6 Maii, 1890.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praefectus.*

FR. ALOYSIUS CALLINICEN, *Secr.*

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

HOW TO PLACE THE OFFICE OF THE SEVEN FOUNDERS OF
THE SERVITES IN THE CALENDAR.

HOLY WEEK CEREMONIES IN CERTAIN CONVENT CHAPELS.

RUTHENEN.

Jussu Reverendissimi Episcopi Ruthenen hodiernus redactor Kalendarii in usum cleri ipsius dioeceseos Ruthenensis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi insequentia dubia pro opportuna solutione humillime subjecit, nimirum :

I. In Kalendario perpetuo ac proprio Ruthenensis dioeceseos dies XI Februarii festo S. Pauli primi eremitae, conf. assignata est, quum dies XV Januarii sit propria sedes S. Tarcitiae Virginis.

Quaeritur an Festum S. Pauli e die XI praefata removendum sit, ut locum cedat novo officio SS. Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V. ; vel potius hoc Officium in prima sequenti die libera fixe reponendum ?

II. In nonnullis Monialium Oratoriis, feria V in Coena Domini, capellanus Missam celebrat sine cantu neque hostiam consecrat pro Missa Praesantificatorum. Expleta Missa, Sanctissimam Eucharistiam extrahit e tabernaculo illamque in calice vel pyxide velo cooperta superius collocat, ut per totam diem a Monialibus et externis fidelibus adoretur. Quaeritur an ejusmodi praxis ab Episcopo permittenda seu toleranda sit, vel omnino reprobanda ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caereemoniarum Magistris, omnibus rite perpensis, ita propositis dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet :

Ad I. *Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.*

Ad II. *Expositionem Eucharistiae Sanctissimae, de qua in casu, prohibendam esse.*

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit, die 30 novembris 1889.

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praef.*

PETROCORICEN.

Reverendissimus Dominus Josephus Nicolaus Dabert hodiernus Episcopus Petrocoricen, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium pro opportuna solutione humillime subjecit, nimirum.

An Festum SS. Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V., in Kalendario Dioecesano di XI Februarii alio Festo huic diei fixe adsignato jam impeditum, reponendum sit in sequentia die prima; libera vel potius recolendum praeftata die XI, amoto altero Festo?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii proposito dubio rescribendum censuit:

Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam, et detur recens Decretum in Ruthenen.

Atque ita rescripsit et declaravit die 7 martii 1890.

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SEVEN LECTURES ON SOME OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. In reply to the attacks of the Dean of Ripon. By the Very Rev. James W. Gordon, Canon Penitentiary of the Cathedral Chapter of Leeds, &c. Ripon: W. Harrison, 1890.

CONTROVERSIAL LETTERS. By the Rev. J. W. Vahey, Ridgeway, Wisconsin. Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers.

In a pamphlet of one hundred and fifty pages the Very Rev. James W. Gordon gives to the world seven rather interesting controversial lectures. The particular doctrines of the Church which the lecturer undertook to defend are those most generally attacked by English Protestants of the Low Church type. Among them are the Primacy of St. Peter, Papal Infallibility, Saint-Worship, Purgatory, Confession, and Indulgences. Canon Gordon says nothing, of course, on any of these subjects that has not been said thousands of times already; but he is entitled to the merit of having dressed old truths in a pleasing garb.

Father Vahey's style of controversy, if less elegant and refined than Canon Gordon's, is more striking and original. Each, we suppose, suited himself to his opponent in the matter of style, and there can be no doubt that the Dean of Ripon is a much more polished and more gentlemanly antagonist than the Rev. H. W. Spaulding, D.D., editor of

The Church Record, Ridgeway, Wisconsin, against whom Father Vahey had to take up shield and spear. The following statement and reply will sufficiently indicate the spicy flavour which these "Letters" possess:—

"Even the brigands and robbers of the wilds and mountain fastnesses of Italy and Spain will cut throats and go to confession, lay the required portion of their booty on the altar, and go back again to their bloody work." (Rev. H. W. Spaulding, D.D.)

"The only proof you advance to substantiate this sad state of affairs in Italy and Spain is your infallible word, which must be received because you are an Anglican D.D. That because your vision is very obtuse and badly distorted, therefore the sad state you narrate, the dirty mess you dish out to your readers, is true." (Rev. J. W. Vahey.)

WHY NO GOOD CATHOLIC CAN BE A SOCIALIST. By Kenelm Digby Best, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates, 1890.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM. A Solution of the Social Problem. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D. St. Louis, Mo. B. Herder.

THESE two pamphlets, small though they be, are important contributions to the literature of Socialism. Thorough-going Socialism is but another name for Communism—Communism not of goods only, but also of power and authority. Hence it would give to each individual an equal share in the property of the State, and an equal share in the making and administering of its laws. Such being the principles of Socialism, Father Best has little difficulty in showing that no good Catholic can subscribe to them. *For what participation hath justice with injustice? . . . And what concord hath Christ with Belial?* Father Best's weapons are chiefly theological, and are taken for the most part from the armoury supplied by the writings of Pius IX., and of our present Holy Father.

Dr. Condé B. Pallen, while attacking Socialism from the same point as Father Best, uses weapons altogether different. A doctor in philosophy, he is naturally led to compare the principles of Socialism with the recognised principles of his own favourite science. And he does more. Taking a retrospective glance at the history of civilization, he shows that Socialism, so far from being the panacea for all social evils, is much more likely to be the fruitful source of evils greater and more deplorable than those under which society now groans. Under Socialism the individual, according to Dr. Pallen's showing, is not a man, but only a

citizen. Men are not persons but things, but the goods and chattels of the State, which the State can dispose of according to the State's own liking. In Christianity, on the contrary, and especially in the Catholic Church, man's individuality, and his personal responsibility, are fundamental tenets.

ESSAY IN REFUTATION OF AGNOSTICISM. By the Rev. Simon Fitzsimons. Rochester: New York.

THIS is a thoughtful essay. The writer handles his subject in a masterly manner, and, with sound argument and delicate satire at once crushes the Agnostics, and covers them with ridicule. For his knowledge of the peculiar teachings of his opponents, Father Fitzsimons has gone to the writings of such men as Herbert Spencer, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Laing, whose very words he frequently gives.

D. O'L.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD AND ON THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH. Translated from the Italian of St. Liguori. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R. New York: Benziger Brothers.

IN this neat little volume we are presented with a handy series of popular instructions on the Commandments and Sacraments. No books are so deserving of being read and circulated as those which convey instruction to the people on those points of their holy religion which are most intimately connected with the ordinary routine of their daily lives, and hence no book will confer greater or more lasting benefit than that which treats of the observance of God's Commandments, and of the frequentation of His holy Sacraments. It is sufficient to mention that this work comes from the pen of St. Liguori, to secure for it a careful perusal, and a wide circulation. There is no one who will not derive profit from a diligent study of this small compendium of man's duties; and we would earnestly recommend it to the faithful as a valuable aid in the direction of their daily conduct.

LITURGY FOR THE LAITY. By Rev. James H. O'Donnell. New York: P. O'Shea.

HANDBOOK FOR ALTAR SOCIETIES. By a Member of an Altar Society. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THESE are two useful little books. The *Liturgy for the Laity* explains with clearness and accuracy the symbolism and use of the vestments and various other things used in the service of the

Church. Over forty standard works have been consulted by the compiler, who has had considerable success in condensing the pith of them into a neat little book of one hundred and seventy pages.

The Handbook for Altar Societies is a sacristan's manual. The altars, how to keep them becomingly, and furnish and decorate them tastefully—the vestments, how to make and care them—the furnishing of a sacristy—in a word, the hundred questions that exercise the sacristan in the arrangement and care of the Church, are discussed in this little book. It contains so many practical hints that it will be found to be a useful manual in every sacristy.

We have, however, read with some surprise the description of the fantastic dress of the acolytes and torch-bearers in chapter IV.

ST. ALPHONSUS' PRAYER-BOOK. Selections from the Works of St. Alphonsus. By the Rev. Father St. Omer, C.S.S.R. Translated from the French by G. M. Ward. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is a complete manual of pious exercises for every day, every week, every month, every season of the year, and for all the most important circumstances of life. The object of the translator has been to give English-speaking Catholics the privilege of making constant use of the very words "of that sweet spirit of St. Alphonsus." The book sets out with a summary of the Saint's teaching on prayer, and with an exhortation to Christians to pray always, quoting the words of the "Apostle and Doctor of Prayer:" "He who prayeth shall certainly save his soul; he who prayeth not shall certainly lose it." The frequent use of the prayers contained in this highly-presentable little volume cannot fail to be of the greatest utility to the faithful; men will soon learn how to speak to God, how to love Him, how to succeed in the practice of ejaculatory prayer, and how to remain in the Divine presence in the midst of their worldly occupations. These are the prayers of one honoured with the title of "Doctor of the Universal Church," whose special mission it was to win souls to Christ by inculcating the necessity and the efficacy of prayer. They are taken from his ascetical and dogmatical works, and are so arranged as to be most useful for all classes of readers. We would most earnestly wish to see this book in the hands of all the faithful, being assured that possessing the very spirit of St. Alphonsus, they cannot, in the various circumstances of life, possess a more prudent counsellor or a better friend.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1890.

CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

EVERY student of dramatic poetry has learned that Spain once claimed a proud pre-eminence in this department of literature; but who the authors were, or what the works that entitled her to this distinction, few have been at pains to inquire. Her language is less generally known, and her classics less commonly studied, than those of most other countries in Europe. The names of Goethe and Schiller, of Alfieri and Metastasio, of Molière and Racine, are familiar to readers with any pretensions to literary culture; yet those illustrious writers whose genius once shed a halo around the Spanish theatre, and to whose works, not only Germany, Italy and France, but even England herself, stood indebted for much lofty poetical inspiration, are practically unknown amongst us. Cervantes, who held towards the Spanish stage a somewhat similar relation to that of Marlowe towards the English, should long since have been forgotten but for his immortal burlesque, by which, in his old age, "he laughed Spain out of her chivalry." Lope de Vega, the most prolific of writers, and pronounced "a prodigy of nature," because of that marvellous rapidity of execution which enabled him, in the course of a few hours, to produce some of his most brilliant masterpieces, is now remembered only as a clever improvisatore; and, probably, should not be even so fortunate, had he not found an appreciative and accomplished biographer in the person of Lord Holland.

And Pedro Calderon de la Barca, the Shakespeare of Spain, whose works have exercised a wider influence on the literature of other nations than those of either of his great contemporaries, is scarcely more extensively read, or more highly estimated than they. His writings have become known to us chiefly through translations; and translations, however excellent, are but an imperfect medium through which to view the merits of a great writer, more especially of a great poet, many of whose beauties must necessarily evaporate in the process of transfusion from a foreign tongue.

That this strange indifference is nowise attributable to the absence of genuine poetic power on the part of the distinguished authors mentioned, it will not be difficult to prove. The high repute in which the Spanish drama was held during the seventeenth century, and the number of imitators it produced, then and subsequently, among the *literati* of all European countries, afford sufficient evidence that its authors must have been men of conspicuous originality and rare poetic taste. From a cursory comparison of the literatures of Italy and Spain, during that remarkable period, it will be found that the same general features are observable in both—the same broad outlines in plot and incident and characterization, the same gorgeous profusion of colouring in the descriptive passages, the same profound philosophical reflection and lofty romantic tone. And what holds for the literature of Italy, is true also for that of France. The student of Corneille, Molière, or Quinault, will have learned to trace resemblances, not in the main line of treatment only, but even in minor details, between many of the most striking passages in these authors and the nobler outbursts of passionate eloquence that mark the dramatic works of Lope and Calderon. Nor shall this excite surprise, when it is remembered that neither Italy nor France lays claim to a native dramatic literature; for, as ancient Rome was indebted to Greece for the inspiration of her poets, so were these countries under obligations to other than domestic sources for most of the beauty of thought and harmony of expression by which their best writers established their fame.

But that this should also have occurred in England, a country in which there arose a literature, indigenous as it were to the soil—noble in every outline, bold in every flight, independent in every movement—is the highest tribute that could possibly have been paid to the supremacy of the Spanish mind. And yet such has been the case. Massinger owed his *Virgin Martyr* to one of the *Autos Sacramentales* of Calderon; Fletcher was indebted for the idea of his *Elder Brother* to one of the secular dramas of the same author; and even Dryden himself did not hesitate to mould his *Indian Queen* and *Indian Emperor* on the great masterpieces that, about half a century previously, had won renown for the Spanish stage. To these might be added the names of Cibber, Steele, and many others; but enough has been said to prove that, however strange may be the indifference with which the dramatic literature of Spain has been treated during the last two centuries, it certainly has not arisen from any lack of poetic power on the part of the authors to whom that literature owed its birth.

As regards Calderon, it is to be accounted for on entirely different grounds. A poet who is intensely Catholic in all his writings, and many of whose most artistic works are an embodiment and glorification of the sublime asceticism that has ever been the animating spirit in the inner life of the Church, cannot be expected to find favour with critics whose judgments are warped by bigotry, or with readers whose tastes are formed on the principles that these critics teach. His most profound reasonings must appear to such minds to be vitiated with what they have learned to regard as the aimless speculations of an exploded philosophic system: his deep enthusiastic piety must seem no better than a blind admiration for the superstitious mummery of a false religion; and his brilliant originality of thought and majestic harmony of expression, will be sure to partake of the apparent deformity and disproportion of the noble conceptions they are meant to clothe. On these grounds alone is it possible to explain the violent prejudice and severe strictures of many of Calderon's critics. Sismondi, for instance, asserts that, because "living in a corrupt age, and

writing for a superstitious people, to whose vices he was bound to pander, he fell into extravagance in every form of art. A priest himself, he became the poet of the Inquisition, and the minister of ecclesiastical arrogance, divorcing morality from religion and honour from truth."¹ Sallé goes to the extent of saying that he "can never read Calderon without indignation, since he seems to have had no object in view but to render his genius subservient to the lowest prejudices of his country."² And an able writer in *The Quarterly Review*, supposed to be either Southey or Lockhart, in a critique which even Hallam has pronounced "frigid,"³ severely censures the exuberance of metaphor, the Asiatic pomp of description, and the substitution of fanciful conceits for the language of the heart, which characterize the works of Calderon throughout.⁴ We find, on the other hand, that writers who have succeeded in divesting themselves of prejudice against Catholic sentiments and Catholic practices, and who have endeavoured to understand the state of society in Spain, during the age for which Calderon wrote, have manifested a different spirit in estimating the merits of his works. Most of the German critics, notably the Schlegels, have risen above the low level of sectarian bigotry, and have written in enthusiastic terms of Calderon and his works. Frederick Schlegel does not hesitate to institute a comparison between him and Shakespeare, and to assign the position of pre-eminence, on some counts at least, to the Spanish poet. "While Shakespeare," he tells us, "proposed the enigma of life without attempting a solution, in this great and divine master, it is not only proposed but solved."⁵ And Augustus Schlegel, who, on account of his religious opinions, is less likely to be suspected of partiality than his brother, is more laudatory still. "Blessed man!" he exclaims, "he had escaped from the wild labyrinth of doubt into the stronghold of belief. From thence, with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, he beheld and portrayed the storms of the world. To

¹ *Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. iv., c. 33.

² *Hist. Litt. de Ginguéné*, vol. xii., page 449.

³ *Lit. of Europe*, page 594.

⁴ *The Quarterly Review*, vol. xxv., page 14.

⁵ Dr. Trench's *Life and Genius of Calderon*, page 2.

him human life was no longer a riddle.”¹ A poet whose merits have, on the one hand, been so much depreciated by the blindness of prejudice, and so much extolled, on the other, by the judgment of discerning and impartial critics, cannot fail to possess a special interest for the Catholic student of literature, in any country, or at any time.

The Spain to which Calderon was born, in the last year of the sixteenth century, differed in many important features from the Spain we know to-day. During the two preceding generations, she had reached the acme of her power, and had wielded, both in Europe and beyond the Atlantic, a political influence unparalleled in her long and glorious history. The year 1492 had witnessed the conquest of Granada, after a protracted crusade of more than eight centuries against the Moors; and almost immediately, as if to find employment for the swords now sheathed in an honourable peace, the Continent of the West was thrown open to the Conquistadores, and a series of heroic exploits, not always, it must be admitted, unstained by violence and crime, were performed, and new dominions were added to the already unwieldy possessions of the Spanish crown. Nor, during those years of activity abroad, were her arms allowed to rust at home. The Reformation, adopted in the north of Europe, was energetically repelled in the south; and Spain, then as now the defender of the faith against heresy, threw herself at once into the forefront of the conflict, resolved to bear the sacrifices or the glory that such an attitude might entail. Thus her victories abroad conspired with her championship of the truth at home to engender in her people a spirit of national pride, and to beget a filial reverential love for the two authorities they acknowledged as divinely-created upon earth, the Kingship and the Church.

Side by side with these generous sentiments of patriotism and religion, there existed a code of chivalry, not invariably, it must be conceded, in harmony with the Gospel precepts, but sanctioned nevertheless by royalty, approved by the nobility, and highly honoured by the members of every grade

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* (Bohn's edition), page 405.

of social life. Foremost amongst its principles was its respect for noble blood. The well-born, the *bien-nacido*, were by nature generous, independent, and high-spirited; incapable of inflicting wanton injury; ready to shed their blood to preserve the escutcheon of their family undimmed by the breath of shame. From this, as a centre, radiated many divergent doctrines, which, however consonant with the laws of chivalry, seem, to the modern conscience, at least, to have been strangely at variance with the teaching of the Ten Commandments. It was, for example, a generally accepted belief that personal insult, especially if involving a violation of female purity, could never be wiped out except by the life-blood of the offender. And when it is remembered that, concurrently with this belief, there was accorded to the nobility, by universal consent, a large licence in the matter of gallantry, it will be seen what a fruitful source of intrigue, jealousy, and revenge lay deep down in the heart of the society for whom Calderon wrote. As a set-off, however, against the irregularities that sprang from this belief, was the principle of Catholic theology, universally received in Spain, that sincere repentance is an unfailing remedy to atone for a life of crime. A career of the most atrocious villainy, greater perhaps than that of the penitent thief, often closed in a scene of the most edifying reconciliation with heaven; and it not unfrequently happened that men who while living had vaunted in their disobedience to civil and ecclesiastical authority, glorying in their disregard of the sanctities of social life, were borne to the grave amid the glare of torches, and long files of white-robed clerics, and the solemn and sonorous chant of the Requiem service of the Church.

Such was the Spain to which Calderon was born; and such were the influences, which as a dramatist who "should hold the mirror up to nature" he was bound to portray in his works. While yet a pupil of the Jesuit College, in his native city of Madrid, his talents began to display themselves; and before he had finished his studies at Salamanca, where he read a course of theology, philosophy, and law, his fame had already spread far and wide. In the year 1621, when only twenty-one years old—for his age corresponds always

with the years of the century—he contested for a prize, given, on the occasion of the canonization of St. Isidore, to the best poem in the saint's honour; and so superior was his composition to those of the other competitors, that Lope de Vega spoke of him as “Don Pedro Calderon, who in his youth won the laurels that were wont to be given only to white hairs.” But the laurels thus early won were not destined to be worn in peace. As Cervantes had borne a part in the battle of Lepanto, and Lope de Vega had shared the disasters that had overtaken the Armada, so now it came to Calderon's turn to serve his apprenticeship to arms. A fierce contest was being waged in the Low Countries just as he reached man's estate, and, thirsting as well for military glory as for poetic fame, he threw himself enthusiastically into the thick of the fray. Spain then held out great rewards for success in war, and probably Calderon would have followed the career of arms for life, but for a lucky circumstance, which, if it deprived his country of his valuable counsels in battle, gained for her and for the world at large his valuable services in the nobler fields of literature where he was destined to win a guerdon of deathless renown.

In the year 1621, Philip IV. ascended the throne of Spain. A man of inferior talent for ruling, he might have graced a subordinate position in the cabinet, but wielding the royal sceptre, he could never have become anything better than a speculator in theory, and a blunderer in fact. In one respect, however, he was superior to most of the then sovereigns of Europe. Highly cultured himself, manifesting by turns the accomplishments of sculptor, painter, poet, and actor, he also possessed a keen discernment to recognise, and a generous will to reward, the most talented among his subjects. He had not been long in the enjoyment of supreme authority when the fame of Calderon reached his ears; and he at once decided to recall him from the active service of the field, to the more congenial position of Laureate to the Court. Calderon accordingly returned to Madrid; and thenceforth until the year 1651, with the exception of a few months during which he served in the Franco-Catalonian

war, he remained attached—in every sense of the word—to the royal person, and composed dramas of various kinds, as the civil or religious celebrations of the royal household required. In this latter year he was ordained priest, and a great change became at once apparent both in his demeanour and in his works. Forsaking the profane muses, in wooing whom he could find little to satisfy the requirements of his soul, he transferred his allegiance to a nobler object, consecrating his talents thenceforward to the service of the Church. The composition of the *Autos Sacramentales*, sacred dramas written in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and intended to be acted on the evening of Corpus Christi, claimed his almost undivided attention during the remainder of his life. For these he seemed to have reserved the noblest efforts of his genius, since on them he lavished a fertility of invention, a copiousness of knowledge, and a brilliancy of colouring both in thought and language, that nowhere else can find a parallel in the vast extent of his works. He died in 1681, and his remains were interred in the Church of San Salvador. In the year 1840, however, they were exhumed, by order of the sovereign, and were borne, amid great pomp, to the Church of Our Lady of Atocha, at Madrid, where they at present repose. Above them has been reared a monument not unworthy of the poet's memory, and bearing an inscription that expresses the sentiments, if not the words, of Calderon himself: "Dying he deliberately despised those things which during life he had written with the greatest applause."

In approaching the study of Calderon's works, the reader is at first overwhelmed by their number, and the variety of subjects they embrace. Placed side by side with him, the most prolific of our English dramatists is dwarfed into insignificance; and were it not that the fifteen hundred plays of Lope de Vega are extant, to show what one of his contemporaries was capable of doing, we should be disposed to regard Calderon as an author of unrivalled activity in the fields of dramatic literature. Exclusive of his *Autos*, of which over seventy have been preserved, there are more than one hundred and fifty secular dramas, all elaborately

finished, and dealing with every phase of civil and social life. Nor, this marvellous rapidity of execution considered, are the faults so numerous or so glaring as might naturally be expected. There is often, no doubt, a repetition of the same figures. The buds that blow too early and share the common fate of "the infants of the spring;" the silk-worm that weaves for itself, by simultaneous action, a cradle and a shroud; the crystal fountain that springs into sunlight by the sandy beach, and is lost in the overwhelming tide; the twinkling stars which are flowers, and the sparkling flowers which are "stars that in earth's firmament do shine:" these and similar images recur at frequent intervals, and gradually become familiar as the hackneyed material of the poet's trade. Nor is this all. Even in the inner workings of the spiritual agencies that subserve the higher uses of the drama there is a repetition which the careful critic cannot fail to notice. Religion and honour, jealousy and love, and the other invisible influences that are the motors of human action, are so treated by Calderon as invariably to produce the same results; so that, as Dr. Trench expresses it, one is tempted at times "to liken his poetry to the shifting combinations of a kaleidoscope, which, ever as you turn it, yields only what you had seen already, however it may yield this, brought into new and unlooked-for combinations."¹ But despite these blemishes, which are common to most poets, and are met with not unfrequently even in Shakespeare himself, there are beauties to be found in Calderon which few of our poets have equalled, and none surpassed. At his command the grand old Spanish tongue, soft as the gentle breezes that fan the woods of Andalusia, sonorous as the limpid waters that roll in music upon her shores, yielded up its choicest treasures, its sweetest combinations; and in his highest flights of imagination, as in his most profound and abstract reasonings, became the obedient instrument of his will. Clothed with its richness and sparkling with its brilliancy, the graceful badinage, the courtly compliment, the delicately-pointed flattery of the Castilian gallant, found as easy an expression as did the

¹ *Life and Genius of Calderon*, c. 2, page 59.

theology of the Bible, or the philosophy of the schoolmen, or the asceticism of the saints. Then, unlike most of our English dramatists, honour invariably plays an important part in the action—an honour “of which I know no apter symbol,” writes Augustus Schlegel, “than the fable of the ermine, which is said to prize so highly the whiteness of its fur that, rather than stain it in flight, it at once yields itself up to the hunters and to death.”¹ And in a third feature, also, is Calderon superior to most other dramatists, either ancient or modern: he is wholly free from the grossness, or the indecency, or even the double-meaning innuendo, which has ever been the damning fault of the literature of the stage. Viewed under this aspect, how favourably do his writings contrast with all that a Beaumont and Fletcher, a Dryden, and so many other English dramatists have endured to write, and so many fashionable English audiences to listen to and applaud!

In analyzing the secular dramas of Calderon, it will be convenient, for the sake of clearness and order, to adopt the division of Augustus Schlegel, and to regard them as falling under four main heads:—Compositions on sacred subjects, taken from Scripture and legends; historical; mythological, or founded on other fictitious materials; and finally, pictures of social life and modern manners. We can only briefly illustrate each.

The most powerful and interesting of Calderon's secular dramas are founded on incidents recorded in the Old Testament, or on legends dealing with the lives of saints; and in them the student must admire the wonderful ease and self-possession with which he moves through the intricate windings of the wide domain thus laid under contribution. *The Locks of Absalom*, founded on the tragical end of Amnon, as recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, is perhaps the most famous of his Scriptural plays, and affords a striking proof of the poet's power to deal with the most delicate technical difficulties of his art. The feigned illness of Amnon, the ravishment of Tamar, the implacable hatred

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, page 502.

of Absalom, are all delineated with the strength and freedom of a master-hand; while the idyllic scene of the sheep-shearing, with all its pastoral quietness, its mazy mingling of shepherds and shepherdesses in the enjoyment of the rustic dance, the whole forming the background of an atrocious murder, is described with a vividness of colouring, and a realism in its every outline, that has never been surpassed in the whole range of letters.

The dramas derived from hagiological sources are numerous and interesting. *The Purgatory of St. Patrick*, though by no means the most powerful, is yet, perhaps, the best known in these countries, because of the excellent translation of it we possess from the pen of Denis Florence McCarthy. The play, as the translator tells us in his preface, is founded on the *Vida y Purgatorio* of Montalvan, which was itself compiled from the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum, seu Vitae et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, the work of Thomas Messingham, an Irish priest, who was Superior of the Irish College in Paris, in the early part of the seventeenth century. The drama deals with the early life of St. Patrick, his captivity, his conversion of Ireland to the faith, and his penitential exercises in the famous cave, to which tradition has assigned the name of "St. Patrick's Purgatory." Contrary to the account of authentic history, Egerius is represented as the Ardh-Reigh, and Leogaire as the vassal; while the two princesses—who are beautifully described in the legend as fired by the lambent flame that came from the lips of the saint, until they were consumed to ashes, "which the south wind blowing strongly dispersed over many parts of Ireland"¹—instead of being known as "Fedelm the Red Rose," and "Ethna the Fair," so familiar to the readers of Aubrey de Vere's poetry, are called by the softer and more southern names of Lesbia and Polonia. With the story of St. Patrick is interwoven the thrilling legend of Luis Enius, the Owain Miles of ancient English romance, and the dreadful horrors of his experience in "the Purgatory"—the punishment of the Four Penal Fields, of the Fiery Wheel and the Smoky

¹ Jocelin's *Life of St. Patrick* (Swift's translation), pages 17, 18.

House, and the High Mountain and the Cold River, of the Pit of Flames and the Bridge of Terrors—all are invested by the picturesque language of the poet with a veri-similitude such as has rarely been conferred on mere creations of the mind. One of the most beautiful passages in the play, however, is the prayer of St. Patrick in his solitary captivity, rendered as follows by D. F. McCarthy in his excellent translation:—

“ Great primeval Cause of all,
 Thou, O Lord, in all things art !
 These blue heavens, these crystal skies
 Formed of dazzling depths of light,
 In which sun, moon, stars unite,
 Are they not but draperies
 Hung before 'Thy heavenly land ?
 The discordant elements,
 Water, fire, earth, air immense
 Prove they not Thy master hand ?
 Or in dark or brightsome hours
 Praise they not Thy power and might ?
 O'er the earth dost Thou not write
 In the characters of flowers
 Thy great goodness ? And the air,
 In reverberating thunder,
 Does it not, in fear and wonder,
 Say, O Lord, that Thou art there ?
 Are not, too, Thy praises sung
 By the fire and water—each
 Dowered for this divinest speech,
 With tongue the wave, the flame with tongue ?
 Here then, in this lonely place,
 I, O Lord, may better be,
 Since in all things I find Thee.
 Thou hast given to me the grace
 Of Obedience, Faith, and Fear ;
 As a slave, then, let me stray,
 Or remove me where I may
 Serve Thee truly, if not here.”

Of Calderon's historical and mythological dramas it will not be necessary to treat at length. The former embrace a great variety of subjects, extending from the first dawn of history down to events that happened within the poet's lifetime: and the interest many of them must have possessed

for a Castilian audience may be inferred from the fact that such personages as Isabella of Castile, Charles V., Pizzarro, Philip II., Don John of Austria, Henry the Navigator, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francis Borgia, and others of equal prominence were frequently impersonated, and that events of vast religious and political magnitude were often represented on the stage. In his mythological plays, Calderon does not, as Cowley says, "serve up the cold meats of the ancients, new heated and new set forth;" but, like Keats in more recent times, he assimilates them to the tissue and fibre of his own mind, where they become the exemplars of a new creation possessing a Christian symbolism, and endowed with all the wealth and beauty of modern poetry.

A class of Calderon's writings that has attracted no small amount of attention is his dramas of common life, or as they are technically called, his "Comedies of the Cloak and Sword." It is in these that the manners and customs of Spanish society during the seventeenth century are most vividly portrayed, and to reconcile many of them with our modern views of dramatic excellence, it will be necessary to bear in mind that the literary taste of the Spaniards, for whom the poet wrote, was far different from ours, and that the laws of social intercourse among the nobility of the south of Europe, during what is known as the age of chivalry, admitted of greater freedom of action than our stricter ideas of decorum at the present day could sanction. Ladies in masks and gentlemen in disguises, servants perpetually blundering and masters perpetually duped, all acting from the wildest motives, taking part in the most extravagant actions, constantly creating surprises that are calculated to maintain an audience in a fever of excitement—such are the staple materials of which these dramas are composed. The moral, no doubt, is not always high; yet, as has been already remarked, there is a total absence of grossness or indecency, so common in the literature of the English stage. A feature, too, which no one can help admiring in these compositions is the exquisite finish they display, and the wonderful skill with which the expectancy of the reader is kept alive until the close. The narrative never tires; the description never palls;

the dialogue is a combination of courtly ease and artistic beauty; while the Catholic and the poet are manifest throughout.

We now come to those writings of Calderon that demand our greatest attention, both because of the celebrity they once obtained, and the high esteem in which they were held by the poet himself, namely, the *Autos Sacramentales*, or "Acts" in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. In the year 1651, as has been mentioned, Calderon became a priest, and henceforth devoted his talents to the composition of the sacred drama. His industry in this department of literature was untiring during the remainder of his life, more than two plays on an average being turned off every year, and so highly did he estimate the value of these compositions that, when asked shortly before his death for a complete list of his plays, because the booksellers were vending the writings of others under his name, he replied by giving the titles of his *Autos* only, making no mention of his other works: for, as his epitaph states, "Dying he deliberately despised those things which in life he had written with the greatest applause." Any notice of Calderon, therefore, which would omit reference to his *Autos Sacramentales*, especially at a time when the decennial recurrence of the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau has revived public interest in the development of the sacred drama, would be unworthy of the poet, and inadequate to the end we have had in view in writing this paper.

Although the drama has, for several centuries, been divorced from the Church, and has often been carried on in direct contravention to her commands, yet it is true, however strange it may appear to some, that it had its origin in religious celebrations, grew up under the protecting aegis of ecclesiastical authority, and was secularized only after a long and honourable service in the cause of morality and truth. Like the drama of ancient Greece, it was introduced as a means of teaching a primitive and unlettered people, through the sense of vision, the rudiments of religion; and the priesthood of the middle ages, seeing the hold it secured on the minds of the faithful, took its management into their own hands, and made it the vehicle of a more detailed knowledge

not only of sacred history and tradition, but even of the more abstruse and sublime mysteries of the Christian faith. In its crudest form it was known as the Miracle Play—sometimes as the Mystery Play, because of its chief actors being ministers of the Church (*Mistèrès d'Eglise*)—and consisted in the representation of historical and legendary personages, who had played, or were supposed to have played, important parts in the regeneration of the human race. From this arose the Morality, which, if more difficult to be understood than its predecessor, was also more beautiful when viewed from an artistic standpoint, inasmuch as it introduced, either exclusively or in part, allegorical personages—virtues, vices, and the like—who in their interchange of speech and action symbolized the invisible agencies of the spiritual world. This form of the drama was known, towards the close of the middle ages, to almost every country in Europe, but nowhere did it take such hold on the minds and affections of the people as in Spain, which was pre-eminently a Christian and a Catholic nation.

Thus begun in good faith and simplicity, the Morality Plays continued for many generations—as the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau continues still—to be a source of instruction and edification to the people. Gradually, however, abuses began to be introduced. The crowds that assembled to witness the gorgeous spectacle became eager for coarser and less spiritual excitement; and, though the place of entertainment was usually the cathedral, there were not wanting men who could both write and utter low buffooneries, unworthy alike of the plays themselves and of the sacred edifice in which they were represented. Hence many Church authorities—notably Innocent III.—found it necessary to intervene, and to put a stop to these abuses. Council after council was held, some prohibiting the spectacles altogether, others prescribing certain limits outside which they could not be tolerated; and, in consequence, they soon fell into desuetude in most of the countries of Europe. Spain, however, was peculiarly circumstanced, especially as regarded her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. From time immemorial a great love for the Holy

Eucharist had characterized her people. It had expressed itself in a thousand ways—in their private devotions, in their casual salutations, in their most ordinary and insignificant actions of life. Being thus the great source and centre of the nation's spiritual activity, it had also become the inspirer of her intellectual efforts, and the sacred drama of her poets continued for generations to be a paean of adoration, a canticle of praise, in honour of the Sacred Host. When, therefore, the prohibition of the Church was promulgated against the drama, the Spanish clergy and poets pleaded strongly for its continuance, alleging in its defence the existence of a time-honoured custom, and the comparative absence of abuse. The consequence was that a compromise was effected. The plays were allowed to continue on condition that they should no longer be enacted in the churches, that clerics should take no part in them, and that they should be confined to certain solemn festivals, particularly to those set apart for special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

Such was the condition of the sacred drama in Spain when Lope de Vega appeared, and by means of his four hundred *Autos*, raised it to a higher point than it had hitherto reached. It remained for Calderon, however, to bring it to its greatest perfection, to invest it with a grandeur, a sublimity, a magnificence of conception and spectacular display, that had never before been equalled, and have never been equalled since. "Here, indeed, at length," writes Dr. Trench, "his two vocations of dramatist and priest were reconciled in highest and most harmonious atonement; and, from the finished excellence of these works in all their details, he appears to have dedicated to them his utmost care, to have elaborated them with the diligence of a peculiar love."¹ And Augustus Schlegel, writing on the same subject, expresses himself as follows:—

"The mind of Calderon, however, is most distinctly expressed in the *pieces* on religious subjects. Love he paints merely in its most general features; he but speaks her technical poetical language. Religion is his peculiar love, the heart of his heart.

¹ *Life and Genius of Calderon*, page 93.

For religion alone he excites the most overpowering emotions which penetrate into the inmost recesses of the soul. He did not wish, it would seem, to do the same for mere worldly events. However turbid they may be in themselves to him, such is the religious medium through which he views them, they are all cleared up and perfectly bright. Blessed man! he had escaped from the wild labyrinths of doubt into the strongholds of belief. From thence, with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, he beheld and portrayed the storms of the world. To him human life was no longer a dark riddle. Even his tears reflect the image of heaven, like dew-drops on a flower in the sun. His poetry, whatever its apparent object, is a never-ending hymn of joy on the majesty of the creation; he celebrates the production of nature and human art with an astonishment always joyful and always new, as if he saw them for the first time in an unworn festal splendour. It is the first awaking of Adam, and an eloquence withal, a skill of expression, a thorough insight into the most mysterious affinities of nature, such as high mental culture and mature contemplation can alone bestow. When he compares the most remote objects, the greatest and the smallest, stars and flowers, the sense of all his metaphors is the mutual attraction subsisting between created things in virtue of their common origin, and this delightful harmony and unity of the world again is merely a refulgence of the eternal all-embracing love."¹

But these testimonies notwithstanding, there have not been wanting writers who have been unable to see anything more in the *Autos* of Calderon than a wild farrago of theology, philosophy, and asceticism, combined in so abstract and unintelligible a manner as to be unworthy of serious criticism, much less of such eloquent eulogies as have just been cited. And, indeed, when the ordinary *personnel* of these plays is only superficially considered, nothing could be more natural than to form such an estimate of their worth. A strange medley of allegorical and metaphysical personages, such as Idolatry, Heresy, Apostacy, Truth, Falsehood, Doubt, Thought, the Will, the Senses, Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, Sin, Grace, the Prince, the Man, Lucifer; characters from Scripture history, such as Noah, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, Isaias, Daniel, Balthasar; the strange creations of mythology, such as Orpheus, Perseus, Andromeda, Medusa, Psyche, the Sybils,

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, page 503.

and many more: these, and such as these, are the usual *dramatis personæ* of the *Autos Sacramentales*. No wonder, therefore, that many critics, offended by the apparent incongruity of such a motley combination, should be deterred at the very outset from entering on the study of these plays. To comprehend the principle of their construction the reader must transfer himself to a region of art altogether new, and bring with him a soul susceptible of the impressions of supernatural beauty, capable of perceiving the wondrous unity that results from the almost infinite variety of the spiritual world. If he fulfil these conditions, he shall no doubt understand how the varied characters, apparently most incongruous, are so conceived by the poet that out of them a harmonious whole is constructed: a sublime spiritual story is told: an instructive lesson, embodying the most sacred and solemn truths, is delivered to the audience in a manner at once attractive and edifying. This shall be made more clear by a brief description of the manner in which the poet presses all the materials of creation into his service for the exaltation and worship of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Starting with the principle that the Eucharist is God, the Author of the universe, the centre round which it turns, the end towards which it tends, he hesitated not to enter, with all the freedom and boldness of a Christian poet, upon a domain co-extensive with the world, co-existent with eternity, and to compel everything therein to do homage to its Creator, concealed beneath the sacramental veils. Another relation not less inspiring, which the Eucharist holds towards mankind, is found in its institution. The main object of the Redeemer in bequeathing this ineffable gift was that it should become the great source of light and strength to the Christian soldier in the relentless spiritual warfare in which he is engaged; and the poet, perceiving how its efficacy in this relation may be diminished or increased by a thousand influences, sometimes originating within us, sometimes proceeding from without, made bold to allegorize these forces, representing them as acting upon the stage the several parts they play in the mysterious world of spirit. The senses of the body, which

are as it were the outposts of the fortress in which the soul is imprisoned; the seasons of the year, which, by their influence on human action, may become powerful agents for good or evil; time and space, truth and falsehood, the Church and the world, Christ and Lucifer, and the myriad other powers of light and darkness that enter into man's struggle, his rises, and his falls, all, as is manifest from this view of the subject, admit of dramatic treatment; and hence they were invested by the poet in his *Autos Sacramentales* with an embodiment which was at once highly poetical and in harmony with the truths of the faith. The theology and philosophy of the Church, uninviting as they might seem at first sight to an imaginative writer, were treated with equally consummate skill. As Dante had done before him, Calderon discerned, with true poetic instinct, the suitable materials of his art amid the heterogeneous writings of the early Fathers and mediæval scholastics; and, like the bee that extracts the honey from among the varied juices of the flower, he selected their choicest thoughts, and worked them into the woof and texture of his most polished poetic works. Even the strange creations of mythology, incompatible though they appear with the sublime truths of Christianity, he disdained not to make use of; and the success that attended him here may be inferred from the following passage by Dr. Trench:—

“The manner in which Calderon uses the Greek mythology is exceedingly interesting. He was gifted with an eye singularly open for the true religious element, which, however overlaid and debased, is yet to be detected in all inferior forms of religion. These religions were to him the vestibules through which the nations had been guided, till they reached the temple of the absolute religion, where God is worshipped in Christ. The reaching out and feeling after an unknown truth, of which he detected something even in the sun-worship of the Peruvians, he recognized far more distinctly in the more human, and therefore more divine, mythology and religion of ancient Greece . . . Generally he took a manifest delight in finding or making a deeper meaning for the legends and tales of the classical world, seeing in them the symbols and unconscious prophecies of Christian truth. He had no misgivings, therefore, but that these would yield themselves freely to be moulded by his hands. He felt that, in employing them, he would not be drawing down the sacred into the region of the profane, but elevating that which

had been profaned into its own proper region and place. The legends of heathen antiquity supply the allegorical substratum for several of his *Autos*. Now it is *The True God Pan*, or it is the story of Perseus rescuing Andromeda from the great sea-monster, or Theseus destroying the Labyrinth, or Ulysses defying the enchantments of Circe, or the exquisite mythus of Cupid and Psyche. Each in turn supplies him with some new poetical aspect under which to contemplate the very highest truth of all."

The space at our disposal forbids us to enter on a more detailed analysis of the *Autos Sacramentales*; but enough has been said already to indicate the general nature of these compositions. "That they were a most remarkable exhibition of the spirit of the Catholic religion on its poetic side," says Ticknor, in his *History of Spanish Literature*, "can no more be doubted than the fact that they often produced a devout effect on the multitudes that thronged to witness their performance."¹ The morning of Corpus Christi opened with Solemn Mass, followed by a magnificent procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the city, in which not only cleries, but even the principal citizens, the magistrates, and even the king himself, deemed it a privilege to take part. In the afternoon the *Autos* were performed on a spacious platform erected either in front of the royal palace, or before the houses of the chief officers of state, and were witnessed by persons of every description, who occupied the surrounding windows and balconies, or whatever other points of vantage they could conveniently secure. That these plays produced a salutary effect on the minds of the audience can be easily imagined; for, while the gorgeousness of the spectacle spoke to the eyes of the illiterate, the deep allegorical meaning and hidden symbolism of many of the scenes must have proved highly interesting to even the most educated and refined. Indeed we have it on the testimony of Madame D'Aulnoy, a French traveller, who was present at such performances in Madrid, in the year 1679, that the vast multitude, on one occasion, were so overcome at hearing an actor recite the Confiteor, that, by a simultaneous impulse, they all cast themselves on their knees, smote their breasts audibly, while not a few amongst them were

¹ Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., c. xxii., page 361.

seen to burst into tears. What a pity that entertainments which were calculated to awaken such generous feelings of devotion should have so fallen into disuse, that the only dramatic performance of the present day which is at all comparable to them in power and impressiveness, can be witnessed only once in every ten years, and even then in a place inaccessible to the majority of men !

Such is a brief epitome of the life and labours of Calderon, a man whose transcendent genius entitles him to an honoured place among the poets of all time. It would be an invidious and bootless task to institute a comparison between him and Shakespeare, as has sometimes been attempted. Each stands unrivalled in his own peculiar sphere : Shakespeare, as the poet of human nature, in all countries and for all times ; Calderon, as the poet of the most Catholic people in the world, in an age when that people was most Catholic. The one, " warbling his native woodnotes wild," shows what inborn genius can achieve without the restraints of artificiality ; the other, by his mysterious allegory and subtle dialectics, proves that the highest art in poetry—and the same is true of music, and architecture, and sculpture, and painting—proceeds from a mind enlightened by supernatural faith, and a heart chastened by divine love. Shakespeare will be admired by the literary men of all ages, while human nature remains as he has described it—and that shall be for ever ; Calderon will be cherished by the Catholic peoples of the earth, while the Church to which he belonged retains her characteristic harmony in faith and works—and that shall be "to the consummation of the world." May we not, therefore, be permitted to express a hope that his writings, instinct as they are with faith and piety, may become more generally known among literary men, especially here in Ireland, which is connected with Calderon's country by ties of kindred, blood, and sympathy in religion, which he has honoured by making it the scene of one of his principal dramas, and which has already furnished two of his most ardent admirers, most earnest students, and most successful translators, in the persons of Archbishop Trench and Denis Florence MacCarthy ?

J. J. CLANCY.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

THE death of Cardinal Newman brings to mind various events in his chequered life. It reminds the present writer of one characteristic incident, mentioned by O'Curry in the preface to those Lectures delivered by him to the students of the Catholic University, of which Newman was then rector. O'Curry had spent his life labouring in the neglected field of Irish literature. He had searched the piles of MSS. mouldering on the shelves of libraries, public and private, throughout Ireland; he had visited the great English collections; MSS. had been sent from abroad, from Belgium and from Rome, for his inspection; he had studied volumes unopened for centuries; and he had thus attained a knowledge of the native language, literature and archaeology never before approached and very probably unrivalled since.

Chiefly at the instance of Newman, a Celtic chair was established in the new Catholic University; and the appointment of O'Curry as the first professor, and the constant encouragement which that great scholar received from the rector, were all characteristic of the late Cardinal. The *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, in reality sketches of Irish literature, were the outcome of O'Curry's connection with the University. Of the circumstances attending their delivery and publication we read in the preface:—

“Little did it occur to me on the occasion of my first timid appearance in that chair, that the efforts of my feeble pen would pass beyond the walls within which those lectures were delivered. There was, however, among my varying audience one constant attendant, whose presence was both embarrassing and encouraging to me, . . . whose kindly sympathy practically showed itself. . . . At the conclusion of the course, this great scholar and pious priest (for to whom can I allude but our late illustrious rector, the Rev. Dr. Newman?) astonished me by announcing to me, on the part of the University, that my poor lectures were deemed worthy to be published at its expense.”

The lectures were published in due course, and no one who has even glanced through them will assert that Irish literature is either non-existent, or scanty, or worthless. One object of Newman and of O'Curry has been gained.

But they had another object in view, as O'Curry plainly states. It was to convince the Irish Catholic public, and more especially the educated class, that to them first of all belonged the duty of becoming acquainted with, and of learning to appreciate at their proper value, the language and literature of their ancestors. Has that end been reached? Do Irish Catholics to any extent know their native language to-day, or are they at all acquainted with the character of their native literature? Thirty-five years have passed since those lectures were delivered. In that time Irish Catholic education has made great strides. Yet, the number of those who can write our native language passably, or who have the slightest knowledge of our literature, is shamefully small. In whose hands do we now find those lectures, delivered in the National Catholic University, and treating of the most Catholic literature in the world? Chiefly in the hands of foreigners, and almost exclusively in the hands of non-Catholics. Those precious ecclesiastical MSS., first studied by O'Curry, have been published in fac-simile after great toil and labour, mostly by the exertions of Dr. Atkinson of Trinity College, an Englishman and a Protestant. Two centuries ago a Tipperary priest, a fugitive in the glen of Aherlow, with a price on his head, composed valuable and beautiful works—some ascetical, others historical. After that lapse of time, the most important of these has just been set forth, not by a priest, nor by an Irishman, nor by a Catholic, but by the same Dr. Atkinson. An immense body of mediæval sermons, Catholic of course to the core, have been given to Celtic students, again by Dr. Atkinson. The calendar of saints composed by the monk Aengus has been printed by Whitley Stokes, an Irishman indeed, and of distinguished family, but not a Catholic. To him, too, has been left the honour of preparing the first edition of the famous Irish life of St. Patrick, and of publishing the lives of the early saints from *The Book of Lismore*, writings which throw

so much light on the faith and usages of the old Irish Church. We find a Protestant clergyman preparing a dictionary of the words used by the monks who in Donegal convent arranged the old Irish annals. We see Max Nettlau, a German, preparing the text of our great epic, the *Táin Bó*. Dr. Kuno Meyer and others spend years studying the glowing, romantic, and poetic literature of ancient Erin, and of the early Christian period—a literature which carries us back thousands of years, giving us charming glimpses of old Celtic life. Even the organ of workers in the old and middle Irish is published and supported at Paris; articles on Gaelic subjects are frequent in foreign periodicals, far more so than in papers written for Irishmen; and our standard grammars are drawn up by German scholars. Again, it is a German and Dr. Stokes who are prepared to print, at their own expense, that great collection of words collected by O'Curry, and thought to have been lost until recently discovered among the MSS. in Clonliffe College.

It was, therefore, with a feeling of shame that a distinguished Irish-American noted, the other day,

“Two puzzling *facts* in recent Irish history. First, the interest that Protestants and foreigners take in the language and literature of that country; a language and a literature not only full of the spirit and teachings of Irish Catholicity, but which contain in themselves the seeds of the strongest and most aggressive Catholic tradition in the world. The other *fact*, no less puzzling, is the callous indifference or open hostility of the clergy and politicians to the native speech and literature.”

These are, indeed, puzzling facts, and bitter to think on; but we do not think on them, and so we avoid their bitterness. They are facts, certainly; for what are the great names among Celtic scholars of to-day. In addition to those already mentioned, those of Ascoli, Ebel, Gaidoz, de Jubainville, Nigra, Rhys, Thurneysen, Windisch, Zimmer, Zimmermann, occur to anyone interested in Celtic research. All these are foreigners, and nearly all non-Catholics. On the other hand, if we search among Irish Catholics, we find no layman of eminence, no one able to fill the place of Sullivan or Hennessy. Dr. Joyce and Mr. Flannery of London appear

but seldom. Then in the clergy, we shall meet with very few Irish scholars. There are eight or nine in the regular orders. The secular clergy are represented by Dr. McCarthy, and one or two others rarely *en evidence*, and by a handful of the younger priests, willing, it may be, and earnest, but without influence or opportunities. Now, many of the priests in Irish-speaking districts are fine speakers. It was often my privilege to listen to eloquent sermons in beautiful Gaelic almost rivalling the language of Keating himself, and as often had I to regret that those speakers could not, through want of some acquaintance with the written language, contribute, as they were otherwise qualified to do, to our modern Gaelic literature, as our brother Celts, the Welsh clergy, do for their own prose and poetry.

It is in an humbler class of society that the lovers of our ancient speech are to be looked for—among the ranks of the school-teachers. Some of those devote their evenings, after their hard day's work, and their well-earned leisure time, to committing to writing, as well as they can teach themselves to do, some of that great body of folk-lore handed down orally from one generation to another, which is yet to be met with in those parts of Ireland where the vernacular is the language chiefly used. Better still, some, with the encouragement of their managers, qualify themselves to teach the native language to their pupils, with the happy result that the children speak, read, and write, both English and Irish. And, as the Bishop of Waterford noticed, the children who were thus taught their own language first, and through it learned other things, had a far better knowledge, of their religious duties especially, than the children sent to schools where Irish is not recognised as not worth teaching.

It must be confessed, however, that the number of Irish-teaching schools, although increasing, is very small. Out of the thousands of schools in which the children of the nation are educated, but forty-five encourage the national language; out of the tens of thousands of Irish boys and girls growing up in those schools, only eight hundred and twenty-six were examined last year in Irish. Only about three or four hundred people in Ireland have a respectable knowledge of the written

language. In those days of education we are forced, then, to ask ourselves, does education mean Anglicisation? Can education, which ought to be a development of the power of the mind, have anything in common with a system which neglects and practically scorns that great power of speaking a magnificent language which children have in the Irish-speaking counties—a power which our foreign friends, after years of study, are glad to obtain even imperfectly. Besides, is it not right to encourage a regard for national characteristics? If so, let me set down some of the many anomalies which present themselves to anyone, especially a foreigner, interested in the Irish language.

I. As to the position of the language in the elementary schools of the country, something has been already said. The school-teachers cannot be blamed so much as the system which forbids Irish to be taught to children until they have reached the fifth class, just when many other eligible extra subjects present themselves, and when youth, the proper time for learning a language, is to a great extent passed. Moreover, it insists that Irish, if taught at all, shall be taught outside school hours. Now, who could expect that children would like to learn anything, when doing so would mean spending even a short time extra in school? And as for the teachers, they have no inducement to teach Irish when they can more easily present pupils for examination in other extra subjects which will procure equally great, or greater, results fees. And, in fact, it is not the slight fees held out by the National system that attract teachers to establish Irish classes, so much as the prizes offered by a generous Protestant clergyman living in Wales, the Rev. E. Cleaver.

II. Looking round the higher schools and colleges we find the native language practically ignored. In all Ireland, only two hundred and seventy-four passed in Irish at the late Intermediate Examinations: of these two hundred and thirty-four came from the Christian Brothers' schools, leaving forty to all the seminaries and colleges of the country. In none of the Irish-speaking counties is the vernacular recognized in the local colleges, except in two. And at the same

time French and German pupils are brought over to teach Irish boys and girls the intricacies of foreign languages. Granted that there are, as I believe there are, more to-day than there have been for the last two centuries who can write and read Irish, there are surely far more who can write and read French, German and Italian—languages almost useless after four years to the vast majority; while a magnificent language, which it ought to be our pride, as it is our duty, to foster and cultivate, is despised and allowed to die.

III. Few of us have been taught to look upon the loss of a language linked with the fate of this country for three thousand years, as a national calamity, or to regard its preservation as a national duty. And so even private students, with rare exceptions, see it decay with indifference. In the periodicals we read articles over Irish names, upon all subjects except the history, language and literature of Ireland.

IV. It cannot be denied that the trusted political leaders of the people, and many priests in Irish-speaking districts, are unable or unwilling to speak to their audiences in the language the latter best understand, and which the speakers, if consistent, should encourage.

V. Foreign scholars—Germans, French, English, Danish—become enamoured of our language—peculiar in itself, valuable to the ethnologist and philologist, powerful, and delicate as a medium for conveying thought, sweet and musical when correctly spoken—and of our rich and varied literature. They come from Paris, Berlin, and Leipsic to spend their leisure time working in the Dublin libraries, or in Oxford, or the British Museum, studying dusty scrolls, and envying us our better opportunities of seeing the MSS. which are, they assure us, most precious, and which we in our ignorance, look upon as waste paper. Naturally, they are surprised that the learned of that Island of Saints and Scholars, of which they have heard so much, should be blind to the treasures which lie at their own doors; and then, they say, where is the much-vaunted patriotism of Irishmen, when they ignore the greatest proof of their nationhood?

And here is a question we may put ourselves. Granted

that many of the richest and subtlest Irish Catholic minds are engrossed with professional studies and duties, with political questions, with those great social problems which now-a-days present themselves at every turn, or with special studies for which there may be a *special* aptitude that one should encourage : granted all this, do there not still remain many who intend to read or study *something*, and who can choose their subject? And if so, have not the native language and literature a claim prior to that of foreign studies?

At the Welsh National Eisteddfod, held in Bangor a few weeks ago, Canon Farrar made use of the following eloquent words :—

“ When a language has such a history and such a literature as the Welsh, it is a possession which men ought not readily to let die ; and when God has created a nationality, and has surrounded it with rivers, with hills, and with the sea for its rampart and its girdle, the world is all the poorer when such a nationality disappears.”

These words, coming from a distinguished English scholar, may be applied, and with tenfold force, in favour of our own language, literature and nationality. Are the thoughts of generations of Irishmen, enshrined in their own natural language, to be forgotten? or is Ireland, after three thousand years, to throw away her ancient tongue, a bond which connects her with such a past history as hers is, and which would be for aye a proof of her distinct nationhood?

“ But what use is the Irish? This wailing over the language is all sentimentality.” This is a common objection. Well, it is sentimentality, and patriotism is but a sentiment also, and the two sentimentalities are closely connected. Yes, it is sentimentality to long for the revival of the national language, and to wish to see the national history and literature in their due place of honour; but it is true patriotism as well. Witness Archbishop MacHale, a great and consistent patriot, who during his life did all he could to encourage his people to use their native language, and who undertook the translation into Irish

of a considerable portion of the Holy Scripture (the only authorized Catholic portion of Scripture we have), of Moore's *National Melodies*, and even of half the *Iliad*. Witness again Henry Flood, Grattan's contemporary, who left his large fortune for the encouragement of the native tongue. Again, we can point to Petrie, Todd, Hudson, and to many others.

And yet it is not all sentimentality. Many a mind which might make a stir in Ireland is being left dark and uneducated in the Irish-speaking districts to-day, as the school inspectors can testify. And not a few people are left without religious instruction through want of one who will teach them in the language they understand. I could mention instances of this myself.

It surely stands to reason that the history, language, and literature of a country are sacred national trusts. It is evident, too, that much of the most interesting portion of Irish history, the earlier part, is as yet only a skeleton, which must be filled up from the study of the early literature. Again, take our antiquities. To preserve our historical monuments, and to record their connection with historic events, is a good work; but I cannot help thinking that much labour and energy are uselessly thrown away by the dry-as-dust school of antiquarians in maintaining baseless or doubtful theories, while the great national monuments, our language and literature, are neglected and allowed to perish. Not that the modern Gaelic is a ruin, by any means, in itself; it is sound and vigorous; but it is being sapped from without.

The language has no literature. This ridiculous objection has been met a hundred times, but I suppose it will continue to be brought forward as long as people neglect to inquire into the facts before pronouncing their judgment. No one who has read O'Curry's book, or De Jubainville's catalogue of our epic literature, or even O'Reilly's meagre list of writers, or who has seen those tomes in the Royal Irish Academy, which contain but an index to the one thousand four hundred volumes of MSS. preserved there, can deny the extent, at least, of Gaelic literature. As for the character of this

literature, we find Mr. Alfred Nutt, a recognised authority on ethnology and early history, record his opinion—

“That except the Hellenic, the Irish sagas are the only considerable mass of Aryan epic tradition. As evidence of the most archaic side of Aryan civilization, the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* is inferior only to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.”¹

And we may be sure that there is something valuable in the literature, to study which foreign scholars come to the Dublin libraries, collate various MSS. with much toil, and rough it in the coast villages and islands, as we see them do, in order to acquire a better insight into the structure of the spoken Gaelic, and so obtain a key to the difficulties of the older language. Those scholars, who are acquainted with all European literatures, assure us that the Irish mediæval and earlier literature stands unrivalled, except by a portion of the classics.

One reason why so little is generally known of Irish literature is found in the fact that much of it is anonymous—copied by scribes from older MSS. There are some prominent names, however, but these are seldom heard of; whilst the names and works of even obscure English and Continental writers are familiar to Irish boys and girls. It is to be regretted that we have no handy manual of Irish literature. Dr. Windisch's article (on “Keltische Sprachen”) in the new German encyclopedia would make an excellent little book, if translated and printed separately, as it gives in a small compass a reliable account of all the Celtic languages and literatures.

Upon us Irish Catholics the study of Irish literature has a special claim. We maintain that the faith we hold is identical with that taught by St. Patrick and his successors; that they were, as we are, Roman Catholic. It has been the aim of Protestant Irishmen to persuade their co-religionists that they alone hold the pure patrician teaching, now, as always uninfluenced by Rome. Strong articles by good writers have appeared quite recently in support of their contention, and, very probably this historico-religious question will be dis-

¹ *Folk Lore*, June, 1890, page 234.

cussed warmly in a short time, when present burning questions shall have been settled. If this discussion were put upon us to-morrow, how many have we competent to support our claim by arguments drawn from our extensive ecclesiastical literature? Newman had experience of the value of such arguments, and no wonder he was so much interested in O'Curry's work. The study of Irish literature is but in its infancy; many things must occur in a literature so extensive and so thoroughly Catholic to throw light on the exact belief of the early Celtic Church. It has been shown that those who study the literature are practically non-Catholics, and such men might not see, or might be tempted to slur over, a point in favour of our position.

So that even if Irish were to perish as a spoken language, the literature would remain valuable from the pure literature point of view, and still more valuable from the Catholic standpoint. And now we come to the question: Is the national language really fated to perish? According to the last census, eight hundred thousand people in Ireland can speak Irish; sixty thousand can speak no other language. More than two millions in America can speak Irish. And yet, if things do not change, it is certain that in another century the spoken language will have disappeared for ever. Things are changing. For the last five centuries the history of the language has been a history, first of active repression by penal laws, then of a more fatal and more shameful neglect, and until very recently, ill-concealed adversity to the language, on the part of influential Irishmen. Not one Irishman having control or influence in the education of the country has ever spoken or done anything worth mentioning for the national language. And when the Irish has lived through all this, when better days are dawning, public opinion becoming more and more national, and prominent Irishmen beginning to take an active interest in the old tongue, have we not every reason to hope and to look forward to its revival, to some extent, at least? Already it is creeping into the schools, if not into the colleges. No one is found to disparage it, as it used to be disparaged a few years ago; and even this is something. A century since,

the Welsh was in as bad a state as our language is in at present, until by the exertions of a few patriotic clergymen, public opinion was aroused in its favour. The result is, that Welsh is now a popular, nay, a fashionable language, as is evidenced from the fact that at the last Eisteddfod the Bishop of Bangor opened the proceedings by reciting a Welsh ode composed by himself for the occasion, and that other eminent Welshmen, lay and clerical, recited various compositions in prose and poetry. I wonder shall we ever see the like in Ireland. Another result is that the children are taught the two languages concurrently; the school-books have Welsh and English on opposite pages, and the children know English better than those in the neighbouring English schools. They have twenty-four newspapers—daily, weekly, and monthly, and a vigorous, living and racy literature.

This, too, is what those interested in Irish aim at. It is not to banish English—that would be, first of all, impossible, and also absurd. Listen, again, to the words of Canon Farrar:—"Neither I, nor any man in his senses, dream for a moment of doing anything to hinder the universal prevalence of English. But the prevalence of English is something very different from the exclusive dominance of it. We wish that every child should speak English perfectly, and should also speak . . . its native language perfectly." That this state of education is a possible one is proved by its success in Wales and in other countries. That it is desirable is evident, if the only aim of education be not to make us more English than the English themselves. It is clear, too, that if the language is to be saved, immediate steps must be resolutely taken by those who have control of educational establishments of all kinds.

E. GROWNEY.

“ROBERT ELSMERE” AND “THE NEW
REFORMATION.”

IT is now two years and more since *Robert Elsmere* first appeared before the public. Its circulation has been large; it has been read by many; it has been noticed and reviewed in all the periodicals; it has made a name for its author. Apparently, not quite satisfied with the stability of the scientific basis on which it is built, Mrs. Humphry Ward has since its appearance contributed an article to *The Nineteenth Century*,¹ which it is not unnatural to consider as a kind of supplement to it: a brilliant article, obviously intended to set forth the reasons that have led the author to take up the position she does in *Robert Elsmere*, regarding the present state and prospects of Christianity. It will not be out of place, therefore—rather it will be convenient—to notice in conjunction with *Robert Elsmere* the article entitled *The New Reformation*.

Writing² some years after the Council of Rimini St. Jerome exclaimed that “the whole world mourned, wondering that it had become Arian.” In view of the possibility of the publication and the ready acceptance of such a book as *Robert Elsmere*, we may well lament and wonder that the world has become incredulous. It is true its appearance has not been without its compensating advantages. It has evoked a good deal of protest in the press; it has led to a widely-spread expression of disapproval of the principles on which it is based; in a word, it has shown the heart of the country to be in the main sound in regard to the fundamental tenets of Christianity. But allowing for all this, the fact still remains that it is a revelation to us what sad havoc modern rationalism and infidelity have made and are making among the reading portion of the population.

An erroneous impression as to the character of the book is widely spread among persons who have not had an opportunity or perhaps an inclination to read it. It is supposed to

¹ *The New Reformation*. By Mrs. Humphry Ward (author of *Robert Elsmere*). March, 1889.

² *Adversus Luciferianos*, c. 19.

contain a systematic argumentative attack upon Christianity—to be, in fact, a novel, written upon the principle of many modern stories for boys, containing, interspersed between chapters of interesting and exciting narrative, certain pages devoted to the discussion of scientific, religious, and other subjects—passages for the most part carefully avoided by the reader. *Robert Elsmere* is not a book of that kind. It does not pretend to introduce controversial conversations, nor does it undertake to discuss such subjects as Christian origins, the Sacred Scriptures, and the like. The sting lies elsewhere. It is in the plot. We have, in the literature of the day, attacks on Christianity in abundance. We have a plentiful supply of books that completely ignore the doctrines of Christianity. *Robert Elsmere*, in a way, goes a step farther. It seems to pre-suppose in a large section of the reading public a leaning toward and enthusiasm for infidelity. It endeavours to enlist our sympathies and admiration for a man who rejects the religion of Christ, and devotes himself to an active propagandism of infidelity.

Robert Elsmere is a young man of rare excellence—frequently encountered in works of fiction, seldom, alas! met with in real life. His Oxford career—of course he went to Oxford—was brilliant, though he failed, owing to overthoroughness in historical work, to take a first. It is whilst at Oxford that he makes the acquaintance of a Mr. Grey, who is evidently intended to personate the late Professor Green, and whom the author does all in her power throughout the book to extol and glorify. His university career ended, Robert takes orders and a curacy in the East End. He is intended, however, for other things. Good luck and ill-health drive him to visit some friends in the Lake District, where he becomes acquainted with the Leyburn family, a mother and three daughters. The mother, weak in mind and body; the youngest daughter, Rose, beautiful, capricious, and eighteen; Agnes, amiable and good; Catherine, the eldest, well-looking, charitable, of strong religious views, the model of a good old-fashioned Protestant. A mutual attachment springs up between Robert and Catherine, which ends in engagement under circumstances the most unlikely and romantic.

The newly-married couple settle down in a comfortable Surrey parish. *He* becomes a model parson, charitable to the poor, solicitous for the young, zealous for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock. *She* proves herself to be everything that a parson's wife should be, and so the time passes in peace and happiness. It is during this period that Rose becomes acquainted with an old Oxford Don and friend of Elsmere's, an inveterate pessimist, named Langham. Regarding the man at first with feelings of aversion, she ends by falling in love with him. Her sentiments are reciprocated, and later on a kind of engagement is entered into between them; but at the last moment Langham characteristically breaks off the match.

There dwells in the parish a certain squire, to all appearances the very incarnation of the new learning. He dwells in mysterious loneliness in a gorgeous mansion, surrounded by his books. Thence he seldom goes forth to associate with his fellowmen, but he prowls about at early morn and in the twilight shades. His time and attention are entirely devoted to a gigantic work on Christian evidences, designed with a view to dealing the finishing stroke to a moribund Christianity. Wonderful to relate, it is just such a man as this that Elsmere has been long wishing to have by him, to assist him in some historical work he has on hand, and though their relations are at first somewhat strained, they soon become intimate friends.

The friendship proves disastrous to Elsmere. He is induced to take up the study of the early days of Christianity; he rushes into it with all his usual impetuosity, and before long he ceases to be a Christian. As yet Catherine knows nothing of his changed attitude in religious matters. A time of mutual distrust follows: then at last Elsmere makes a clean breast of the state of affairs to his wife. Next comes the giving up of the parish; and then the scene of the story changes to London. Elsmere gradually gets involved in secularist work, whilst his wife continues her charitable and religious duties in London. Meanwhile the relations between the two are somewhat strained. Elsmere before long gets connected with, and finally takes the lead in, a kind of infidel

institution, working for the welfare of the lower classes. It is during this period that he electrifies with his eloquence the minds of his hearers. Some specimens of his lectures are given to us, and we must say that the magic of his personality must have accounted for most of the effect produced, for more sorry stuff than the matter of his discourses it would be difficult to conceive. At first, Catherine will have nothing to do with his work, but finally a *modus vivendi* is established between them. They agree to differ, and Catherine, apparently as a kind of sop to Cerberus, whilst holding fast her old religious views and continuing to attend the Church as of old, resolves to be present on Sunday evenings at her husband's lectures, delivered in the interest of infidelity. The rest is soon told. Overwork begins to tell on Elsmere, and he has to leave London. He retires to Algiers, whence he never returns. He dies prematurely—happily, he says—apparently without belief in the immortality of the soul.

Such, in outline, is *Robert Elsmere*. The general effect of the book on the reader is the reverse of pleasant—it is depressing in the extreme. In regard to the central incident—the defection of Elsmere from Christianity—very much the same sensation comes over one as one feels in a nightmare. A calamity is felt to be impending, and there is at hand no apparent means to ward it off. In works of fiction the reader is completely in the author's power. The writer is bound by no series of material facts. The history and the characters are the creation of his own brain. In *Robert Elsmere*, the representatives of modern scepticism are depicted as men of keen intellects. There is Elsmere himself, highly gifted and highly educated. Mr. Grey is represented almost as the type of a perfect man. The old squire is the very impersonation of deep learning and powerful intellect. On the other hand, who are introduced as representing Christianity? There is Catherine, a good and amiable woman, simple and religious, but with little pretence to a liberal education. There is, besides, a well-meaning ritualistic clergyman—one Newcome—who spends his time apparently in a high state of mental tension. But where are the Newmans, the Gladstones, the Westcotts of Christian celebrity? No such

characters are introduced. The result is therefore clear. One can foresee from the outset the defeat of Christianity; and the way in which it is managed inspires us throughout the story with anything but pleasant feelings.

We cannot, it is true, quarrel with our author for the outcome of her story. The ground has been all prepared before, and the issue is but the natural result of the forces that she has set to work in her own way. But we are entitled to call in question the soundness of the foundation on which the whole story rests. We are not prepared to admit that Christianity has, as is intimated, ceased to maintain its hold upon this generation; and what is more, we are not at all clear that the views of the author are really so advanced on this matter as *Robert Elsmere* would lead us to suppose. It is patent to the reader of that book that Christianity is regarded as a thing of the past. Its day is gone; the literary world has pronounced its verdict; and what is now wanted is a new religion for the future.

In *Robert Elsmere*, the author is saved the necessity of bringing forward arguments in support of the position taken up. She simply assumes the effete state of Christianity, and upon that assumption builds up her story. But something more than assertion is necessary to convince a person with any pretence to education or mental culture that the old religion has lost its hold upon mankind. Mrs. Humphry Ward's article in *The Nineteenth Century* was written in support of that contention. It seems, in fact, to have been written with the view of establishing by proof the position taken up in *Robert Elsmere*. Strange to say, then, in *The New Reformation*, the writer shifts her ground, and points to that which, in the novel, was *un fait accompli*, a thing of the past, as an event of the future. But then in the article she is under the necessity of bringing forward proof of what she says. She makes use of the method of dialogue to develop her ideas, and thus enjoys the advantage of being able to set up an antagonist whom she is easily able to dispose of; still she finds it necessary to recede so far from her former position that now we are only assured that we are destined in the future to behold the discomfiture of Christianity,

Enemy, in fact, though she is to the supernatural, she is not deterred from trying her hand at prophecy. We are not prepared to go so far as Mrs. Ward does in depreciation of the value of prophecy, but we can certainly go so far as to assert that prophecy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of amateurs.

It will, perhaps, be well here to quote two passages from *The New Reformation* in illustration of the position taken up by Mrs. Humphry Ward in regard to the present position of Christianity. Thus, we have in one place :¹—

"No doubt there is a large and flourishing school of orthodox theology in Germany. So, seventy years ago, there was a large and flourishing school in Germany of defenders of the Mosaic authorship and date of the Pentateuch. . . . It is not *their* work, but that of their opponents, which has lived and penetrated, has transformed opinion, and is moulding the future. They represented the exceptional, the traditional, the miraculous, and they have had to give way to the school representing the normal, the historical, the rational. . . . Is not all probability, all analogy, all the past, so to speak, on our side, when we prophesy a like fate for those schools of the present, which, in the school of Christian origins, represent the exceptional, the traditional, the miraculous."

And again :—

"I say to myself, it has taken some thirty years for German critical science to conquer English opinion in the matter of the Old Testament. But, except in the regions of an either illiterate or mystical prejudice, that conquest is now complete. How much longer will it take before we feel the victory of the same science, carried on by the same methods and with the same ends, in a field of knowledge infinitely more precious and vital to English popular religion than the field of the Old Testament—before Germany imposes upon us not only her conceptions with regard to the history and literature of the Jews, but also those which she has been elaborating for half a century with regard to that history which is the natural heir and successor of the Jewish—the history of Christian origins?"

These are two instances, out of many that might be cited, of the position taken up by Mrs. Humphry Ward on the present state and prospects of Christianity. Nor is there any

¹ Page 467.

² Page 466.

doubt what the writer wishes us to understand when she speaks of the approaching victory of German views on Christian origins. It is clear from the whole tenor of the article that she refers to the downfall of belief in the supernatural both in Christ and His religion; in fact, nothing will make it clearer than her statement that she regards Rénan as still “ the main expounder of German theological *Wissenschaft* for the world in general.”¹ Rénan is, in fact, the main expounder of the views that will prevail in future years.

In the passages we have quoted from *The New Reformation* there are two points to be considered, to each of which we shall devote some little space. It is laid down, in the first place, that the results of German critical science in regard to the Old Testament, having been long resisted in the Anglican Church, are now practically accepted by all; and, secondly, that according to all analogy, the destructive criticism now at work in the field of the New Testament will, though now vigorously resisted, be in due time received. To take these points in order.

Mrs. Humphry Ward begins her attack by pointing to the position taken up some years ago by the Anglican clergy in regard to *Essays and Reviews*, and more especially in reference to the work published by Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. “ Thirty years ago the bishops and high-churchmen prosecuted *Essays and Reviews* in two ecclesiastical courts; ”² and further on she calls attention to the fact that twenty-five years ago there was a “ synodical condemnation of Colenso and of *Essays and Reviews.* ” In conjunction with the previous attitude taken up by Anglicans, Mrs. Ward contrasts the Scripture debate that took place in the Church Congress, held at Manchester in 1888. “ The distinctive note of its most distinctive debate, as it seems to me, was the glorification of ‘ criticism,’ especially, no doubt, in relation to the Old Testament.”³ Then comes a quotation from the Dean of Peterborough: “ I hold it to be established beyond all controversy, that the Pentateuch, in its present form, was not written by Moses.” Other speakers

¹ Page 469.

² Page 463.

³ *Ibid.*

followed, who maintained that the results of modern criticism in regard to the authorship and dates of other books of the Old Testament, both historical and prophetic, had been fully established. In fine, still speaking of the Church Congress, she says: "Its subject is whether 'critical results' (especially in connection with the Old Testament) are to be taught from the pulpits of the Church of England."

Now it is obvious to point out that we are not concerned to defend either the orthodoxy or the consistency of the Church of England. Its orthodoxy, probably, no Catholic would care to defend. Few persons, no matter what their views might be, would have the hardihood to defend the consistency of its attitude in regard to Sacred Scripture within the last half century. We are concerned in the controversy only so far as the Anglican change of front is taken by Mrs. Humphry Ward to supply an argument for the imminent downfall of Christianity. From this point of view we must certainly say that the conclusion drawn from the recent pronouncements at Congress in regard to the Old Testament seems altogether too sweeping, and to be assigning a quite disproportionate importance to the matter.

Mrs. Ward has lapsed into a very obvious fallacy, owing to want of exactness in the use of terms; she has, in fact, employed what is technically called an "undistributed middle." The fallacy, in fact, of her whole argument lies in her use of such terms as "criticism," "critical results," "the results of German critical science," "modern criticism," and the like. With many of the "critical results" acquiesced in by Anglican divines we are far from agreeing; but, on the other hand, is it clear that the "results of German criticism," as understood by them and Mrs. Humphry Ward, mean quite the same thing? And, let it be understood, we do not now refer to any mere details, but to the broad and general results of criticism. Mrs. Humphry Ward is apparently a great admirer of Rénan. She regards him as still "the main expounder of German *Wissenschaft* for the world in general." That being so, to find out the results of German criticism in the domain of the Old Testament, we, of course, turn to the pages of Rénan's *History of Israel*. What do we find there?

There can be no doubt as to the answer. With him the Old Testament has been shown to be a curious and highly interesting collection of documents, illustrative of the history of the people of Israel. Nothing more. The Old Testament is apparently a happy hunting-ground on which to exercise his sarcasm, and from which to level the shafts of ridicule against everything sacred and divine. But has the Anglican Church accepted such results as these from German critics? Archdeacon Farrar may, perhaps, be taken as a fair representative of the Broad Church; and, indeed, the views that he holds may be found repeated, perhaps in other words, but still repeated in the writings of all the leaders of the more advanced party in the Church. As illustrative, then, of the position he takes in regard to the Old Testament, we quote the following passage, taken from the preface to his *History of Interpretation*, a work published in 1886. The book is really a reprint of the Bampton lectures, which he delivered in 1885, and he is explaining how he desires to carry out the design of the founder in the work which he has undertaken. He has already pointed out two ways in which this is to be done; then he continues:—

"Thirdly, by robbing of all their force the objections of infidels and freethinkers to the historical details and particular narrations of the Old Testament. This endeavour has an importance that those only will appreciate who have tried to understand the thoughts of many hearts. 'There are things in the Old Testament,' says Professor Drummond, 'cast in the teeth of the apologist by sceptics, to which he has simply no answer. These are the things, the miserable things, the masses have laid hold of. They are the stock-in-trade of the freethought platform and the secularist pamphleteer. A new exegesis, a reconsideration of the historical setting, and a clearer view of the moral purposes of God, would change them from barriers into bulwarks of the faith.'"

From these words some idea may be obtained of the Archdeacon's view, of the Broad Church view, in regard to the Old Testament. We do not for a moment pretend to be in sympathy with it, but we ask what has it in common with the "results of criticism" as set forth by Rénan, the

approved “exponent of German *Wissenschaft*.” Does not the Archdeacon, on the contrary, seem as much opposed to Rénan and his “results,” as an earlier generation is said to have been to Colenso? Who, in fact, if not Rénan and such as he, are referred to as the “infidels” and “free-thinkers,” whose objections are to be robbed of their force?

To us, then, Mrs. Humphry Ward seems to be arguing fallaciously. It is true, the Anglican Church, whilst opposing, some years ago, Bishop Colenso's views on the Pentateuch, has now taken up the results of modern criticism on many points, such as the Mosaic authorship, and the dates of many of the books of the Old Testament. It is true also, it has accepted a looser view in regard to inspiration; but that it has accepted the “results of German criticism” in Rénan's sense is far from being the case. How, then, does it follow by analogy that in the near future the Established Church is to accept not certain “results,” as to the New Testament, but the most infidel views of the same Rénan and of the most infidel school; that, in fact, it is to reject the supernatural altogether, to reject the divinity of Christ, to entirely give up Christianity?

So much upon the first point contained in the quotation from *The New Reformation*. In regard to the second, there is not much to say. Apart altogether from the conduct of the Anglican Church towards the Old Testament, what is to be thought of Mrs. Humphry Ward's prophecy as to the approaching downfall of the Christian religion? That prophecy has been made before. The infidel philosophical school of the last century in France decided upon destroying the Church of Christ. When Strauss published his *Leben Jesu*, great scandal was caused, and many thought he had explained away the supernatural in the life of Christ. Later on, Baur and the Tübingen school traced to their own satisfaction and that of their friends the early formation of the Church, showing how “the Catholic Church of the second century is but the product of a great compromise come to under the pressure of heresy by the two primitive opposing parties, the Petrine

and the Pauline.”¹ All these attacks have been delivered, and upon each occasion writers have prophesied the approaching dissolution of the Church of God. It is true Mrs. Ward indignantly repudiates the notion that the attack has failed: “could any description be more ludicrous,” she asks, “than the common English label applied to a great and so far triumphant movement of thought?” Our reply is simple. We are far from supposing the enemy has desisted from the attack. But, so far, the Church goes on triumphant. Voltaire, Strauss, Baur, have passed away. Others, no doubt, carry on their work, and other prophets, no doubt, will in times to come fill up the chair left vacant by Mrs. Ward. But, all this notwithstanding, we feel an assured confidence that Macaulay was right when he said of the Catholic Church, what we can say of Christianity, that it will exist and flourish even in far-off days when, perhaps, the splendid capital of Britain may be in ruins.

We have dealt at some length with the philosophical basis, if we might so term it, upon which *Robert Elsmere* is built, and this because that is the chief thing we have to find fault with in the work of Mrs. Humphry Ward. There is, however, another defect which, as it seems to us, we have a right to complain of in *Robert Elsmere*.

“So ably [says the reviewer in *The Athenæum*] are the problems developed, that different readers may quite reasonably form quite opposite conclusions as to the particular view which Mrs. Ward may hold or may have wished to urge.”

This indefiniteness, which cannot fail to attract the notice of the reader, may, indeed, be a sign of ability, but on one point, at least, it seems to indicate a kind of cleverness altogether out of place in a work of this character. The writer, as we have seen, leaves no doubt on the mind as to her view of the present position and prospect of Christianity in the world. Its influence for good, its power over the mass of men, are things of the past. So far, her views are clear enough. Surely we have a right to expect that, having

¹ Page. 471.

² March 31, 1888.

done her utmost to undermine the influence of one agency for doing good to man, she would bring out with equal clearness the system by which she would replace it. Is this the case? Far from it. The ability referred to by the reviewer in *The Athenæum* is given free scope, and we are left very much in the dark on the subject. On the one hand, there is the old squire, whose views we are taught to regard as containing the most approved results of modern science. He makes no secret of his opinions. He laughs at philanthropy, and all attempts at working for the good of the democracy. The rich man's business in regard to poverty is to keep his money safe from its clutches; the object of the poor is to extort all they can from the rich.¹ So much for the squire's views of social and religious problems. On the other hand, Elsmere, who has taken up the teachings of the new learning, is enthusiastic for, and works hard for, the regeneration of the labouring classes. What influence he can bring to bear on them is but faintly portrayed. What inducement he can hold out to them to enable them to bear hardships with patience and fortitude, we are not informed. He can hold before them no hope of reward nor fear of punishment in a future life; in this their lot is anything but enviable. However, at least he devotes his time and energy to the poor. But are we to take him as a type of the new apostles to arise when the new reformation takes place? That point is left in obscurity. He does not pursue his labours without having many a sarcastic remark directed at him, so that we remain in doubt whether he is to be regarded as a man working in accordance with the author's views, or a mere youthful enthusiast a man of sentiment, giving himself useless trouble, having, in fact, failed to apprehend the true nature of the problem of life. Whether Mrs. Ward

¹ These are the squire's words:—

"When I see you, and people like you, throwing yourselves at the heads of the people, I always think of Scaliger's remark about the Basques. 'They say they understand one another; I don't believe a word of it.' All that the lower class *wants* to understand, at any rate, is the shortest way to the pockets of you and me; all that you and I need understand, according to me, is how to keep 'em off! There you have the sum and substance of *my* political philosophy." (*Robert Elsmere*, page 380.) The italics are Mrs. Ward's.

leans to the squire's view or that of Elsmere, or whether she favours some third system different from both, we cannot say; on that subject the reader is left to speculate according to his inclination and natural bent of mind.

Are we then to say that *Robert Elsmere* is a book entirely without merit? Such an opinion will be held by none. We recognise the ability, even the brilliancy of the author, and we can say, that notwithstanding the main incident, the story is very interesting. The outcome of Elsmere's studies haunts the book like the skeleton at the feast; but still with a large portion of the book it has but little connection. Nothing could be more dramatic, or full of pathos, than some passages in the tale, and there are not wanting descriptions of the Lake Country full of picturesque beauty. In the latter part of the book the pictures drawn of Rose's capricious conduct, and the sketches of London society are full of life and interest, and show that the writer possesses many of the powers that go to make up the good novelist.

On the other hand, from an artistic point of view, the book is not without its faults. It is tedious, and too long in parts, and though not wanting in genuine passion, it is pervaded by a good deal of maudlin sentiment. We are constantly being favoured with the embraces and endearments that pass between Elsmere and his wife. Such things as these might well be omitted; repeated as they are, they before long become tiresome, and end by being ridiculous.

We read in the history of the struggle between Pompey and Cæsar, that when Cæsar's veterans, after the battle of Pharsalia, entered the camp of the enemy, they found the tent of Lentulus Spinther adorned with festoons of Bacchic ivy, and with the tables groaning under the weight of the services of plate which were set out for the banquet to celebrate the coming victory. Instead of the expected victory, there came disastrous defeat. *Robert Elsmere* is a book built upon the assumption of the coming victory of rationalism. Mrs. Humphry Ward, both there and in *The New Reformation* is already preparing to celebrate with due solemnity the defeat of the enemy. It is all premature. *Robert Elsmere* has already been some time

before the public. It is even now beginning to be forgotten. It has had little effect. It will have still less in the future. It is noticeable, that in the days of the new reformation, in the new reformed Church, Mrs. Humphry Ward finds a place for the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Independents, and the Unitarians; the Catholic Church alone is left outside in the exterior darkness. Perhaps—we do not say it will be so—but perhaps, when all that remains of these bodies will have made terms with the foe, the Catholic Church *alone* will be left to fight for the Christian Faith. Everything points towards a struggle in the future, and a struggle in which there will be arrayed on the one side the true Church of Christ, on the other all the forces of rationalism and unbelief. We fear it not. We are confident that as before, so in the future, the Church of God will emerge triumphant from the struggle.

J. A. HOWLETT.

HEROES, TRUE AND FALSE.

“It is the very joy of man’s heart to admire, where he can; nothing so lifts him from all his mean imprisonments, were it but for moments, as true admiration.”—T. CARLYLE.

MEN are readily impressed by whatever is grand and noble and generous. Even those who are timid and spiritless themselves cannot help paying an inward tribute of honour and respect to the high courage and daring self-sacrifice they witness in others. In fact, a great soul, and a noble character, command respect and attention wherever they are found, whether in Church or State. Hence the world has its heroes just as the Church has hers. It points with pride to its Wellingtons, its Nelsons, its Stanleys, and its Livingstones; points to them as to men who have deserved well of their country, and done much and dared much for

the public good; whether it be by conquering hostile bands, discovering unknown regions, or opening out new channels for commerce and industry. Their praises are sounded far and wide; their names become household words, and while living they are fêted and applauded whersoever they go. We do not wish to detract one iota from their fair fame. On the contrary, all honour be to them for their generosity and daring. All we wish is to remind you that these are the heroes of this world; and that all their greatness is but small and contemptible when compared with that of the heroes whom the Church commemorates, viz., the glorious saints of God. These alone will be found worthy of our unmixed admiration.

Indeed, the heroes of this earth are but the heroes of a day. Their fame endures but for an hour. Vanity is written upon all their works, and the mould that covers their bones will soon also hide their glory from us. History may, indeed, chronicle their deeds; nations may prate and prattle of them for a period; but they themselves are passed away. Gone! Aye, gone where neither the praises nor the blame of men can follow them; gone where neither flattery can elate nor calumny disturb. Who was once so famed as the great Alexander, king of Macedon? Two thousand years ago the whole earth was ringing with his praises. Where is he now? Who now thinks or speaks of this great soldier who subdued the Greeks, defeated the Persians, and conquered Syria and Egypt, Parthia and Media, and India, and then sighed for other lands to conquer? Where is Cæsar, that mighty general and warrior, who led his victorious troops through Gaul, and invaded Britain, and made himself master of the whole Roman world, and entered triumphantly into Rome with all the glory of a dictator, and who was styled by his enthusiastic countrymen "Father of his nation?" What is now left of all his greatness? What hath pride profitted him?

Or to come to more modern times. Where is the most notorious man that this century has produced, Napoleon the First? Where is that marvellous genius, who by sheer force of character raised himself from a position of obscurity to the very highest pinnacle of worldly glory and ambition: he

who routed the best armies of Europe, and placed almost the entire civilized world under his feet; who had himself crowned Emperor of France, and King of Italy, and parcelled out kingdoms among his brothers, as though they had been provinces; and made his very name a terror and a curse in every land?

Where are these, and the hundreds and thousands of lesser fame? Where are now the mighty, the rich, the powerful, the prosperous, the wise? Where are they, who once kept the world in awe; they at whose voice nations stood still and held their breath, and at whose presence the earth itself was troubled? Where are they now? Their bodies have long since mingled with the dust; but their souls, their spiritual and imperishable souls! where are they now? *Where?* I ask, and the echo murmurs back a dismal "*where?*" That is, indeed, a matter we cannot determine. This alone we may say, and let this suffice: they have entered into that land where pride, and ambition, and lust of conquest, and earthly grandeur, are no passports to eternal glory. They dwell in a region where mere human wisdom and cunning are powerless to aid, and where humility and charity, and patience and forbearance, and purity and innocence profit more than all the treasures that the earth contains. No! the heroes of this world have little in them of what is truly great.

To whom then may this epithet be more justly applied? To those surely who have conquered not kingdoms, but themselves; who have vanquished and subdued not peoples and nations, but their own rebellious appetites, unruly passions, and wayward propensities. In one word, they alone deserve the name of hero, who have fought the good fight, under the banner of the Cross, and emulated the heroic life and sublime example of Him who was crucified thereon. The noblest characters in all history are the virgins, the confessors, and the martyrs; in short, the saints of God, whose names are emblazoned in the book of life. *Their* glory shall never fade! It is as imperishable as heaven itself. It is not dependent upon the fickle judgment of a silly fastidious world. It is neither made nor marred by the

breath of the multitude, nor by the applause of the masses. It is as far above and beyond the reach of envious tongues as heaven is above earth. It is more enduring than the very ground upon which we tread, more firmly rooted and established than the very foundations of the world; for these shall crumble away, but it will remain. The stars of heaven shine not with so bright a lustre; the noonday sun itself is not so resplendent as the least of God's saints: for all these mighty orbs shall grow dim, and their fires will be spent, but the souls of the just are in the hands of God, and their thrones are established for ever and ever, and nothing shall ever come to dim their matchless glory, or to cast so much as a passing shadow over their beauty and unclouded happiness. But so long as God is God, so long shall they exult in His possession and bask in the brightness of His presence.

These are our models and our examples. These alone are worthy of our imitation. But, alas! how few amongst us are making any serious and sustained effort to resemble them. With what little earnestness we struggle, and how weak and spasmodic are all our attempts. No wonder then that the chasm which separates us from these champions of the faith is so wide and deep. Yet, considering that both we and they were made for the same sublime end, the contrast between us and them is terrible to contemplate. That a vast difference really exists is clear. That there must be some adequate cause to account for this difference is equally clear. Our first duty, therefore, must be to find it out. We must get a distinct view of it, that we may then proceed at once to remove the obstacle from our path. The saints run along the way of God's commandments; we can scarcely keep our footing. They advance with giant's strides; we do but totter and fall, and rise to fall again, like infants just beginning to walk. Why is this? We must strive to search out the genuine cause, for unless we can, as it were, lay our finger on the sore, and say: "there is the root of the malady," we may hardly dare to hope to apply a suitable remedy, and all our labour will be in vain.

What reason shall we assign? Perhaps, kind readers,

you will reply: it is entirely due to our surroundings; it is all owing to the cankered state of society at the present day. The world is so wicked, so steeped in every form of vice and villainy: even people who are not downright iniquitous are yet so worldly, so selfish, so indifferent: there is so much bad example, bad literature, bad plays, and immodest representations. The seeds of infidelity, of atheism, of agnosticism, and of scepticism are sown broadcast up and down the land, by means of papers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, reviews, and magazines. The very air is impregnated with a thousand noxious vapours of false doctrines. Why, every breeze comes laden with the murmurs of some new doubt or some fresh sophism against the faith. It is hard, you will urge, to live through all this unaffected and unscathed. To exercise heroic virtue amid such a deluge of evil, were as impossible as to live in the depths of the ocean and not to be drowned, or to walk through the midst of the fire and not be scorched by the flames. But woe to us if we flatter ourselves with such vain, if specious, excuses. The true reason of our spiritual lethargy is not the general state of the world, bad though it undoubtedly is, for history gives the lie to such an assumption at once. It informs us that there have been saints, and great saints, living at times and in places much worse than ours; yea, even amidst idolaters and pagans, and all the corruptions and dissoluteness of morals that disgraced the effete civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome. To seek to excuse our want of fervour on the plea of our surroundings and the corruptions of the world, is to put a bandage on our eyes, and wilfully to court deception. This is but a baseless excuse and an unworthy pretext.

Then you will, perhaps, exclaim: It is all the fault of my profession, or my trade, or the peculiar nature of my employment, or of my position in life. What scope have I, forsooth, for the exercise of heroic virtue? How can I attain to true sanctity while discharging my ordinary and very homely and commonplace duties? Such representations may, at first glance, seem very plausible; but here, again, history itself testifies in the most emphatic way that sanctity, even in its more heroic forms, is absolutely independent of position and

station, and may be attained in any rank and condition. It proves for our encouragement and consolation not merely that there *may* be, but that there *have actually been*, saints and chosen servants of God in every possible walk of life, from that of the great St. Louis, King of France, ruling over a mighty empire, and swaying the destinies of an entire nation, down to that of a St. Benedict Labré, clothed in rags and tatters, and begging from door to door a crust of bread for the love of God. Between these two canonized saints how great is the contrast! Yet every intermediate stage has its representatives among the saints of God's Church: yes, kings and queens, princes and princesses, warriors, statesmen, priests, monks, artisans, farm-labourers, servants, paupers, beggars, and slaves have all furnished splendid proofs of the ubiquity of divine grace, and the power of the abiding presence of God in every faithful heart. From this it is clear that the second excuse is no better than the first, and that no more justification can be found in one plea than in the other.

Deeper and further must we probe into the subtle windings of the heart and character of the saints, if we would learn their secret, and understand the essential distinction between them and ourselves. It is something far more personal and intrinsic than any chance disparity of state or employment. Sanctity itself has little, if anything, to do with what is external. "The kingdom of God is within you." "All the beauty of the King's daughter is within," says the Holy Ghost. The difference between one who is, and one who is not a saint, is to be sought not in the things done, but in the manner in which they are done. It is the perfect purity of heart, the uprightness of intention, and the singleness of purpose; or, in other words, the internal disposition of will that marks the saint, and separates him from the sinner. The saints did very much what we do; their duties were almost exactly what ours are; but they went about them in a totally different spirit, impelled by a different impulse, and in obedience to a different motive. They measured every act and event of life by a different standard, and directed all their actions, however humble and

commonplace, by the maxims of the Gospel, and the teaching of Christ.

Such is a brief and incomplete statement of the difference between a saint and a sinner; but how shall we now account for this internal difference? whence does it proceed? Well, it appears to me, that we may reduce it entirely to one simple cause; and though it be an extremely simple one, I believe it will be found influential enough fully to account for the contrast. The ultimate cause of the difference between a saint and a sinner will be found to lie in the difference in the *quality* of their faith. The light of divine faith illuminating the mind and warming the heart of a true disciple of Christ, is full, bright, and clear; whereas in most of us it is blurred, obscured, and dull. It is not that we accept a different doctrine, but that our mode of apprehending it is so different. All Catholics, of course, profess the selfsame truths; the dogmas and definitions of the Catholic Church are common to us as to them. But how differently they are received. The saints realized their meaning, and were intimately conscious of their truth; we seem but vaguely to suspect it. Our belief is all but dead, theirs is ever full of the sap of divine strength and vigour. We may illustrate our meaning by an example. Thus, we are taught the awful doctrine of hell; and finally do we believe that an eternal punishment of the most agonizing kind awaits the commission of even one mortal deliberate sin. Nay, more; we openly and unhesitatingly confess it, and we acknowledge its justice as well as its truth. But in what manner do we bring this most terrible fact home to our minds? What is the nature of our belief? Well, we must judge from the effects. Does the thought of hell, when we have deserved it by our sins, make our blood run cold with abject terror? Does it clothe sin with a malice and heinousness that nothing else possesses in our eyes? Does it excite within us a strong revulsion and hatred against sin which surpasses every other hatred? Does the contemplation of those raging fires, and of the bottomless pit, and of the worm that never dies, cause us to fly away from the very shadow of sin as from the jaws of a hissing serpent? Does this thought invest our wills with a giant's strength when

wrestling with temptation, and confer firmness and stability upon our holy purposes and good resolutions? Does the doctrine of everlasting damnation, in fine, exercise a practical effect upon our daily lives? If not, if it does nothing of the kind, then what is hell to us, but a painted fire? What are all its terrors but the fevered imaginations and inane ravings of a deluded brain? What are its most excruciating tortures but an idle, empty tale, or a foolish and baseless dream, signifying nothing? It was not in that way that the saints understood the infallible warnings of the Son of God, who holds the keys of the abyss, and the reins of life and of death in His hands. Look, for instance, at St. Jerome, in the vast solitude of the Egyptian desert, the companion, as he himself informs us, of scorpions and wild beasts. Consider him clad in his penitential garb of sack-cloth and ashes, his cheeks wet with tears, and his eyes red with weeping. In his right hand he grasps a jagged stone, with which he beats his naked breast till the blood flows and trickles freely down to the ground. Why this solitude? Why this life of prayer and penance? We give the answer in his own words:—“*Ob gehennae metum tali me carceri damnaveram*”—“Through fear of hell, I condemn myself to this lonely prison.” So, too, of St. Peter Damian it is stated that the colour would fade away from his cheeks, and the very hair of his head would stand up on end at the bare remembrance of the eternity of untold pain and anguish. Or, to take another instance. When St. Francis Borgia was one day questioned as to the cause of his excessive gloominess and depression, his all-sufficient reply was:—“My meditation this morning was on the judgments of God on impenitent sinners.” Even the great St. Paul, who was raised to the third heavens, and whose entire life was spent in heroic labours for God, was not without fear. So far from confiding in his good works, he tells us that he chastised his body, and brought it into subjection, “lest having preached to others” he himself might have become “a castaway;” in other words, lest he might be eternally damned. Yes, to the saints hell bore an awful significance. To them it was a greater reality than the sun shining in the heavens, and more intimately

present than the earth upon which they trod; it is only by the sinner and the thoughtless man of the world—by those in a word, who have most cause to tremble, that it is disregarded, or, perhaps, even made a subject of idle jest or unseemly merriment.

So is it precisely of all the other stupendous truths of divine revelation. What we have remarked concerning the doctrine of hell, is every bit as true of the doctrine of heaven. Call to mind what we are taught regarding the rewards of the just; read what the Scriptures tell us of Paradise. Its beauty we know is matchless, its glory beyond compare, its joys unknown to earth, its peace surpassing all hope or thought, its happiness inexpressible and unthinkable, and its duration endless and unfailing. Now, observe, we know all this, and we acknowledge all this; and then? Well, then, we fling it all away in a moment, without one pang of remorse, and for the sake of any sinful pleasure or unclean delight. Such is the vividness of our faith! We believe heaven to be all that I have described, and immeasurably more, one instant, and the next we proceed to barter it away without compunction in exchange for some senseless gratification or sordid satisfaction that vanishes almost as soon as it is grasped. Would that degree of folly and wickedness be likely, yea rather, let us ask, would it be so much as possible, were our faith vigorous and vivid? Alas! what manner of faith is this? Does it deserve the name? Oh! call it by some other word; let us not prostitute language by speaking of this as "faith." Men blame Esau, and declare him to have been a fool because he sold his earthly birthright for a mess of pottage; but Esau was a prodigy of learning, a Solon of wisdom, a perfect Solomon, compared to a Catholic who sells his birthright to the devil for an unclean pleasure, or the sensual delight of an hour.

How differently the idea of heaven affected the saints. Listen to St. Teresa, for instance, breaking her heart for the possession of God in the beatific vision, and longing, if she could not die at once and be with Him, at least to suffer more that she might merit more: "*aut mori, aut pati.*" Such value did she set on the least delights of God's eternal kingdom,

that she used to declare her readiness to remain amid all the torments of hell till the end of time, to merit not heaven (to which she was certainly entitled already), but to merit, were it possible, merely one additional degree of glory there. And so it was in different measure with all the great servants of God. The hope and anticipation of the endless beatitude of heaven, shed a glow of happiness and peace over their whole lives, and urged them to deeds of heroic virtue.

Similar considerations may be made concerning our faith in God's love. He is our Creator, our Benefactor, our Father, and our nearest and dearest Friend. To Him, we must acknowledge we owe, without a single exception, all that we possess and enjoy, in fact all that makes life worth living; and not only all that we enjoy, but the very capacity of enjoyment; or, in other words, the very sensibility to the impressions of joy-provoking causes. This is evidently the case; yet what return of love does this astounding truth awaken within our breasts? It is certainly a most mysterious psychological fact (though unhappily a very common one), that it hardly awakens any.

Let us calmly state the case. Thus, we verily believe Him to be the all-powerful and irresistible God, infinitely removed above us, yet so passionately fond of us, and so devoted to our interests, that He goes to the unheard-of lengths of positively dying the most cruel of deaths for our sakes. We acknowledge—did we refuse to acknowledge this, our conduct would not be so utterly inexplicable and indefensible—we acknowledge, not merely that He loves us with a love which is verily distracting and bewildering in its mysterious intensity, but likewise that He can do all things, and that everything depends upon Him: that, for example, He has the power of life and death over us, and the supreme and absolute control of all our concerns; and that though He might indeed make us eternally wretched, that yet He ardently yearns to render us eternally happy, if only we will not persistently hinder and impede Him at every turn, by our folly and sin. We acknowledge that He comes to us with His hands full of heavenly treasures, and that He longs to surround us hereafter with every honour, dignity, glory and

happiness, if only we will exercise a little patience. So much for our belief: now for our extraordinary behaviour. Though we believe all that I have stated concerning God, we nevertheless offend Him, insult Him, and treat Him as we would not treat a sworn enemy. We sin against Him, wilfully, knowingly, deliberately, and in His very presence, as though He were powerless to avenge! Before His very face we mock Him, deny Him, cover Him with derision and scorn. We prefer a miserable trifle before Him; choose in preference the vilest and most degrading indulgences; and willingly renounce all claim to His possession for ever in heaven for the sake of the first bauble that chance or the devil flings in our way!

Now, I ask, would such conduct be possible were our faith strong, deep, and thoroughly sound? No! most undoubtedly: such intolerable insolence and ingratitude is never and can never be found save where faith in God's power and goodness and love is vague, dim, and obfuscated. This, then, seems to be the fundamental distinction between the saint and the ordinary Christian. The one lives rooted to the earth, with the sublime and heavenly truths hidden from him: the other moves in a totally different world; his mind is habitually filled with a profound sense of the intense reality and nearness of what is beyond the reach of the material eye. To the latter, heaven and hell, God and the saints, and the eternal life of the blessed, and the whole invisible creation, are little more than abstractions or empty speculations; to the former, on the contrary, they are more actual, more intimately present, and far more influential factors in his life's history than any of the changing and shifting scenes of the world around him can ever be. The unknown can never be an object either of fear or of desire. No man can reasonably hope to be deterred from the commission of sin by the thought of hell, unless he has tried to understand its nature, and the pains and penalties it involves; nor can anyone sincerely long for heaven who has not taken the trouble to learn something of its worth and blessedness. And, assuredly, no one can rightly love God and yearn to serve Him loyally who has not often dwelt in thought upon His

infinite beauty, unparalleled goodness, ineffable love, and His other divine perfections. And, conversely, the more we reflect upon such subjects, and read and study and apply ourselves, the greater will be their influence upon us. If, therefore, we would draw closer to God before life is done; if we would serve Him with greater constancy and generosity, and render our salvation more secure, and our future life more glorious and blessed, we must not begrudge time spent in earnest thought and silent contemplation. The extraordinary thing is that we find time to do a thousand things of no importance whatever, but no time to devote to this. We visit our friends, we read our newspapers, we take our strolls, we travel about, we amuse and recreate ourselves in a thousand ways. Time is found for all that; but of time to spare for meditation on the sublime and eternal truths we can find none. Man is, indeed, as Carlyle somewhere quaintly observes, "somewhat of an owl."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE MUSIC OF THE TEMPLE.

THE origin of music is involved in a haze which has baffled all the attempts of archaeologists, and which only leaves us conjectures and legends. Toph, Hermes, or Mercury, is fabled to have invented the lyre, and we read how the god "soon after his birth found a mountain tortoise grazing near his grotto on Mount Kyllen. He disembowelled it, took its shell, and out of the back of the shell he formed the lyre." On a par with this may be classed the fable of Orpheus, and "his transmitting his knowledge of music to Thamyras and Linus;" but certain it is that some form of music existed from the very beginning.

We are told that Enos, the grandson of Adam, "began to call upon the name of the Lord;" that is, "sing unto the Lord;" and in Gen. iv. 21, it is stated that Jubal, son of Lamech (seventh in descent from, yet contemporaneous

with, Adam) "was the father of them that play upon the harp and the organs"—the Lutheran version of which reads: "And his brother was named Jubal, from whom are descended *fiddlers and pipers*." Here it is as well to state that *organ*, in the Vulgate, always means "a pipe," but in the Septuagint it expresses any musical instrument. In Chaucer's "Dreme" we read:—

"Lamech's son, Jubal,
That found out first the arte of song;
For as his brother's hammers rong
Upon his anvell up and down,
Thereof he took the firste rown."

In the Waltham Abbey MS. (written in 1360, by John Wyldre, Prior of that Church) it is stated that "Jubal Cain kept a smith's shop, and invented music; moreover, he found out the proportions of consonances by the sound of hammers used by his brother." However, it is beyond any cavil that the "divine art of music" preceded the introduction of any other art by over fifteen hundred years. Plato tells us that the religious music of the Egyptians had existed the same for three thousand years; and he lays it down as a principle that "the right motive of music is to imitate and resemble the words that are sung. Wherefore, he concludes, "if anyone sing any music but the sacred song, let him be chastised by the law and by the priests."

Vocal music was, for thousands of years, the medium of introducing literature, history, law, philosophy, and religion. About the year B.C. 1730, we find mention made of serenading distinguished visitors "with joy, and with songs, and with timbrels, and with harps" (Gen. xxxi. 27). Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, says that the Egyptian priests invented *seven* vowels, and gave to each of them a sound approaching our notes of music. "To preserve this beautiful discovery, they repeated at certain periods these vowels in the form of hymns: and their various tones, successively modulated, formed an agreeable melody. This, doubtless, is the reason why they banished from the temple of Osiris all musical instruments." Jablonski assures us that these seven vowels were consecrated to the seven planets, and

that the statue of Amenophis repeated them at certain epochs. The priests, by making this colossal statue of Memnon repeat the seven sounds, were desirous of immortalizing the most beautiful of their discoveries.¹

The nations of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, &c., also cultivated music. In China, Fohi (whom some regard as Noah) is said to have invented music B.C. 1500, and he is also credited with the invention of the symbols which gave rise to the forty thousand characters of the Chinese alphabet. The Phœnicians, under Cadmus (B.C. 1510), brought literature and music to Greece.

Naumbourg gives us a fragment of Gen. xxii., in which he illustrates the meaning of the traditional musical accents attached to the text of the Pentateuch. The rendition of those accents by the Egyptian and Syrian Jews is almost identical, and it is remarkable that other Jewish sects in Egypt, though differing in doctrine and ceremonial, closely agree as regards the musical accents. Pharaoh was drowned in the year B.C. 1580, and all readers are familiar with the glorious canticle which our Irish poet Moore paraphrased so beautifully in "Sound the loud timbrel." De Sola gives the veritable melody which was sung by Miriam and her companions (Exod. xv. 21, 22), and it was rendered antiphonally by two millions of voices in unison. Moses mentions a great number of canticles, *e. g.* Num. xxi. 14, 17, 18, 27, &c.; and God Himself taught him a song of praise, "that the Israelites may know it by heart, and sing it by mouth, and this song may be for a testimony among the children of Israel" (Deut. xxxi. 19).² Even before the time of Moses, the Hebrew

¹ Some say that the vocal statue of Memnon was a speaking head, the springs of which were so arranged that it would intone the seven vowels at sunrise—likely at seven o'clock. Anyhow, from the commencement of the fourth century, we hear no more of the voice of Amenophis. In the Hermetic writings (which date probably from the first half of the third century), we find Hermes Trismegistus prophesying to his son Asclepius: "A time will come when it will appear that it is in vain that the Egyptians have honoured their Godhead with pious zeal. This sacred land, the site of temples and of holy things, will become filled with sepulchres and the bodies of the dead."

² In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we read: "As a signet of an emerald in a work of gold, so is the melody of music with pleasant and moderate wine" (xxxii. 8).

children were wont "to dance, and play, and perform on the timbrel, the harp, and the organ" (Job xxi. 11, 12). It is natural to suppose that the intercourse for four hundred years in Egypt materially influenced the music of the Israelites; but the wanderings through the desert, and the succeeding five hundred years of strife with neighbouring nations, left the chosen people in a rather primitive condition as regards music. Baruch, Jephtha, Samson, Judas Maccabeus, Saul, Deborah, Judith, &c., improved the psalmody and hymns of the Hebrews.

David (B.C. 1050) was the royal prophet and sweet singer, and the psalms were accompanied with trumpets, timbrels, and other instruments. He had four thousand Levite singers and two hundred and eighty-eight choir-masters, the priests and Levites being musicians *by office* and *by inheritance*. Music had an essential connection with the spirit of prophecy, and exercised a great influence on evil spirits, as may be proved by numerous passages in the Old Testament. We read that the company of prophets whom Saul met "coming down from the high place with a *psaltery*, and a *timbrel*, and a *pipe*, and a *harp* before them," were found prophesying; and how Saul himself, smitten with the same spirit, prophesied among them (1 Kings x. 5-10). Again, the prophet Elias, when excited with holy zeal, ordered a musician to be brought to calm his soul; and "when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he obtained favours in abundance" (4 Kings iii. 13-15).

David, before his death, gave the most minute directions to Solomon regarding the building of the Temple and its adornment, with special reference to the musical arrangements—all of which the wise King Solomon faithfully carried out. The music of the Temple was of the most colossal kind: and the Albert Hall, or Handel festival choirs, pale into insignificance before the monster choral and instrumental services that we read of. We have it on the authority of Josephus that under Solomon (who is credited with the composition of one thousand and five sacred songs), the musical services were truly magnificent; and it sounds like a legend to read of the two hundred thousand priests with

trumpets, and the two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the Levitical choirs. Foreign workmen were employed for the finer and more delicate work of the Temple, as well as to construct some of the instruments: "And the king made of the thyine-trees [almug-trees or sandal-wood] the rails of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house, and citterns and harps [harps and psalteries] for singers: there were no such thyine-trees as these brought, nor seen unto this day" (3 Kings x. 12). Divided into three monster choirs, the singers of the Temple presented themselves morning and evening before the sanctuary, and praised God in psalms and hymns, "because He is good, and because His mercy endureth for ever." Truly does the sacred text say that "the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God."

Some writers assert that there were but seven kinds of musical instruments employed in Solomon's Temple, whilst, on the other hand, the Rabbins record the number as thirty-four; but modern critics agree that the Jews had nineteen *wind* and *string* instruments, as follows:—

HEBREW.	VULGATE.
Kinnor.	Cithara.
Nebel.	Psalterium.
Nebel-azor.	Psalterium decem chordarum.
Khalil.	Tibia.
Nekeb.	Foramen
Shophar.	Buccina.
Khatsotsrah.	Tuba.
Keren.	Cornu.
Ghugab.	Organum.
Toph.	Tympanum.
Tseltz-Lim.	Tibia.
M'Tsil-Tayim.	Cymbalum.
Man-Ghan-Ghim.	Sistra.
Shalish.	Sistrum.
Mashrokitha.	Fistula.
Kithros.	Cithara.
Sabca.	Sambuca.
Psandherin.	Psalterium.
Sumponyah.	Symphonia.

The *kinnor* or *cithara* was a lyre of eight, nine, or ten strings, played by the hand, and was a Syriac instrument.

Its antiquity is very great, and it is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch. Josephus says that it had *ten* strings, and was played on with a *plectrum* or bow; but he errs in both statements, as we read that David "played with his hand" (1 Kings xvi. 23). It was very popular, and was employed on all festive occasions.

The *nebel* was, according to St. Jerome, Cassiodorus, &c., a simple form of harp, and has been variously rendered as a psaltery, psalm, lute, viol, bagpipe, &c.; but the most probable translation is, "a portable harp," such as the Irish ecclesiastics of the tenth and eleventh centuries were wont to play on. The *nebel-azor* was "the ten-stringed harp."

The *khalil* was an *oboe* or *pipe*, whilst the *nekeb* was the double flute. Modern synagogues employ the *shophar* or *horn*; and the *keren* was a *trumpet*, of which the *khatsothrah* was a large form. It is to be observed that the *khalil* or *hohil* was brought from Egypt, and Bishop Lightfoot says that *oboes* were used once a month in the Temple services.

The *gulgub* or *ugab* was the primitive wind-organ; whilst the *mashrokitha* was a large form of *pan-pipes*. The *toph* was a *timbrel*; and the *tsetls-lim*, as also the *m'tsil-tayim* signified *cymbals*. We find the *machol* or *mahhol* used in conjunction with the *toph*, meaning *dances* or *dancing*. Some authors regard it as signifying a *small flute*, from the fact that the *pipe* and *tabor* were for centuries used in conjunction; but the more probable derivation of the word is from *hhalal*, "to dance."

The *shalish* was a *sistrum* or triangle. As regards the *kithros*, it is now understood as a *guitar*—whilst the *psaultherin* is our present *dulcimer*. The *sabea* was a *sackbut* or *trombone*, but others regard it as the *sumbaca* or large harp. Finally, the *sumponyah* or *symphonia* (erroneously translated "dulcimer" in the Protestant Bible) was the bagpipe.

One of the most pathetic passages in the Old Testament is where the Israelites hung their harps on willow-trees by the waters of Babylon, and how they wept remembering fair Zion. They could not tune their *kinners*, nor could they sing the songs of Israel in a strange land; yet, in private, they kept alive their traditional chants. Those of the Jews who

returned from the captivity, encouraged by the prophecies of Daniel, began to renew, in its pristine splendour, the ceremonial of Moses. We are told that *one hundred and twenty-eight singing men*, the children of Asaph, returned to Jerusalem, as also seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven men and maid-servants, and “among them singing men and singing women, two hundred.”

At the building of the second Temple:—“The priests stood in their ornaments with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise God by the hands of David, king of Israel. And they sung together hymns and praise to the Lord. . . . But many of the priests and the Levites, and the chief of the fathers, and the ancients that had seen the former Temple, when they had the foundation of this Temple before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.” The reader will bear in mind that before the tribes of Juda and Benjamin had gone to join Israel in captivity, the rich treasures of the magnificent Temple of Solomon went to fill the coffers of the Assyrian kings; but, after the return to Jerusalem, the sad element which pervaded the jubilation in connection with the foundation of the second Temple, was not so much attributable to the want of proportion between the dimensions of the new building (for the second Temple was even more imposing than Solomon’s), as to the lamentable fact that the glory of those days, when the ancients could remember an army of almost half a million and a colossal choir of singing men, had departed—leaving only a moiety to represent their country and creed.

The dedication of the wall of Jerusalem took place “with singing, and with cymbals, and psalteries, and harps.” We learn that on this occasion all the available choral resources were employed, and “the singing men had built themselves villages around about Jerusalem.” The form of singing was *antiphonal*, “and the singers sung loud, and Jezraia was their overseer (choir-master) . . . and the joy of Jerusalem was heard afar off.” The sacred chronicler adds that all Israel “gave portions to the singing men day by day”—a fact which shows how highly their services were appreciated.

In reference to the form of psalm-singing in Solomon's Temple, very little can be said with any degree of certainty, and even the illustrations given by Kircher, Fétis, &c., are of a most imaginary character. We can only say, with Stainer, that the instruments previously described "were used in whole, or in portions, and that *dancing* of a solemn character formed an accompaniment to the rhythm of the music. It may also be added that the ancient Hebrew melodies were mostly in the *minor mode*. In a previous paper,¹ I gave the Talmudic traditions as to the psalm-singing of the second Temple, but here it may be stated that the *pauses* of the Psalm, *i. e.*, the divisions indicated in our choral books by an asterisk, were well defined, being notified by blasts of trumpets by the priests at either side of the cymbalists.

Now as to the *inscriptions* of the Psalms.² Very many of the titles were added by the Septuagint translators, whilst a few others were inserted by the Hellenistic Jews, both before and after the birth of Christ. It is worthy of note that the Jews themselves to this day sing the titles as an integral portion of the Psalm. All the Psalms except thirty-three have titles. St. Augustine thus writes of Psalm l.:—"Hoc non in Psalmo legitur, sed in titulo; in libro autem Regnorum plenius legitur; utraque autem Scriptura canonica est." Again, in his exposition of Psalm lxiv., the title of which is not found in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, nor the Hexapla, he says:—"Agnosenda est vox sanctae Prophetiae ex ipso titulo Psalmi hujus." In many cases the titles are quite incongruous with the style of the Psalm—a subject which has been exhaustively treated by St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, &c.

The inscriptions are of a threefold character—viz., concerning (1) the author, (2) the circumstances under which the Psalm was written, and (3) its liturgical signification.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Vol. ix, No. 11, p. 1012.

² David was the author of the greater portion of the Psalms, or as they are called by the Hebrews, *Tehillim*, *i. e.*, songs of praise, but most commentators agree that some twenty of these exquisite productions were composed by Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Idithun, &c.

Bossuet says:—"Qui titulos non uno modo intelligat, vileo esse quam plurimos: qui de titularum auctoritate dubitant, ex antiquis omnino neminem." It would appear that the meaning of the liturgical directions was lost during the captivity in Babylon, and the allusion to them in the Book of Chronicles is in reference to the original arrangement of the music of the Temple of David (1 Paralip. xv. 19-22). We read: "Now the singers, Hemam, Asaph, and Ethan, sounded with cymbals of brass," and eight others "sung mysteries upon psalteries," and six other vocalists "sung a song of victory for the octave upon harps," with Chonenias as Precentor. Most the psalm-titles were absolutely unintelligible to the translators of the Septuagint, and we instance the fact that the well-known formula "for the Precentor," which occurs at least fifty times, is invariably rendered: εἰς τὸ τέλος. *Lamnazeach* is rendered by Aquila as *victoriam dante*; by St. Jerome, as *victori*; by Theodoret, as *in victorian*; and by Symmachus, as *carmen victoriæ*: but all modern commentators agree that *Praefecto Musicae* is the true meaning. Other terms still unintelligible to us were even more so to those early translators; e.g., Psalm v. 1 (upon *Nehiloth*) appears in the Septuagint as ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομουῆς. Again, Psalm lxxxvii. 1 (upon *Mahalath Leannoth*) appears as ὑπὲρ μαελεθ του αποκριθῆναι.

We may almost take it as an axiom that "the older the Psalm, the more confidently do we look for a title." As a few examples of the most ancient Psalms with titles:—

Psalm vii. "*Shiggaion*—the Psalm of David, which he sung to the Lord, for the words of Chusi the son of Jemini." (*Shiggaion* has also been rendered *moestus fuit*.)

Psalm xxxiii. "For David, when he changed his countenance before Achimelech, who dismissed him, and he went his way."

The title of Psalm lv., in the Douay version is:—"From the sanctuary: for David, for an inscription of a title, when the Philistines held him in Geth;" but St. Jerome renders it: "To the victor for the dumb dove."

Psalm lix. *Michtam of David* "for doctrine, when he set fire to Mesopotamia of Syria and Sobal; and Joab returned

and slew of Edom, in the vale of the salt-pits, twelve thousand men."

I shall now treat of the various phrases to be found in the psalm-titles, which may be regarded as having a musical reference of some sort.

The title of Psalm iv. is given:—"Unto the end in verses;" or, as St. Jerome renders it: "Victory to him that overcometh;" but more correctly: "To the Precentor or Chief Musician"—allegorically referring to Christ. *Neginoth*, in the Hebrew is properly translated "in verses."

Nehiloth, which occurs in the title of Psalm v., is given in the Douay version as:—"For her that obtaineth the inheritance;" i. e., for the Church of Christ; but more probably it signifies that the Psalm was to be sung with some form of wind instrument.

Gittith, or *Ho-Gittith*, is found in the inscription of Psalms viii., lxxx., and lxxxiii., and is translated in the Septuagint by *Ἀγγοί*; in the Vulgate, as *torcularia*; and in the Douay version, as "for the wine-presses." Some regard the word as referring to a musical instrument from the city of Gath, just as we now speak of a *Cremona*; whilst others regard it as denoting that the Psalm was to be sung to the tune of a vintage song. It has also been interpreted as the Psalm which was sung on the Feast of the Tabernacles, and has even been translated in reference to Goliath. However, the learned Calmet suggests: "*Praefecto musices, qui choro cantatricium Gethaeorum praeerat*," assigning as a reason that the ladies of Geth were highly skilled in singing, and that females were employed on the Feast of the Tabernacles, in conjunction with a male choir, in order to heighten the effect of the ceremonial. Females were permitted on exceptional occasions to co-operate in the festival celebrations, and were also set apart for the lamentations incidental to a house of mourning.¹ At the funerals in Greece, even in our own day, there are female hired mourners, called *myroloqustres*, who remain in the house of mourning, and sing the praises of the deceased. "These melancholy chants, like the *lamento* and the *cocero*

¹ See article on "The Liturgical Chant of the Apostolic Age," in the I. E. RECORD, Vol. ix, No. 11, p. 1012.

are partly improvised, partly recited by heart. They seem for the most part incomprehensible, but some of them are very fine. They are called *myrologia*, and are the ancient linos (funeral laments) attributed to a mythical personage of that name—the Ardes Linos, which were in use in the time of Homer and Hesiod" (Maury).¹

Chaldaeus, Symmachus, and St. Jerome render the title of Psalm ix., "Praefecto musices puellarum pro filio;" but the Douay version is: "For the hidden things of the Son," typical of the sufferings and death of the Son of God. Others translate it: "To the Precentor in *Halmath ipsi Laben*;" i. e., Laben, an anagram for Nabel, the husband of Abigail. However, the best interpretation is: "Psalmus David ad Ben, praefectum chori puellarum cantatricium," Ben being the celebrated singer referred to in 1 Paralip. xv. 18.

Higgaion (Septuagint, ὠδή) is found in verse 17 of Psalm ix.: "The Lord shall be known when he executeth judgments; the sinner hath been caught in the works of his own hands. *Higgaion, Selah*." If we regard *higgaion* as "meditation" or "murmuring," there would seem to be no affinity towards a musical direction; but a reference to verse 4 of Psalm xci., where it again occurs, will explain its musical significance: "Upon an instrument of ten strings, upon the psaltery; *with a canticle upon the harp*"—more correctly, "upon the *higgaion* [i. e., solemn sound] with the harp." Bellarmine remarks truly that the word *and* in the Hebrew [and on the *nebel*] was only explanatory, and, therefore, redundant. Sir John Stainer is of opinion that *higgaion* alludes to "a solemn and deep-toned performance on harps, which was found conducive to private meditation," and he corroborates it by his explanation of *Selah*.

Selah is undoubtedly a musical direction, and occurs

¹ The most probable interpretation is, that *Gittith* was a direction implying that the Psalm was sung to a vintage song, and this is strengthened by a reference to Judges ix. 27, Isai. xvi. 8-10, and Jerem. xlviii. This custom of vintage songs was also prevalent among the Greeks, as we learn from Anacreon (Od. 52):—

"Viri tantum calcant
Uvam, vinum exprimentes,
Multum Deum laudantes
Hymnis in torcularibus cani solitis."

seventy-one times in the Psalter. A learned commentator remarks: "It is frequent in the first three books, is never found in the fourth, and only four times in the fifth—and these four times in liturgical psalms attributed to David, viz., Psalm cxxxix. and Psalm cxlii." Outside the Psalter, it only occurs three times in the Prophecy of Habacuc (chap. iii.). St. Jerome follows Aquila in interpreting *selah* as equivalent to *semper*, i. e., a psalm always to be remembered; but Theodoret understands it as a *pause*. However, it is altogether omitted in the Vulgate. Many able authorities say that the value of *selah* is exactly that of the cabalistic word *enonae* in our choral books—a mnemonic for *saeculorum Amen*), never intended to be sung, but merely a guide for the Precentor. Others regard it as a musical direction in reference to the Psalm, whether it was to be sung *allegro* or *andante*, &c. Not a few think that it may mean *Amen*; but the true rendering is an indication for a pause, or instrumental symphony. Stainer agrees with Sir F. Ouseley in regarding it as "a short recurring symphony," and this is strengthened by the fact that out of the thirty-nine Psalms in which this word occurs, twenty-eight have musical inscriptions.

Neginoth is found in the titles of several Psalms, and is regarded as a generic term for stringed instruments, being derived from a root akin to the Latin *psaltere*, "to strike a chord." Dr. Jebb conjectures that *neginoth*, *sheminith*, and *kinnor*, "all refer to the same instrument; the first, as to the mode of playing it; the second, as to its compass; the last, as to its specific designation."

Shushon may be also included in the words of a musical signification, and though some translate it as "change," yet the more common version is "the lily," as referring to the symmetrical and graceful shape of the lyre. Those who consider it as of a numerical meaning, viz., denoting *six*, adduce the fact that it is frequently found in conjunction with *eduth*, or "testimony," and thus susceptible of translation, "the hexachord of testimony." Anyhow, as against this rendering of Schlensner and Jebb, I am inclined to agree with Stainer, who gives as a probable opinion, that the reference of *shushon eduth*, in 1 Paralip. xvi. 37-42, means "a harp of six strings."

Aijelet *hishahar*, in the title of Psalm xxi., is variously rendered, "hind of the morning," "dawn of day," "morning twilight;" and in the Douay version, "for the morning protection;" but most probably is the first line of a popular tune with which this Psalm was formerly associated. Calmet translates it: "Praesidi classis cantorum quae *cerva matutina* dicitur," as referring to a section of the choir called *cerva matutina*, just as we read: "For the eighth or octave choir," "for the choir of Geth," "for the choir *columbae mutae*," &c. Others understand it as a "psalm sung at the morning service." Dr. Jebb gives as a plausible interpretation, "a harp of Aijelon," or a harp constructed or improved by some Levite of the city of Aijelon. There is, however, no reason for not admitting the reference as "an adaptation of a well-known tune." From a very early period we find many Jewish hymns sung to popular secular melodies; and even amongst those Jews who migrated to Egypt (B.C. 190), from the persecution of the Selucidæ of Syria, the traditional psalm-tunes were coloured by the local associations. No better authority can be quoted on this obscure question than Rev. D. J. Sola: "When the Sephardic ritual became fixed and generally established in Spain, and was enriched by the solemn hymns of Gabirol, Judah Ha-Levi, and other celebrated Hebrew poets, chants or melodies were composed, or adapted to them, and were soon generally adopted. . . . In most printed editions we find directions prefixed to hymns replete with piety and devotion—that they are to be sung to the tune of 'Permetid bella Amaryllis,' 'Tres colores in una,' 'Temprano naçes, Almendro,' and similar Spanish or Moorish songs—a practice, no doubt, very objectionable, for obvious reasons, and from which the better taste of the present age would shrink." ¹

Adaptations are not by any means a modern idea. The Apostles themselves adapted the psalm-tunes of the Temple, as well as the melodious Greek modes, to the requirements of the Christian Church.¹ The work of St. Ambrose was in

¹ St. Paul tells how the Synagogue was buried with honour, and we read: "You observe days [Sabbath days and the like], and months [new moons, and the seventh month], and times [the four epochs of the year, viz., Pasch, Pentecost, Expiation, and Encoenia], and years [the seventh year of remission, and the fiftieth or Jubilee year]". (Gal. iv. 10.)

great part an adaptation, and we find the great hymnist, St. Venantius Fortunatus, setting some vintage songs to religious words. Hence, I think, it is not rash to assume that the phrases *aijeth hishahar* and *gittith* denote an adaptation of the Psalm to popular tunes.

Origen translated the title of Psalm xxxviii. as *victori Idithum*, but the Douay version is: "Unto the end, for Idithum himself." There is no title to Psalm xlii. in the Hebrew, best known as the "Judica me Deus," which is said at the commencement of Mass; but in the celebrated Utrecht Psalter (which dates from the sixth or seventh century) verse 5 is illustrated by a beautiful representation of a *kinnor* or harp. It is formed of a long stem terminating in a triple leaf, and a vase-shaped base or shell.

Alamoth or *Halaheth* is found in the title of Psalm xlvi., and also in verse 26 of Psalm lxvii., and has been variously translated as "virgins," "things pertaining to youths," "trebles," "female singers," "and" "hidden things," or "mysteries." In the passage previously quoted from 1 Paralip. xv. 19-22, the words "with psalteries on *Alamoth*," are given in our Douay version as "*mysteries upon psalteries*." St. Augustine favours the translation, "hidden things," as referring to the mysteries of the New Dispensation; but the Vulgate translation of Psalm lxvii. 26 is: "Princes went before joined with singers, in the midst of *young damsels playing on timbrels*," i.e., princes or the apostles and newly-converted Christians singing the divine praises, attended by virgins consecrated to God. Dr. Jebb thus interprets this passage: "First go the *sharim* (singers), then follow the *neqinim* (kinnors); in the midst are the *alamoth*." If we adopt the version "damsels playing on timbrels," it must be only on the supposition that females were permitted to sing in the Temple on exceptional occasions; but in the passage cited we find *men* as being *the players on nebel on alamoth*. Some would understand this as *trebles*; whilst others (and, I fancy, more correctly) interpret it as signifying "male alti," i.e., men having "vox clara et acuta quasi virginum."

Sheminith or *Haschminith* is found in connection with

alamoth, and is translated "for the octave." It is difficult, however, to understand its force in a literal sense as connected with *kinnors*. The Douay version refers it to "an instrument of eight strings," but St. Augustine adopts the mystical signification of "the general resurrection," which will be on the octave day after the seven days of our mortal existence. However, the most probable interpretation is that *sheminith* means the number of strings to be employed whether on *nebel*s or *kinnors*; i.e., eight strings.

Mahalath or *Machalath* occurs in the titles of Psalm lii. and Psalm lxxxvii., and is translated: "Unto the end, for Maeleth, understandings for David;" also "to answer understanding," i.e., a psalm of instruction. Aquila renders it: "for dancing," but St. Jerome gives it as "*per chorum*," or a chorus of musicians.¹ If, however, this word be traced to the same root as *khalil* ("bored," i.e., a flute or pipe), we must regard it as signifying a *khalil* accompaniment to the Psalm. The phrase *machalath bannoth*, "to answer understanding" was likely a direction for the Precentor to have the Psalm sung *antiphonally* with flute accompaniment.

Psalm lxviii. has the title: "To the chief musician upon Shoshannim," which the Douay version renders: "Unto the end, for them that shall be changed; for David."

In the title of Psalm lxxiv. we read: Unto the end, corrupt not; a psalm of a canticle for Asaph," and an explanatory note is given in Dr. Denvir's issue of the Douay Bible, to the effect that "corrupt not" is believed to have been the name of a hymn, to the tune of which this Psalm was to be sung. This view strengthens what I have previously stated in reference to *aijeleth heshahar* and *gittith*, as signifying adaptations of the Psalm to popular tunes. St. Augustine and the Fathers interpret it mystically as an exhortation not to fail, but to persevere with constancy to the end. It seems to have been sung *antiphonally*.

Psalm xciv. has the title: "Praise of a canticle for David

¹ The Greek chorus was so called from the place where the theatrical performances took place in Sparta, and consisted of a primitive form of chant to the accompaniment of flutes. However, the original form of chorus was certainly Terpsichorean, the dance being afterwards replaced by singing.

himself," and is the Psalm which has been sung from Apostolic ages as the hymn at the commencement of matins. I may also observe that it is the older form of this Psalm which is retained in the Church offices, and not the Vulgate version.

From Psalm cxii. to Psalm cxvii., inclusively, was called by the Jews "the great Hallel," being sung after eating the Paschal Lamb, and the title of each of these five Psalms is given as "Alleluia."

In the most ancient Psalter of St. Caimin of Inniskeltra (d. 653) there is given a beautiful explanation of the letter *Aleph*, occurring at commencement of Psalm cxviii., which the reader will find in Cardinal Moran's brochure on Irish Biblical MSS. The Church employs this Psalm in her daily office, but divides it into eleven portions, and it is an embodiment of the whole Psalter. The succeeding fifteen Psalms are termed "Gradual," the exact meaning of which is uncertain, but very probably from the *gradual* inflection of the voice¹ on each of the fifteen steps which led to the court of the priests in the Temple.

The magnificent Psalm cxxxv. was sung at the dedication of the Temple; and the refrain to each verse of "For His mercy endureth for ever" must have been heart-stirring, rendered as it was by the entire congregation responsively to the chanters.

As the Jews had no musical notation, the synagogal chants and melodies, which must have been simple, were handed down traditionally. Very little is actually known of even the shape of the Jewish instruments, as not a single *bas-relief* exists by which we can accurately judge. However, in regard to the vocal department, we can assume that a monotonous recitative developed into occasional modulations, and gradually worked up to an ambitious form of *recitade*. An irregular form of chant, designated *cantillation*, was the primitive system of psalm-singing, and it is worthy of note that the modern Arabs recite the Koran in this

¹ Somewhat analogous to this is the inflection of voice still used at the singing of the "Alleluia" at Easter-tide—three different pitches being taken and responded to by the choir.

manner. Many elaborate essays have been written on Hebrew accents, but unfortunately it seems that these accents expressed both the *interval* or movement of the voice, and also the *melodic succession* of notes with an array of embellishments. Moreover, as Stainer says, "some of the vowel accents of Hebrew became tonal accents if placed in a particular place with regard to the letters forming the words"—which, of course, increases our difficulty in attempting any translation. The *pentatonic* scale was the most ancient, and is found among all Eastern nations. This form of scale, with its minor tonality,¹ and within the compass of a sixth, is strikingly exemplified in very many old Irish melodies. Harmony, too, was not unknown to the Hebrews, as they had a regulated use of chords, but still nothing approaching our modern harmony, as only one melody at a time was permissible.

After the death of Jannæus (B.C. 78), who was the last in whom the hereditary titles of king and high priest was vested, Aristobulus II. made war on his brother Hyrcanus for the throne, which had been held by Alexandra Salome as regent, B.C. 78-80; but the internal feuds left the way open for Pompey, who stormed Jerusalem (B.C. 63), profaned the Holy of Holies, and carried off Aristobulus, leaving Hyrcanus as high priest. Philo, who was sent as a delegate from the Alexandrine Jews to Rome (B.C. 40), gives us the following description of the nocturnal meetings of the primitive ascetics:—

"After supper their sacred songs began. When all were arisen they selected two choirs, one of men and one of women, and from each of these a person of majestic form, and well-skilled in music, was chosen to lead the band. They then chanted hymns in honour of God, composed in different measures and modulations, now singing together [unison], and again answering each other by turns [antiphonally]."

After the death of Antipater the Idumean, Herod the Great was appointed king of Judea (B.C. 40). Herod was a

¹ As a specimen of the most ancient Greek melody which is yet preserved, we may confidently quote the first Pythian Ode of Pindar, which is in the minor mode.

consummate master of duplicity and intrigue, a tyrant, a profligate, and a relentless foe; but, though endeavouring to stamp out the manners and customs of the Jews, he gratified his own vanity by rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem (B.C. 25). He certainly spent immense sums in this undertaking. On the north, east, and west were three rows of pillars, forty-five feet wide, whilst the pillars of the porticoes were over thirty-six feet high; the east portico being named "Solomon's Porch." The Holy of Holies was thirty feet long, thirty feet broad, and ninety feet high, and was separated from the Holy Place by a veil. The principal entrance was one hundred and fifty feet in height and breadth, and was covered with plates of gold. Eighteen thousand workmen were employed at this colossal work for eight years.¹

It was in this Temple that our Lord was presented, where holy Simeon chanted the glorious "Nunc dimittis," and where holy Anna the prophetess was wont to be present. We read that the Saviour Himself entered the Synagogue at Nazareth on a certain Sabbath day, and took part in the service—fulfilling the office of *lector*. He took up the *megillah*, or roll of the Prophet Isaias, which contained the *huphtarah* peculiar to the day, and expounded it to the favoured congregation. Here, I may observe, that for hundreds of years, in the Western Church—in fact, until the sixteenth century—the prophecies on Holy Saturday were always sung from a large parchment roll, magnificently illuminated, almost similar to the *megillah* of the Jews. Again, we read of the Sabbath at Capernaum, where the Blessed Virgin was present during the discourse of her dear Son. But, in connection with the Temple, we find our Lord celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles—the most important of all Jewish feasts—which was observed from the 15th to the 21st of Tisri, ending with a solemn thanksgiving on the eighth day. On each of the seven days the trumpets sounded jubilantly; whilst, on the eighth, the musical services were most elaborate. It was on this occasion that our Blessed

¹ Sir Charles Warren, by excavations made in Jerusalem, in 1868, showed that the Temple was 1,000 feet long, and 200 feet high, enclosed in an area of 30 acres.

Lord addressed the assembled people in one of the courts of the Temple, and spoke to them as never man spoke before ; that He informed them of His divine mission, and that before their father Abraham was, He had always been. St. John tells us that the furious Jews “took up stones to cast at Him,” evidently showing that stones for the completion of the Temple were lying around ; but Jesus departed from their midst unseen. Once more do we find the Redeemer in the Temple, “in Solomon’s porch,” at the Feast of the Dedication—when, again the wicked Jews sought to stone Him, but “He escaped out of their hands.” Lastly, we find our Lord, after a mock trial before Annas and Caiphas—and after being accused by false witnesses of proclaiming His power to destroy that cherished Temple, led into the south-east hall of the Temple to be tried before the Sanhedrim. Aye, in that same Temple, where the songs of praise to the Expected of Nations had for so long resounded—He to whose honour this glorious Temple had been erected, and within the walls of which, generations of the chosen people had chanted “For His mercy endureth for ever”—was condemned by His own creatures !

In conclusion, we can safely assert that the choral and orchestral performances of the Temple were most awe-inspiring and effective, aided materially by the magnificent Jewish ceremonial. Some writers say this sort of music was barbarous, but Almighty God specially honoured the chant and the singers, and was gratified by the outpourings of praise from His fervent worshippers. No form of concerted music --no harmonious combinations of mere sounds selected for effect sake--no arrangement which obtains its end by complicated devices, or Wagnerian innovations, can ever approach the sublimity of an inspired melody sung with fervour “and understanding” by a numerous body of singers. The songs of Israel were undoubtedly pleasing to the great Jehovah, and appealed irresistibly to the Divine mercy ; and, therefore, justly does the Royal Psalmist sing : “Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus : et veritas Domini manet in aeternum.”

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART, AND FINAL PERSEVERANCE.

"VERY REV. SIR,—May I ask for a solution in the I. E. Record of a difficulty which I know has occurred to some, and may have occurred to many, Directors of the Arch-Confraternity of the Sacred Heart.

The difficulty is contained in one of the promises made to the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. These are the words: "I promise thee in the excessive mercy of My Heart, that My all-powerful love will grant to all those who communicate on the first Friday in nine consecutive months, the grace of final perseverance; they shall not die in My disgrace, nor without receiving the Sacraments; My Divine Heart shall be their safe refuge in their last moment." Here, final perseverance is exhibited, it appears to me, as an object of *meritum de condigno*, for there is a divine promise. But theology teaches that we cannot merit final perseverance either *de condigno*, or even *de congruo infallibili*. Hence I would like to know how to reconcile the promise with the teaching of theology, and also whether the action of the Church in beatifying B. Margaret Mary implies the authenticity of the revelations ascribed to her.—Yours faithfully,
"SACERDOS."

1. Theologians distinguish three kinds of perseverance—purely active, purely passive, and mixed perseverance. Perseverance is *purely active* when an adult continues for some time after his justification in the state of grace, then falls, and is damned. *Purely passive* perseverance is the grace of death after justification, without any further appreciable term of probation: it occurs in the case of baptized infants who die before they attain the use of reason, and in adults who die immediately, or very soon after their justification. Finally, perseverance is called *mixed*, when a person continues in the practice of virtue for some considerable time after his justification, and dies in the state of grace.

2. We need not treat further of *purely active* perseverance. *Purely passive* perseverance is entirely the work and gift of Almighty God: "Vocatur autem passiva," writes Dr. Murray: "quia homo nihil in ea habenda operatur aut

cooperatur, sed se pure passive tenet: purum opus est Dei clementis et miserentis, ut hominem e vivis eo tempore eripiat quo justus est; nec antea eripuerit dum in peccato erat; nec in aliud tempus eripiendum lapsum distulerit." (De Gratia Disp. v. n. 50^a.)

3. Again, as our correspondent writes, we cannot merit *active final* perseverance either *de condigno* or *de congruo infallibili*. How, then, do we reconcile the promise referred to in our correspondent's letter with the teaching of theology? While theologians teach that we cannot *merit* final perseverance, they also point out many *means* whereby we may infallibly attain eternal happiness, and *signs* whereby we may conjecture whether we shall persevere or not. The following are given by Dr. Murray¹:—(a) a tender conscience; (b) sincere humility of the heart and of the intellect, with its accompanying virtues, meekness, patience, &c.; (c) the frequentation of the sacraments of penance and the Blessed Eucharist; (d) devotion to the Blessed Virgin; (e) prayer; (f) in the case of priests, zeal for souls. To these we might add devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

By the practice of these devotions we shall infallibly obtain the grace of perseverance. This does not mean that the exercise of these devotions for a year, or for ten years, or for twenty years, will infallibly secure our salvation, and that thenceforward we might take our ease, and fold our arms, as far as our spiritual interests are concerned. No, "Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit." But by fervent prayer continuously from day to day, by the constant exercise of some of the pious practices referred to, by co-operation with divine grace, we shall obtain successively from day to day abundant graces to observe the commandments, to overcome temptations, and to persevere to the end in our pious practices. Hence St. Liguori writes: "Si oraveris certo salvaberis, si non oraveris certo damnaberis."

Now, if the promise referred to by our correspondent be authentic, we would regard it not as an absolute promise of final perseverance, but as a *means* and a *sign* of attaining perseverance. It would be altogether opposed to the provi-

¹ Disp. xii., nn. 167, *et seq.*

dence of God, as revealed to us in the Scripture, to expect that the temporary practice of any devotion, no matter how sublime and sacred, would infallibly seal a man's eternal happiness. To all persons are addressed the words of the awful and solemn warning: "With fear and trembling work out your salvation." Efficacious and powerful as we believe devotion to the Sacred Heart to be, we cannot believe that it will make its clients more devoted to God, more faithful to divine grace, or more sure of their salvation, than was the Apostle of the Gentiles. Yet St. Paul says: "But I chastise my body, and bring it into subjection; lest, perhaps, when I have preached to others I myself should become a castaway." (1 Cor. ix. 27.)

We think, therefore, that if the promise referred to in our correspondent's letter be authentic, it must be understood and explained somewhat in the same sense as the promises contained, *e. g.*, in the beatitudes: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," &c.; or as the promises contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John: "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever" v. 52; "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day" v. 55; "He that eateth this bread shall live for ever" (v. 59). But these, of course, do not imply that we can merit final perseverance *de condigno*. They are only means of attaining final perseverance, and signs of our eternal happiness hereafter.

4. "Does the action of the Church in beatifying Blessed Margaret Mary imply the authenticity of the revelations ascribed to her?"

When the Church does not approve private revelations in themselves, it does not imply their authenticity by beatifying their author. What, though, if the Church approve the revelations themselves? Franzelin answers:—

"Quod pertinet ad Ecclesiae iudicium quo huiusmodi revelationes privatae aliquando approbantur, illud non eo spectat, ut revelationes proponantur fidelibus fide divina credendae; sed ut declaretur, (a) in iis nihil esse quod fidei catholicae, bonis moribus et disciplinae christianae adversetur; (b) sufficientia esse indicia veritatis, ut huiusmodi revelationes fide humana pie et

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I. THE INDULGENCE OF THE LITANY OF THE HOLY NAME.

II. THE USE OF THE SHORT FORM IN BLESSING THE BAPTISMAL FONT.

I. "In a Manual of Devotion compiled for a Religious Community in Ireland, the Litany of the Holy Name, which differs in many respects from the form in general use, has the following prefatory notice :—

"An Indulgence of three hundred days was granted by Rescript, dated April 28th, 1861, to the faithful in England, for the devout recitation of the Litany of the Most Holy Name, by our most Holy Father Pope Pius IX., who at the same time prohibited any form but that of which the following is a translation, authorized by the bishops.'

"Please state has such a Rescript ever been granted. If it has, ought not publishers of prayer-books be very careful to select only the authorized version?

II. "May priests in Ireland use the short form of blessing the Baptismal Font during the year, that is, at other times than on Easter and Pentecost Sundays? My reason for putting the question is that, in the edition of the *Ritual* brought out by Father McNece, under the direction of his Grace the Primate, the following rubric is prefixed to the short form: . . . '*et non nisi in his diebus attribenda ad quæ specialis Apostolicæ Sedis indulto extensa fuit.*'

"PAROCHUS."

I. The Litany of the Holy Name has existed in one form or another for a very long time, but it was only in 1862 that it received the formal approval of the Church, or was enriched with an indulgence. In that year Pius IX., acceding to the request of a large number of bishops, granted an indulgence of three hundred days, to be gained once a day. But the Holy Father made the gaining of this indulgence subject to these two conditions. First, that the Litany recited should be that to which he on the same occasion gave his approval; and second, that the indulgence could be gained only by the faithful of those dioceses whose Ordinaries should

have asked the Congregation to extend this favour to them.¹ The bishops of England fulfilled this latter condition, and the Rescript to which reference is made in our correspondent's question was the official concession of their prayer. Though we have not seen this Rescript, we have no doubt of its authenticity. For, in the first place, there existed the *a priori* necessity for such a document. Secondly, similar Rescripts were granted to many countries, provinces, and dioceses; and finally, the authenticity of this particular Rescript has not hitherto been questioned. There can be no doubt, then, that the indulgence attached to the Litany was extended to the faithful of England at the time mentioned, as the date of the Rescript; neither can there be a doubt that an exact copy of the approved form of the Litany was procured, and a translation authorized by the bishops published. The only question, then, is whether the form of the Litany which has attracted the attention of our correspondent is an exact copy of this authorized translation, or even an accurate translation of the original.

Manifestly this question cannot be decided without instituting a comparison between the copy in question and the original, and as our correspondent has not favoured us with the former we cannot, of course, make the necessary comparison. We may, however, refer our correspondent to the *Raccolta*, where he will find an authentic copy of the original Latin. We may state moreover, that, having examined the Litany, as given in more than a dozen different manuals of devotion now in common use, we did not find any notable variation from the original in any of them except in the prayer at the end of the Litany; and in several of these the prefatory note about the Rescript was printed. The following, taken from an old prayer-book, presents a sufficiently accurate version of the prayer to be said after the invocations of the Litany:—

“O Lord Jesus Christ! who hast said: ‘Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened

¹ Maurel, Part 2, Art. 1, n. 23. *The New Raccolta*, page 91. (English Translation, Philadelphia, 1889.)

unto you; grant we beseech Thee, to our most humble supplications, the gift of Thy divine love, that we may ever love Thee with our whole hearts, and never cease from praising and glorifying Thy holy name. Amen."

"Give us, O Lord, a perpetual fear and love of Thy holy name, for Thou never ceasest to direct and govern by Thy grace those whom Thou instructest in the solidity of Thy love; who livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen."

Having thus, we hope, fully satisfied our esteemed correspondent, we may now state that the second of the two conditions already mentioned as being necessary for gaining the indulgence attached to this Litany, has been withdrawn by our present Holy Father.¹ The other still remains. Hence, as our correspondent insinuates, publishers of prayer-books should be very careful to give only versions of the original, which have been approved by some competent ecclesiastical authority.

For an answer to his second question, we beg to refer our correspondent to Father O'Kane's valuable work, *Notes on the Rubrics*, n. 391. That eminent author thus states his opinion: "We may conclude, then, that in any diocese or district where an abbreviated form of blessing is in use, with the knowledge and approval of the bishop, it may be used; while in other places the form given in the Roman Ritual must be adhered to."²

III. IS AN "ORATIO IMPERATA" TO BE SAID IN THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART ON THE FIRST FRIDAY OF THE MONTH?

"REV. SIR, — Will you please state in next issue of the I. E. RECORD whether the words *unica oratione* in the following *dubium* exclude the *oratio imperata* where otherwise prescribed. Yours faithfully,

"PASTOR."

"Dubium. Missa votiva SSmi. Cordis Jesu, per Decretum

¹ His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. by a decree of the S. Cong. of Indulgences, January 16th, 1886, extended to all the faithful who with at least contrite heart and devotion shall recite the Litany and the prayers, the indulgence of three hundred days, once a day, which the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX., June 8th, 1862, had granted to the faithful of those dioceses whose Ordinaries had asked this favour of the S. Congregation. *Raccolta, ibid.*

² N. 394.

diei xxviii. Junii, 1889, pro Ecclesiis in quibus de mane exercitia pietatis in honorem ejusdem Divini Cordis peraguntur, concessa, celebrari debet sine *Gloria* sine *Credo* et cum tribus orationibus; an ritu quo celebrantur Missae Votivae solemniter, cum *Gloria* et *Credo* et unica oratione?

“Ad dubium Resp. *Negative* ad primam partem; *affirmative* ad secundam.

“✠ Caj. Card. ALOISI MASELLA,
“S.R.C. *Praef.*”

In order to answer this question fully it will be necessary to say a word about the two classes into which Votive Masses are divided. These are called Solemn and Private Votive Masses. To constitute a solemn Votive Mass three things are required—1, a grave cause; 2, the command of the Pope, or of the bishop of the diocese; 3, that the Mass be at least sung by the celebrant—that is, that if it be not a solemn Mass in the strict sense, it be at least a *Missa cantata*. A Votive Mass wanting any one of these conditions is merely a private Votive Mass. Now, the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, of which there is here question, if not a solemn Votive Mass, is, at least, to be celebrated as if it were. Hence the rules regarding solemn Votive Masses apply to it. And from the Rubricists we learn that solemn Votive Masses exclude the *oratio imperata*.¹ So, therefore, does this Mass of the Sacred Heart.

IV. THE “DE PROFUNDIS” AND THE “PAPAL PRAYERS” AFTER MASS.

“REV. SIR,—You will oblige many readers of the I. E. RECORD by kindly saying in the next issue of it, whether we Irish priests are to say the three Aves, Salve Regina, and the other prayers prescribed by His Holiness Leo XIII., to be recited ‘*Finita Missa*’ immediately after the last Gospel or after the ‘*De Profundis*.’”

“P.P.”

The practice of Irish priests seems to have long since solved our correspondent's question. As far as we know, the universal practice is to recite the prayers immediately after

¹ “Omittenda est (oratio imperata) . . . in votivis solemnibus quia celebrantur sub ritu 1 cl.” (De Herdt., tom. 1, n. 72, 5^o.)

the *De Profundis*, and not immediately after the last Gospel, as some of the decrees on the subject would seem to command. To justify our departure from the strict letter of the directions given for the recital of these prayers, we need only appeal to the long-standing custom of reciting the *De Profundis* immediately after the last Gospel. About the origin of this custom there is much disagreement among archaeologists, but all are agreed as to its antiquity. Some say it was introduced as some compensation for the innumerable "foundation Masses" for deceased persons, the celebration of which was rendered impossible by the plunderings and persecutions of the so-called Reformers. Others, again, say that this custom dates from the time of Cromwell, and was intended to supply the place of the burial service of which so many of the pious Oliver's victims were deprived. The defenders of each opinion say that a Rescript from Rome approving of the practice was early obtained, and one writer whom we have seen quoted declared that he had seen a copy of this Rescript. At any rate, apart altogether from any formal sanction by the Holy See, a custom equivalent to an ecclesiastical law has determined the time and manner of reciting the *De Profundis* in this country at the end of Mass, and this custom is not interfered with by any law in which express mention of it is not made. The *finita missa*, or *in fine missae* of the official documents is, therefore, to be interpreted in accordance with legitimate customs that may be found to exist in certain countries or parts of countries.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IRISH "ORDO RECITANDI OFFICIUM DURNUM."

"REV. DEAR SIR,—As some improvements in the Directory or Ordo are, I understand, contemplated, permit me to make the following suggestions:—

"When there is a transferred office it would be convenient to have the proper to it printed in the end of the Ordo. I have a French Ordo in which this is done. It would occupy only a few

pages and would obviate the necessity of carrying about more than one part of the Breviary.

“Whenever a new Mass or Office is ordered, it would be very desirable to find it printed in the Ordo of the subsequent year. We should then have it in due time; many of us now, through inadvertence or difficulty of getting it fail to obtain it for some years—most of us forget all about it the first year until reminded by the Ordo on the eve of the day—too late to procure it.

“It would be very useful to give each year in the Directory a summary of new Decrees or other such matters of practical importance. The I. E. RECORD, no doubt, supplies us with such information, but there it is scattered throughout many numbers and given *in extenso*. It would be well to have it summarised and all together each year—with references, *e.g.*, to the pages of the I. E. RECORD, where it could be studied at length by those with leisure. Thus public almanacks each year give a summary of Acts of Parliament.

“While making these suggestions, I agree with what has before been said by others, that the Ordo is entirely too bulky; but I think that many less useful matters might be omitted to make room for the above.—Yours truly,

“ M. O'D.”

DOCUMENTS.

PASTORAL ADDRESS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND, TO THE CLERGY, SECULAR AND REGULAR, AND THE LAITY OF THEIR FLOCKS.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

Assembled in Dublin for our Autumn Meeting, we feel bound, in the present critical condition of the country, not to separate without giving expression to the convictions which we unanimously entertain on certain subjects that now deeply interest our people. Our abiding solicitude for the spiritual and temporal well-being of our flocks urges us to address to them in this trying time a few words of heartfelt sympathy and salutary instruction.

First of all, we feel called upon to bear testimony to the seriousness of the calamity now impending. From close personal

observation, and from the trustworthy reports of those in daily contact with the people, we have ample evidence of a disastrous failure of the potato crop over large districts of the country. We feel it therefore an imperative duty to call upon the Government to take effective means, whilst there is yet time, to prevent the deplorable consequences that more especially in the poorer parts of the country, must inevitably follow from so large a failure of that crop on which the people mainly subsist.

We have seen with regret that attempts have been made to deny the seriousness of the impending danger. The history of former periods of distress in Ireland furnishes but too many examples of similar denials. That history also records the deplorable consequences of such denials in hindering the timely adoption of remedial measures by the Executive.

Most useful measures for the employment of the people, and for the permanent development of the resources of the country, have been clearly outlined by leading public men, and by representative bodies enjoying the confidence of the people. The means of averting, at all events, many of the worst consequences of the impending calamity are manifestly within reach. There can be no reason why the adoption of remedial measures should be delayed. We are the more urgent in pressing for the immediate employment of the poor at remunerative work from the sad experience we have had of the demoralising effect of wholesale eleemosynary relief.

We fully recognise the relief that may be afforded by means of the construction of Railways under the scheme already sanctioned by Parliament. But it is manifest that whatever benefit is to be derived from that scheme, as a remedial measure, must largely depend upon the provisions that may be made for the employment of as many as possible of the poor inhabitants of the districts through which the projected lines are to pass. It must also be kept in view that, outside the areas of projected railway extension, there are many other districts for which it is of no less urgent necessity to make provision. We must raise our voices in protest against the notion that adequate provision can be made for such districts by throwing the people upon Poor-law Relief.

Bearing upon this question of the impending distress, there is another point to which we must not omit to direct attention.

The crisis now before us is one that, if it be not effectively dealt with, must bring upon our people a disaster far-reaching in its fatal results, even in future years. It is, on this score, of obvious importance that measures should be taken to enable them to provide themselves for next season with potato seed less likely to be affected by disease.

Whilst we suggest these means of alleviating the distress of our suffering poor we should fail in our duty if we did not remind you, dearly beloved, that visitations such as that with which we are now threatened come from God, and that to Him above all we should have recourse for help. "Our God is our refuge and strength; a helper in troubles which have found us exceedingly." (Psalm xlv. 1.) "Arise, O Lord God, let Thy hand be exalted; forget not the poor." (Psalm ix. 12.)

Also, dearly beloved, we take this as a fitting occasion to discharge another duty of our pastoral office.

From some recent events, as well as from the comments of certain newspapers no less hostile to the faith than to the national aspirations of the Irish people, we find with regret that the attitude of the Bishops of Ireland on some important questions has been misrepresented and misunderstood. Moreover, certain undoubted principles of Catholic doctrine have frequently been called in question. We deem it our imperative duty, then, to reiterate the instruction already publicly given by us to our flocks with reference to these questions and these points of doctrine.

In that instruction, issued two years ago from a general meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in Dublin, we warned our people, as it was our duty to warn them, "against the use of any hasty or irreverent language with reference to the Sovereign Pontiff, or to any of the Sacred Congregations through which he usually issues his Decrees to the faithful." Furthermore, in obedience to the commands of the Holy See, and in willing discharge of the duty thus placed upon us, we put it on public record that the Decree of the Holy Office which had then recently been issued to the Irish Hierarchy had been issued in reference to the domain, not of politics, as such, but of morals alone. And we emphatically reminded our flocks that "on all questions appertaining to morals," as on those that appertain to faith, the Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on

earth, has "an inalienable and divine right to speak with authority."

This instruction of the assembled Bishops of Ireland was followed up by a statement from the Archbishop of Dublin, in which the scope and binding force of the Decree were most fully and most lucidly explained.

In that statement it was pointed out, first of all, that the Decree was "a decision strictly and exclusively on a question of morals;" that the point dealt with in it was as to the lawfulness, "the moral lawfulness," of employing, in the agrarian struggle described in the question, the methods of action known as the *Practice of Boycott and Boycotting*; and that the decision was in the negative; that is to say, "that in the struggle in question those methods of action could not lawfully be employed."

It was also pointed out by the Archbishop that whilst the matter so dealt with by the Sacred Congregation had, no doubt, a most important political aspect, "this aspect does not, and cannot, alter the essential character of the question itself."

This point was developed by his Grace as follows:—"Every question as to whether a particular action, or line of action, is morally right or morally wrong, is a question of morals. As such, it comes within the sphere of the authority of the Church. The action, or line of action, in question, may, if considered from a worldly point of view, be political, or social, or medical, or legal. But the question whether that action or line of action, is, or is not, in accordance with the principles of morality—that is to say, with the natural law—is not a question of political, or of social, or of medical, or of legal science. It is essentially and exclusively a question of morals."

Every such question, the Archbishop went on to explain, "is to be dealt with by that tribunal which is competent to deal with it on moral grounds." "Persons who are not Catholics have to examine such questions conscientiously for themselves, each man according to the lights of his own private judgment as to what is right or wrong. In matters not decided by the authority of the Church, Catholics are left free to do the same. But when such a question is decided by that authority, mere private judgment is called upon to give way.

When there is question of the moral lawfulness of an action, or line of action, which is productive, it may be, of some enormous

advantage—an advantage, for instance, in politics—the question of moral lawfulness manifestly stands altogether apart from the question of political utility.

“Those questions belong to different spheres. Politicians may deal with one. The Church deals with the other. The Church has no more to do with the political advantage or disadvantage of a given line of action than the constituencies, or the Houses of Parliament have to do with its morality. She deals with the moral aspect of the case, and with that only. Her decision may, of course, be set at naught, either by those who repudiate her authority, or by those who, without formally repudiating that authority, disregard it. The Church can only declare what is the moral law. She cannot always hinder men from breaking it.”

Similar expositions of the scope and authority of the Decree were given by other Bishops, as occasion required, in their respective dioceses.

In conclusion, we deem it our duty to express our deep sympathy with those unhappy tenants who, from various causes, have been evicted from their farms and their homes, and have been thus deprived of the means of procuring subsistence for themselves and their families.

Proposals designed to procure the restoration of these poor people to their homes have already been made in Parliament, and appear to have been favourably received in the most influential quarters. We earnestly hope that the wisdom of Parliament may be able to devise some means of effecting this most desirable object. It is indispensable for securing the peace of the country. For there can be no hope of peace or harmony in Ireland so long as these unhappy families are left thus homeless, and depending for their daily bread on the generosity of their fellow-countrymen.

Neither can we deem it consistent with justice or humanity that evictions should now be carried out, especially in the distressed districts, where, by a visitation of Providence, the poor tenants have become unable not only to pay any rents, but even to procure from the soil the absolute necessities of life.

For the rest, dearly beloved, let us unite in earnest prayer to the Almighty Ruler, by whom kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things. May He vouchsafe to grant to this long-troubled land the blessings of an abiding peace !

“Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord ; the people whom He hath chosen for His inheritance . . .

“The king is not saved by a great army, nor shall the giant be saved by his own great strength . . .

“Behold the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear Him : and on them that hope in His mercy.

“To deliver their souls from death : and feed them in famine . .

“Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon upon us, as we have hoped in Thee.” (Psalm xxxii. 12-22.)

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

✠ MICHAEL, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.

✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

✠ LAURENCE, Bishop of Elphin.

✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Meath.

✠ JAMES, Bishop of Clogher.

✠ JAMES, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

✠ FRANCIS, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.

✠ HUGH, Bishop of Killala.

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Cloyne.

✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Ross.

✠ BARTHOLOMEW, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacdonise.

✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.

✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.

✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.

✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Down and Connor.

✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.

✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.

✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.

✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Dromore

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Derry.

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Waterford.

✠ JOHN, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert.

✠ MICHAEL, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

✠ THOMAS, Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe.

✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canaan.

DUBLIN, 16th October, 1890,

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin
Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Maynooth College.

THE Rev. Professor Gilmartin has rendered a valuable service to the students of Church History by the publication of this volume. When completed the work will meet an urgent need, for although we have some useful popular Church histories in English, we have had no really scientific book treating of the general history of the Church from the pen of any Catholic writer in the English language. In Maynooth, itself, the authorised class-book is a rather bald and not very elegant translation of Dr. Alzog's German volumes. No doubt, it is a very learned work; but we think that its pages are rather overcrowded with names and dates; and, moreover, whilst treating fully of almost all those topics especially interesting to the German mind, the author either omits altogether or passes very lightly over several important questions, which are of great utility and interest for Irish students.

This first volume of Professor Gilmartin's *Manual* brings the history of the Church down to the pontificate of Gregory VII., so that a second volume on the same lines will complete the work. A book of this character, specially designed for the use of students, should, above all things, be clear and orderly. A wordy and confused narrative will always beget in the mind of the reader a confusion of thought similar to that from which it sprang in the mind of the writer. Now, lucid simplicity is certainly the most striking quality of Professor Gilmartin's style. No person will ever find it necessary to read a sentence a second time in order to catch its meaning. He never uses any useless or merely ornamental words in his perspicuous narrative. Strictly adhering to the synthetic method, which he has adopted, the professor groups his characters and events in their philosophic sequence, thus presenting to the mind a well-defined and striking outline of the subject of which he treats. The picture, however, is only in water-colours; no attempt is made at word-painting or character-sketching in life-coloured tints. This outline, however, is to be filled in by the professor in his lectures, or by the student in his private study. The special value of this work is

that the outline is traced with so much clearness and precision that even a man of sluggish mind need never lose his bearings in the great ocean of general Church history. How well the professor can unravel a tangled skein of history, in which facts, fiction, and dogma are closely interwoven, may be seen in his admirable sketch of the origin and development of Arianism.

Although the author goes over half the history of the Church in this first volume, he contrives to introduce almost everything of real importance, and furnishes many an excellent summary of the most complicated historical controversies. It has been said that a very learned member of the Maynooth staff once undertook to write a History of the Church, but that he never could get beyond the controversies surrounding the question of the exact year of the birth of Christ. Professor Gilmartin begins his history proper with this very question; and in four or five pages goes over the whole ground, and certainly puts all the elements for the solution of the problem in a clearer light than we have seen before.

In like manner the chapter on the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, at page 297, gives, in a brief space, a very complete account of the early history of the Irish Church. It is only those who are familiar with the history of those times, that can best realize what few things have been left unsaid by the learned professor. This chapter is followed by another, shorter but equally interesting, chapter on Columcille's apostolic labours in Scotland. Whoever compares Professor Gilmartin's narrative, so full and so accurate, with the meagre references to these important questions in Alzog's history will easily perceive how much more valuable, at least for Irish students, is the Manual of the Maynooth Professor.

We have some reason to know from experience how difficult it is to produce a first edition without typographical errors. Hence we are not surprised to find that there are some few slips of this kind in the present volume. But they are altogether unimportant; and we have no doubt the Professor will soon find an opportunity of correcting them in a second edition. This volume is so convenient, and so complete in every respect, that it is certain to have a large circulation not only amongst the students of Maynooth, but also amongst the students of other colleges as well as amongst the clergy generally.

Professor Gilmartin has not been installed many years in the important Chair of History in Maynooth, yet he has already

accomplished the first part of his laborious task by producing this excellent volume. He is still young in years, and vigorous in health, so that we have every reason to hope that Providence will spare him not only to complete this work, but also to give to the public the fruit of his mature studies in many special departments of ecclesiastical history. ❖ J. H.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS. By His Eminence Cardinal Moran.
Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

It is barely necessary for us to say a word in praise of these admirable lectures and papers just published by his Eminence Cardinal Moran; the name of their illustrious author will commend them to all Irishmen. Those who know the painstaking reputation of the Cardinal in matters of historical research and of religious polemics will feel perfectly safe in accepting the information with which these papers abound. They are, indeed, models of popular lectures, and we have only to mention some of the subjects treated in order to give an idea of their variety and utility. Chief amongst them are "The Church and Social Progress," "Julian the Apostate," "The Civilization of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman Invasion," "Joan of Arc," "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," "Religion in Education," "The Fruits of Self-Culture." We should wish to direct special attention to the last-mentioned of these papers, and to the large number of examples there quoted of men who by their own industry, intelligence, and perseverance rose from obscure origin and poor beginnings to the highest grades of honour and fame. In this interesting list we find the names of Pope Sixtus V., Cardinal Wolsey, Cardinal Mezzofanti; the painters Giotto, Claude Lorraine, Hogarth, Turner; the sculptors Canova and Benzoni; Haydn, the musician; George Kemp, the architect; Louis Veuillot, the journalist; the poets Shakespeare and Robert Burns; the astronomers Copernicus and Herschel; Cuvier, the naturalist; Faraday, the scientist; Charles Bianconi, of the Coaches; and finally, three examples are taken from Ireland itself: they are Eugene O'Curry, the archæologist; Father Burke, the great Dominican preacher; and the late Sir John O'Shannassy, prime minister of Victoria, who was born in the town of Tipperary. We trust that his Eminence may long be spared to continue the great traditions of apostolic Ireland, and, notwithstanding his many pastoral cares, to add still further, if possible, to the interesting and valuable collection of papers in this volume.

J. F. H.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LATIN LANGUAGE. By Maurice C. Ilime, M.A., LL.D. Dublin: Sullivan Brothers, Marlborough-street.

THIS being the *second* edition of a useful work not unknown to the comparatively large number of the readers of the I. E. RECORD, who are concerned directly or indirectly with the teaching of the ancient classics, it is utterly superfluous to specify minutely its acknowledged merits; while it would be manifestly unfair to cull out for animadversion, either from the re-written or newly-added sections, isolated expressions with which many teachers would undoubtedly not concur. To a trained eye a glance is enough to show that it is eminently practical, and that its author must be a man of ripe scholarship and of great experience in teaching. Indeed, his name is a sufficient passport for his book to the class-halls of many Irish and foreign grammar-schools. Hence, it is with unfeigned diffidence and reluctance that the present reviewer undertakes to give his own candid estimate of the work, cognisant as he is, moreover, of the vast diversity of academic training that best qualifies for the various university, professional, and other public examinations. Two things he can assert at once and unhesitatingly—that the work is a masterly and fairly exhaustive one, and that those who admired the first edition as entitled to supersede Roby, Kennedy, Madvig, Abbott, &c., cannot fail to welcome its successor as the *ne plus ultra* of book assistance to students in Latin Grammar and Composition.

For the interest of the general reader, it may be observed that the *Introduction to Latin*, in its present form, consists of two very unequally sized volumes; the first comprising the Accidence and Prosody, interlarded with numerous exercises, and containing 156 pages; and the second, mainly devoted to Syntax, extending over the balance of the total 778. The size and distinctness of type, and the quality of paper, are everything teacher or pupil could desire, while the binding and general appearance of the companion volumes claim for them a conspicuous place in any ordinary school library. Common justice demands that the author be credited with the most praiseworthy motives in stereotyping for his own boys, and still more so in presenting in a permanent form to the public, the elements that most signally contributed to his success, the matured results of his long experience, and his judicious garnerings from favourite

works. The twofold object he proposed to himself was to save time and to save money. Well, in the north-west of Ireland, few will believe that either time or money is the most pressing necessity for the vast majority of the Foyle College students. Hence the intended beneficiaries from the promised economy must have been those who had no strong claim on his literary bounty. Many, however, will be ungrateful enough not to believe with him that "boys will learn more Latin, and learn it, too, more soundly, in one year from this *Introduction* to the language than in two from any other grammar with which I am acquainted." The work contains an immense deal of accurate information; but it lacks attraction for the young pupil; it lacks method; it lacks brevity in the enunciation of rules; while it too strikingly exhibits the pet views and methods of its enterprising hard-working, scholarly author. He cannot resist the temptation to diverge in text or footnote wherever his personal predilections are even apparently or remotely contravened. "What virtue," he sapiently observes, "there is in such names as *hypothetical*, *conditional*, *consecutive*, and so forth, I have never been able to discover, either as boy or man." Yet, after all the worse than African darkness of classic literature has been eternally dissipated by his magic wand, he asks us to accept, as commonly understood, the terms "trajective," "predicative dative," "imparisyllabic," "locative case of time when," &c. He directs us to pronounce Latin words as we would English, and subsequently treats us to the famous "Syllabus," without offering a word of explanation in regard to the proper sound of *i*, *au*, &c.

His selection of Virgil, to illustrate the rules of Syntax, will be approved by the same circumscribed circle of personal admirers, who are likely to become ecstasied over his chapters on *Double Translation* and on *The Plot of the First Book of the Æneid*. In his *Hint to the Teacher*, at the conclusion of this latter deeply philosophical lucubration, which, by the way, extends over fifteen pages, half prose, half poetry, and written in Johnsonian style, he confidently asserts, that the "little boy," who has carefully read it, will find the *Æneid* a hundred times more intelligible than he would after poring over the ordinary prefaces. The "little boy," who would thoroughly understand the typical *résumé*, couched as it is in such grandiloquent diction, must be a veritable phenomenon.

It is only fair to give a specimen of the work under review,

selected at random, and accurately reproduced. Some of our readers might for the moment doubt the correctness, and still more of them might fail to see the consistency of the quantity-marks in the following words, all of which appear on page 43: — “*Dives, divitis, tērēs, terētis ; concors, concōrdis ; sollers, neut. plur. sollērtia,*” &c. E. M.

ST. JOSEPH'S MANUAL OF A HAPPY ETERNITY. By Father Sebastian, Passionist. Dublin: Duffy & Co.

MANY, especially the devout clients of St. Joseph, will be pleased to learn that Father Sebastian, Passionist, has published a new edition of his *Manual of a Happy Eternity*.

This is a prayer book and a good deal more. While supplying the ordinary prayer and exercises of piety found in the approved books of devotion, *St. Joseph's Manual of a Happy Eternity* takes the place also of an excellent book of meditation and spiritual reading. In the first part of the work there are nearly two hundred considerations on the great topics which engage attention during a Retreat, each of which may serve as a meditation and a spiritual instruction.

The *Manual* is already a favourite *code mecum* with the clients of St. Joseph, and we need only express our pleasure that the demand is such as to require the issue of a new edition.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY.

THIS admirable Society continues its life of useful activity. Month after month it is publishing excellent Catholic cheap literature. The field of its labours extends to books of devotion, history, biography, science, controversy—in fact to almost every department of literature.

In this month's bundle, just come to hand, we notice Cardinal Newman's eighth *Lecture on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (price 2d.); *The Temperance Movement*, by Canon Murnane; *Thrift*, by Rev. Edward Nolan (price 1d.); *Church Defence*, containing three essays (price 1d.); and a handsome volume containing all the papers read at the recent Catholic Conference held in Birmingham.

The priest who helps to make the literature of the Catholic Truth Society known in his parish will be doing much for the religious and intellectual progress of his people.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1890.

PROFESSOR STOKES ON THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

THE announcement, a few years ago, that Professor Stokes was about to publish Lectures on Irish Ecclesiastical History was gladly welcomed by Irish scholars. A great deal was expected from him. His character is high; his opportunities singularly favourable. He has under his own control, or within easy reach, some of the most rare and precious documents that bear upon the early Christian history of Ireland, and his position as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in a richly-endowed university, fully warranted the belief that now, at least, new light would be cast on many obscure parts of our history, and a scholarly, impartial judgment passed on our history as a whole. Whatever may have been the feeling within Trinity College, this feeling was very general without. Well, two handsome volumes of Dr. Stokes' promised work have appeared. They comprise a number of lectures delivered to the clerical aspirants in Trinity College. The type, paper, and general appearance of the volumes are excellent. The style is simple and pleasing. The tone is decidedly better than we are accustomed to in Protestant historians. No "Papist," no "Romish," none of the rusty terms in which vulgar Protestantism was wont to give expression to its hatred of the Catholic Church can be found in Dr. Stokes' book. He is too much of a gentleman to soil his pen or his pages with

vulgarisms of that class. He speaks highly of the zeal and learning of some of our early Irish saints, of the efficiency and worth of some of our early Irish schools. He extols the work done by our early Irish missionaries in converting the heathen. He admits, what, indeed, no one who has seen the *Tain Brouch* or *The Book of Kells* can deny, that Irish artists, both in design and execution, were among the first of their day. But with all this, the work is, as even a cursory reader can see, a failure; and those who expected great things from Dr. Stokes are doomed to disappointment. No new fact in our history is brought to light; no new light is let in on any of the known facts of our history in these two volumes. The dissertations read more like instructions given to "Junior Grade" boys than like lectures addressed to educated young men, who in a year or two are to be the lights of Irish Protestantism. If these lectures be a fair measure of the knowledge of Irish ecclesiastical history acquired by clerical students in Trinity College, there certainly is ample room for improvement.

The picture of Irish Christianity given by Dr. Stokes is a very unsightly one, indeed. His saints are well-meaning, but very often eccentric and erratic individuals, in whom we look in vain for those supernatural virtues, that angelic purity, that heroic zeal, that spirit of self-denial, and that intense love of God, and childlike submission to His will, which go to make up the Catholic idea of a saint. Instead of Christian schools and scholars, instead of churches filled with pious worshippers, a land illumined by the light of faith, we are rather shown a battle-ground, in which all the worst of human passions revel without restraint, in which crimes that would disgrace paganism are the order of the day. In speaking of St. Columba's time, which he says is "the golden age" of Ireland's history, Dr. Stokes thus describes the influence of Christianity on our forefathers:—

"Christianity, indeed, had spread itself through Ireland, but it was as yet only a thin veneer over the Celtic nature, rash, hot, passionate, revengeful. It had, indeed, conquered some of the grosser vices, and made them disgraceful. It had elevated somewhat the tone of morals, but it had scarce touched the fiery

unforgiving spirit which lay beneath, and still exhibits itself in the fierce and prolonged faction-fights in Limerick and Tipperary. In the sixth century the tribal organization of the Irish people intensified this spirit. The very women, and monks, and clergy yielded themselves up to its fascination. Just as in the days of the *Land League*, and of the tithe agitation, and of the Belfast riots, and at many an election contest in bygone times, the women were the fiercest combatants, so in the sixth century the women went to battle as regularly as the men. . . . But we cannot wonder at the weaker sex going to battle when their spiritual guides set them the example. . . . When left to themselves the monasteries often diversified the monotony of their existence by a vigorous fight." (*Celtic Church*, pages 108, 109.)

Indeed, if we are to believe Dr. Stokes, Ireland enjoyed a bad prominence among the nations in the *eighth century*. Though he says that the eighth century is "unmarked and almost unknown," yet he knows this of it, that

"The man who plundered another's cattle last night, would meet the plundered person at a fair to-day, and joke, and gamble, and drink with him, though quite ready to cut his throat, rather than surrender the cattle to the lawful owner. . . . Ireland gets credit for lightly estimating human life at the close of the nineteenth century. If so, she learned her lesson ages ago. The agrarian murders, and the savage faction-fights we sometimes hear of, and so graphically pictured by Carleton [a very high authority], are only survivals of ancient customs, proving how hard it is with nations, as with men, to eradicate a hereditary taint." (*Celtic Church*, pages 198, 200.)

There are many other such passages which go to show that Professor Stokes was actually thinking of current events, whilst lecturing on times and events long gone by. Of Caelestius, the friend of Pelagius, he says:—"He had developed even in that early age a *true Irish* faculty for agitation" (page 21), which "shows us that the *national character* and national tendencies were much the same in the fourth and fifth as in the nineteenth centuries." (Page 23.) In speaking of the followers of Earl Haco, he says:—"They were, indeed, nominal Christians, but their Christianity had as little moral power over them . . . as that of a Connaught or Italian bandit of our own time, who says his prayers most devoutly before he shoots his victim." (Page 274.) Thus we have the old story of the Irishman "voting agin the

government," and shouting for the "ould stock." And we are assured

"The long nights are famous in the annals of modern Irish disturbances for many a sad tale of assassination and bloodshed. . . . If a party of moonlighters wish to attack a house twenty or thirty miles distant, a good road serves their purpose, as well as that of the merchant or honest labourer." (*Anglo-Norman Church*, page 66)

And he tells us of a "murderer who was thin and active as a greyhound, escaped all pursuit, and like many a similar offender since, was hailed as a champion of independence by his countrymen." (Page 169.) In thus introducing the politics of the nineteenth century to illustrate the religion of the fifth, Dr. Stokes degrades history, and disqualifies himself as an Irish Ecclesiastical historian. And this is all the more surprising in one who promulgates his own impartiality in those lofty, high-sounding words: "In this chair I know no politics and hope to pander to no prejudices." (*Anglo-Norman Church*, page 9.) Perhaps it was his peculiar circumstances that led the professor to forget in practice this principle so excellent in theory. He says:—

"As Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, I am bound to lecture twice a week, during two terms of the academic year, but no one is obliged to attend my classes. If I wish, therefore, to have an audience I must attract one." (*Celtic Church*, Preface, page i.)

Probably it was to "attract" an audience that Professor Stokes indulged in would-be witticisms and in pointed political allusions. No doubt young Trinity men would enjoy such remarks. Some of them may be even so profane as to smile when they hear their Professor of Ecclesiastical History accounting for one of St. Patrick's visions as follows:—

"Evidently the poor man's digestion was out of order, or he had eaten too much, and was in some such state as Luther when he flung his ink-bottle at the devil, who was making faces at him across the table." (*Celtic Church*, page 90.)

However desirable it may be to "attract" an audience, to do so by lowering one's subject and one's self is too high

a price to pay. Better far that "his lecture-room should be a howling wilderness, and he himself the voice of one crying therein" (*Anglo-Norman Church*, Preface, page vii.) than that his "young University audience," attracted in such a fashion, should carry away from his lecture-room the idea that Irish ecclesiastical history is a thing to be laughed at—not to be learned.

From the writer of such passages as those quoted it would be vain to expect anything like a worthy treatment of our ancient ecclesiastical history. Clearly he is not in a proper state of mind for such a work. While delivering his lectures he was a martyr to circumstances, the slave of his audience; and in publishing them to the world, he is still under the yoke. Another serious difficulty also stands in his way. He says, "I am no profound Irish or Celtic scholar, qualified to deal with the recondite mysteries of ancient dialects, or well-nigh illegible manuscripts." (*Celtic Church*, page 1.) But his vindication is that "the most diligent student of Celtic annals or Celtic philology would not necessarily be the most competent historian of the Celtic Church;" for he may "yet be wholly wanting in that broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history which sheds light on many a perplexing passage." (Page 2.) Quite true. A man may be a good Celtic scholar, and yet a very unreliable historian of the Celtic Church, and Trinity College affords us some examples. But it is unquestionably true that to be a good historian of the Celtic Church one must be a Celtic scholar. That "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" (the possession of which Professor Stokes so confidently assumes) is, no doubt, necessary; but so, too, is a knowledge of the language and literature in which those "perplexing passages" are written necessary to shed light upon them.

Professor Stokes tells us that he has "endeavoured to avoid controversy as far as possible:" and he is entitled to credit for his good intentions. Nevertheless, his version of our ancient ecclesiastical history is the old, old story, the eternal ding-dong of Protestant historians; told, it is true, less offensively than it used to be, but still in substance the

same. St. Patrick had no commission from, no connection with Rome. And even though he had, yet the Irish Church would be, as it actually was, we are told, independent of Rome—Protestant, in fact, from its cradle. And this view is proved, strangely enough, by the utter absence of all proof. This Irish Protestant Church maintained its independence for some centuries, as is shown by certain discrepancies in matters of discipline between it and the Church of Rome. But Roman influence, stealthily introduced, gradually extended, and became stronger with time, until the coming of the English, when the invaders completely enslaved and Romanised the Irish Church. This theory is the groundwork of Professor Stokes' two professedly uncontroversial volumes. The present writer has no intention of following the professor through all the *disjecta membra* which make up these volumes. His aim is to examine the theory stated above. It is an old theory, often stated, and as often refuted, and the present writer's intention is to see whether it derives any stability from the advocacy of Professor Stokes.

The ancient Lives of St. Patrick all assert, or imply, that he had a *mission* from Rome. The Scholiast on Fiac's Hymn, *The Annulations of Tírechán, The Leabar Breac, The Canons and Dicta*, and other documents in *The Book of Armagh*, as well as *The Tripartite* and *Lives*, given by Colgan, all affirm the Roman mission of St. Patrick. Dr. Stokes admits that "documents and traditions which date from the seventh century appear more or less to favour such a view." (*Celtic Church*, page 47.) But the *Lives*, and documents, and traditions, are easily disposed of by the professor. He has a "canon of criticism" of universal application which puts them quite out of court. He says:—

"There is one test for such documents which admits of easy application in this case. In studying the acts of martyrs and saints, one universal canon of criticism is this—the more genuine and primitive the document, the more simple and natural, and above all, the less miraculous; the later the document, the more of legend and miracle is introduced." (*Celtic Church*, page 31.)

He then proceeds to give some instances of the applica-

tion of his "canon," and concludes that, "valuable as these lives may be for folk-lore, they have no claim whatsoever to the position of real historical records." (Page 35.) By the aid of this "canon" most of the ancient documents referring to St. Patrick are set aside as untrustworthy. The hymns of Fiac and St. Secundinus, as well as the Tripartite, are set aside because "they simply teem with miracles." It is not easy to see how far Professor Stokes is prepared to carry his dislike of miracles. His language seems to exclude them altogether from the region of the credible; the more of miracle the less of truth, is clearly the meaning of his "canon;" and he seems to carry the "canon" to its logical consequence when he says that "the writings of St. Patrick himself contain no miraculous stories: they are simple and natural histories." (Page 32.) And for that reason he takes them with the collection in *The Book of Armagh*, as "the only documents upon which we can rely as historical materials for the life of St. Patrick." (Page 30.) Now if this "canon" be "universal" will Professor Stokes apply it to the books of Josue and Exodus, or to the Acts of the Apostles? Is he prepared for the logical consequences of his headlong dogmatism? The fact is, that he has scarcely announced his "universal canon" when he quite abandons it. After stating (page 32) that "the hymns of Fiac and Secundinus teem with miracles," and are therefore excluded from the list of real historical documents, he says at (page 35): "Let us, however, take the writings of St. Patrick himself . . . with the hymns of SS. Fiac and Secundinus as our guides to investigate the personal history of our national saint." What! use as *guides*, documents that he himself by his "canon" has rejected as untrustworthy! And he does use freely in his sketch of St. Patrick, those very documents which he has so unsparingly condemned. Beautifully consistent! But let us apply the "canon" even to St. Patrick's *Confession*. Dr. Stokes says it contains no miraculous stories, they are simple and natural histories. Well, in the *Confession* St. Patrick says that one night in his sleep he heard a voice saying "thou shalt soon go to thy country." And again: "behold, thy ship is ready," and the ship was two hundred

into the same space so many illogical blunders, so many distortions of the plain facts of history. He admits that "documents and traditions which date from the seventh century appear more or less to favour such a view." (Page 48.) He might have said, and he should have said, if he were candid, that such "documents and traditions" positively affirm the *Roman mission*. The writers of such documents put on record a tradition which they found existing among the faithful in Ireland at that time. Now, when did that tradition originate? Dr. Stokes himself tells us, truly, that the Irish are very tenacious of their traditions:—

"Indeed, the more you investigate the more will you be struck with the firm tenacious grasp tradition, traditional scenes, traditional history, . . . take of the popular mind. . . . *In the course of my investigations for these lectures I have been greatly struck by the perpetuity and accuracy of Irish traditions.*" (Page 57.)

Now, amongst the Irish traditions, those that concerned St. Patrick must be reckoned the most cherished and important; and therefore the least likely to be forgotten, or to be altered without protest. And on the theory held by Dr. Stokes, St. Patrick, at the close of the fifth century, must have left to his Irish children a tradition that neither he nor they had any connection with Rome. Now with a people remarkable for "the perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, it is not too much to say that this tradition of *independence*, if it existed at the close of the fifth, must have endured far into the sixth century. And yet in the *next century* we find this tradition has disappeared, and its direct contradictory is held with proverbial Irish tenacity! That is, a people remarkable for the "perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, forget the most cherished and venerable of them all, and embrace its contradictory in the lifetime of one generation. They are known to have clung tenaciously to traditions of minor importance for more than a thousand years (page 58), and yet the most cherished of all their traditions vanishes in little more than half a century! This is an extraordinary phenomenon which Dr. Stokes presents to us in his anxiety to disprove the *Roman mission*

of St. Patrick. It is really so extraordinary that it calls imperatively for the application of his own celebrated "canon of criticism." According to Professor Stokes the same Irish documents are historical and unhistorical, reliable and unreliable, and the same Irish people are remarkable for the "perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, and at the same time the most fickle-minded people known to history! And into this dilemma is he forced by his denial that the tradition of *St. Patrick's Roman mission*, certainly existing in the seventh century, did not come down from the saint's own time. The history of the Paschal controversy—a mere matter of discipline—shows us the spirit in which early Irish Christians would have met any attempt to force on them a doctrine repudiated by their great apostle. And the universal uncontradicted tradition confessedly existing in the seventh century is a conclusive proof that the truths involved in that tradition, the Roman primacy and the Roman mission of St. Patrick, were part of the inheritance left to his spiritual children by St. Patrick himself little more than a century before.

If "documents and traditions," dating "from the seventh century," denying the Roman primacy and Roman mission of St. Patrick could be produced by Professor Stokes, what use would he make of them? No doubt he would proclaim that the controversy was set at rest; that a whole host of writers reaching back to within a century and a-half of St. Patrick's own time explicitly repudiated both the doctrine and the fact; and that such evidence was conclusive. He would appeal, and rightly, to the "perpetuity and accuracy" of Irish traditions, to the proverbial tenacity with which we cling to such traditions, to show that this special one must have come down unaltered from St. Patrick's own time. This argument he would insist on, if the evidence afforded by seventh-century documents had been favourable to his cherished theory; and this argument he must admit now that the evidence of such documents is fatal to his theory.

Mr. Whitley Stokes has had all the evidence bearing on this point before him, and it has been his duty to consider it carefully, while preparing his splendid edition of the *Tripartite*

Life, and other Patrician documents, recently published by him under the direction of the English Master of the Rolls. He is a man of varied and extensive learning, and a distinguished Celtic scholar. He is, therefore, better able to form an opinion on this point than our Trinity College professor. And his verdict, given at page cxxxv. of his Introduction, is this:—

“He [St. Patrick] had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees (in pages 356, 506, *infra*) that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See.”

He then gives a long extract from Probas, and comments on it thus:—

“The kernel of fact in this story seems to be that St. Patrick returned to Ireland on or soon after his ordination as priest (say in A.D. 397), and without any commission from Rome; that he laboured for thirty years in converting the pagan Irish, but met with little or no success; that he attributed his failure to the want of episcopal consecration, and Roman authority; that, in order to have these defects supplied, he went back to Gaul (say in A.D. 427) intending ultimately to proceed to Rome; that he spent some time in study with Germanus of Auxerre; that hearing of the failure and death of Palladius, who had been sent on a mission to Ireland by Pope Celestinus, in A.D. 431, he was directed by Germanus to take, at once, the place of the deceased missionary; that Patrick thereupon relinquished his journey to Rome, received episcopal consecration from a Gaulish bishop, Matorix, and returned a second time to Ireland, about the year 432, when he was sixty years old, as a missionary from the Gaulish Church, and supplied with Gaulish assistants, and funds for his mission.” (Page cxli.)

Now, even this, though Dr. Whitley Stokes may not be aware of it, is all that is necessary to establish the *Roman mission* of St. Patrick on Catholic principles. For the “Gaulish Church” was then, as now, a loyal, faithful daughter of the Church of Rome, with Germanus as Papal legate, whose commission to St. Patrick would be a commission from Rome.

But it is when arguing against the primacy and Roman mission, that Professor Stokes’ logical acumen and “broad

knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" become conspicuous. He says St. Patrick's own language appears inconsistent with it. No doubt the professor is alluding to the silence of St. Patrick in his *Confession* and *Letters to Caroticus*. But his language is grossly misleading. His words would convey to his hearers the idea that St. Patrick *said* something that "appears inconsistent" with his having a Roman mission. But St. Patrick has said nothing to justify any such inference. The professor speaks of St. Patrick's "language;" that is, something that *the saint said*; but he means St. Patrick's silence; that is, something which *the saint did not say*; and this thing which the saint *did not say*, he calls his "language;" and on this imaginary basis he builds an argument against the *Roman mission*! Professor Stokes is either very illogical or very uncandid here. And what, after all, is the value of this argument from silence? It is worthless, as the professor himself tells us in his article on "St. Patrick," in *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "*The argument from silence is notoriously an unsafe one, there are so many reasons which may lead a writer to pass over even a burning topic in his day.*" Dr. Gargan, Vice-President of Maynooth College, in his reply to Dr. Todd, has effectually disposed of this argument from silence. He has shown in a manner that cannot be improved upon, that there was no call for any reference to his Roman mission in such of St. Patrick's writings as we possess. The *Confession* was written when St. Patrick's extraordinary career was drawing to its close, when the "blessed vision of peace" was already opening to him. In every line it breathes the spirit of the saint. In it he extols the work of God's grace in his own soul, as St. Paul and St. Augustine did before him. He extols the mercy of God in accomplishing so great a work through one so ignorant and so unworthy as he was. From first to last it is one grand act of humility, which no one can read without a feeling of reverence and admiration for its saintly author. With perfect truth does Father Morris say in his beautiful *Life of St. Patrick*:—

"The man who, coming to Ireland in his old age, turned the current of her national life, and in the evening of his days

converted a nation of warriors into a nation of saints, carrying men with him, not by flattering, but by extinguishing their passions; who, looking back on his work, at the end of his life, saw nothing of his own in it; so that, dazzled by the light and oppressed by the mystery, he was fain to cry out: 'Who am I, or what is my prayer, oh! Lord, who hast laid bare to me so much of Thy Divinity?'—such an one is the master, not the subject of reason." (Page 14.)

Professor Stokes says that persons "who read history through the spectacles of the nineteenth century" fancy that the Pope had in the fifth century the same authority as he has now. Not so, however, we are assured. He then gives some instances, which shall be considered later on, and which are supposed to disprove Papal supremacy in the fifth century, and he concludes his reference to the question by saying that after all it matters nothing whether St. Patrick had or had not a commission from Rome, inasmuch as such commission would be no proof of dependence of the Irish Church on the Roman. And to those who venture to hold the contrary, he says:—"A parallel instance is a sufficient reply. Everyone admits that the first bishop who ministered in the United States derived his orders from the Church of Scotland. Does that fact imply the supremacy of the Scotch bishops over the American Church?" (Page 51.) The Professor has not given sufficient consideration to his parallel. He must find a Scotch Protestant Pope, claiming and exercising universal jurisdiction, and having his claim recognised throughout Christendom. This is all that is required to complete his parallel, and little as it is, it will tax the professor's ingenuity for some time yet.

Professor Stokes says that "at the beginning of the fifth century . . . the Pope neither exercised the control, nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." (Page 49.) It is, of course, his "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history," that makes the Professor so confident. He gives no authority for his statements, satisfied, of course, that he is himself an authority above suspicion. But let us see: At the beginning of the fifth century Innocent I. was Pope. He was elected in A.D. 402, and in February 15th, A.D. 404, he addressed a letter of advice and direction to Victorius,

Bishop of Rouen. The Pope lays down salutary rules to regulate the conduct of the clergy, both of the higher and lower orders. He says that disputes amongst them are to be settled by a council of provincial bishops, "without prejudice, however, to the Roman Church, to which in all causes due regard must be shown." The following year he wrote to the Spanish bishops a long letter calling on them to correct certain abuses that existed in their dioceses, directing them to examine certain charges made against some of their body, and laying down rules which they were to follow in selecting candidates for Holy Orders. In A.D. 414, he wrote to the bishops of Macedonia, urging on them certain disciplinary reforms which he found to be necessary for them. Again, in A.D. 415, he wrote to Alexander, Bishop of Antioch, explaining to him the rank and dignity of his See, and the extent of his jurisdiction. He directs him as to how he is to act towards certain Arian priests, and he directs him also to make this letter known to the bishops of his province, either by holding a synod, or by sending an authenticated copy of it to each bishop. Again, in A.D. 416, he wrote to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, a letter which Professor Stokes should have read before he undertook so confidently to decide the question of St. Patrick's Roman mission. After referring to certain corruptions of the Liturgy, which the Pope prohibited as tending to scandalize the faithful, he says:—

"For who does not know, that what was first given to the Roman Church by Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is still held by her, ought to be observed by all; and that nothing should be introduced without authority, nor the example of any others followed, especially since *it is well known* that no one has founded Churches throughout Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the Islands lying between, except those whom the venerable Apostle Peter or his successors made priests?"

In the same year the Councils of Carthage and Milevis addressed letters to Pope Innocent, requesting him to confirm this condemnation of Pelagius, and his heresy. Both letters appeal to the Pope, in virtue of his Apostolic authority, to anathematize the heresy and its authors. The replies to both letters would be unpleasant reading for Professor Stokes

though a perusal of them would have saved him from his childish blundering about the authority of the Pope in the fifth century. In both letters the Pope extols the zeal of the Fathers, and their fidelity to the tradition of the Church, according to which "whatever is decreed in the remote provinces is not considered final until the Apostolic See is consulted, and its judgment given, so that all may be guided by its decision." It was on the receipt of this reply that St. Augustine said: "*Causa finita est, utinam finiatur aliquando error.*" Here then we have the Pope who ruled the Church at the beginning of the fifth century exercising his authority in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Greece, in Africa, in Asia; and we find the bishops of these countries not resisting his authority, nor merely submitting in silence, but actually calling for the exercise of that authority. And yet Professor Stokes tells us, that at that precise time the Pope had no such authority at all. Evidently his "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" has not descended to such minute details. Pope Innocent was succeeded by Zozimus, March 18th, 417. Celestius, the friend and colleague of Pelagius, appealed to the new Pope against the sentence pronounced on him by the African bishops, and, by feigned professions of orthodoxy, led the Pope to believe that he was unjustly condemned. Zozimus wrote to the African bishops informing them that, unless within two months they would send his accusers to confront Celestius, he himself would annul their sentence against him. And he commanded them, in virtue of the authority of the Apostolic See, to obey. And they did obey, inasmuch as they took immediate steps to inform the Pope as to the real character of Celestius and Pelagius, whereupon the Pope immediately confirmed the condemnation of the heretics. In another letter of this same Pope we find a most remarkable assertion of Papal authority. Hesychius, of Salona, an African bishop asked him for authoritative instruction (*preceptum apostolicæ sedis*) as to how he should deal with certain refractory monks in his diocese, who were aspiring to dignities of which they were unworthy. The Pope, in his reply, says that he had to deal with like irregularities in France and Spain, and as he

had already given to the bishops of these countries, so now does he give to him in Africa, ample instruction and authority to deal with the delinquents; and he concludes as follows:—
 “Therefore if there be anything wanting to your authority, we hereby supply it; resist such ordinations; resist pride, and arrogance. On your side are the precepts of the Fathers; on your side is the authority of the Apostolic See.” Surely this is a very decided exercise of Papal authority at a time when Dr. Stokes says the Popes exercised no such authority at all.

The next Pope of the fifth century was Boniface I. He became Pope in A.D. 418, and he certainly yields to none of his predecessors in the emphatic assertion and vindication of his authority. Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, had been appointed to that See by Innocent I., and was made Vicar-Apostolic for the greater part of Greece. Boniface wrote to him to confirm him in his authority, explained to him the nature of his powers and his duties, and exhorted him to continue fearlessly to discharge these duties. On learning from his Vicar that certain irregularities existed in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Achaia, Boniface wrote to the bishops of these provinces complaining of the gross neglect of ecclesiastical discipline. He lays down for them in the clearest possible way the authority of the Apostolic See, from which there is no appeal (*de cujus judicio non licet retractari*). He reminds them that St. John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Flavian, and others, sought and obtained the protection of the Holy See. He cautions a certain number of them, by name, that if they continue their violations of the canons he will exercise his authority over them. He tells them that he has given to Rufus, his delegate, full authority to judge their causes, and he *warns* and *commands* them to obey. Here, again, is a very decided exercise of authority in the fifth century.

Next comes Pope Celestine, who sent St. Patrick to Ireland, and to whom, therefore, Dr. Stokes' negation of authority must be taken as especially applying. Celestine became Pope in A.D. 422. He had been a deacon, and favourite of Innocent I., and may, therefore, be presumed to

have imbibed his patron's spirit. In the very year of his accession St. Augustine wrote to congratulate him, and also to call his attention to the case of Antony, Bishop of Fussala, in Numidia, who had been deposed for his crimes by a synod of African bishops, and had appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine requests the Pope to dismiss the appeal and sustain the action of the bishops, and the Pope did so. Such a recognition of Papal authority, coming from St. Augustine, is specially significant for reasons that shall appear later on. Again, certain troubles arose among the bishops of Illyria and Thessaly, and the Pope ordered them to submit their disputes to his delegate, Rufus of Thessalonica. In A.D. 428 he wrote to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, in France, correcting abuses that existed amongst them. He sent St. Germain of Auxerre as his legate (*vice sua*) into England, as Prosper tells us in his chronicle. And Prosper's evidence is conclusive, for he was at Gaul at the time, and was in Rome shortly after as Papal secretary. He sent Palladius to Ireland, and this fact would make it probable that he sent St. Patrick, too, when the account of the death of Palladius reached him. In A.D. 430 he made St. Cyril of Alexandria his legate to deal with Nestorius, and authorised him to excommunicate and depose that heresiarch, unless *within ten days* he would recant and condemn his errors. And to Nestorius himself he wrote to the same effect. He also wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, warning them against the teachings of Nestorius, and annulling the censures which the arch-heretic had fulminated against so many of his people. Finally, he confirmed the decrees of the Council of Ephesus, and confirmed the appointment of Maximian to the See from which Nestorius had been degraded. Here, again, is the most decided exercise of Pontifical authority at the beginning of the fifth century.

Such has been the mode of action of the Popes who ruled the Church in the early part of the fifth century. They have been selected because they fill up the period of which Dr. Stokes says, "The Pope then neither exercised the control nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." The facts and extracts given above are all taken directly from

the Papal letters in the Benedictine collection of Coustant, published in A.D. 1721, which Dr. Stokes could have seen for himself, and which he should have examined carefully if he were as solicitous for historical truth as he was to "attract" an audience. Instead, however, of seeking information at its source, he shuts his eyes to the plainest facts of history, poisons the minds of his hearers by a false version of the history of an important period, and exposes himself to the ridicule of every scholar by the reckless statements he has made. "Broad knowledge" may escape exposure in a lecture-hall, with a sympathetic audience, but when the lecturer addresses the general public in a book, even common sense would suggest the necessity of caution. During the period in question the Popes acted, as they acted previously, and have been acting ever since. They appointed and deposed bishops: they confirmed or annulled the decrees of synods and councils; they received and decided appeals in every country without distinction; they condemned abuses, censured and punished delinquents, and insisted on the observance of ecclesiastical discipline in its most minute details. These are stubborn facts for Dr. Stokes, and they prove indisputably that when St. Patrick came to Ireland, "at the beginning of the fifth century," *the Pope did exercise the control, and did receive the reverence afterwards accorded to him.*

In support of his views of Papal authority Dr. Stokes makes one apparently very strong statement, which merits special consideration. It is this: "The bishops of the province of North Africa flouted the claim of the same Pope Celestine, who is said to have sent St. Patrick, when he attempted to exercise supremacy over the province of Africa." (Page 49.) No doubt he refers to the celebrated appeal of Aparius, and to the alleged action of the African bishops with reference to it. About A.D. 416, it is said that Urban, Bishop of Sicca, an African diocese, suspended Aparius, one of his priests, who seems to have richly deserved the punishment. Aparius went to Rome and appealed to Pope Zozimus, who restored him to communion and excommunicated his bishop for his tyrannical and vindictive action. The Pope, who was completely deceived

by Apiarius, sent legates to Carthage to enforce his decision. In A.D. 418, the matter was discussed at the Council of Carthage, in presence of the legates. The Pope grounded his action, it is said, on the canons of Sardica, which he erroneously attributed to the Council of Nicea. The African bishops, we are told, knew nothing of the Council of Sardica, and saw no such legislation in the canons of Nicea. They accordingly stated that it was against the custom of Africa for priests to appeal to any tribunal outside their own province; but, in deference to the Pope, they would take the law as stated by him, until they would examine whether in reality the Nicene Council had made such a law. Apiarius was restored, but sent to another diocese, and his bishop submitted to the demands of the Pope. The case remained practically in this state till the accession of Pope Celestine. The African bishops had in the meantime procured authentic copies of the decrees of Nicea from the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch, and found no trace of the law stated by the Pope. The Pope too, we are told, got similar copies, and still held on to his own view. Apiarius was again suspended, and again appealed, this time to Pope Celestine, who sent Faustinus his legate with two Roman priests to judge the case with the African bishops at Carthage. The legate exasperated the African bishop by his overbearing conduct, and by seeking to shield Apiarius, even after he had confessed his guilt. And the bishops then wrote to Pope Celestine the letter on which Dr. Stokes basis his statement. They told the Pope that, on his own confession, Apiarius was unfit to exercise priestly functions. They requested the Pope not to accept so readily the statements of such men. They said that such appeals were an infringement on the rights of their province, and that there was nothing in the canons of Nicea to warrant the authority which the Pope claimed; they then requested him to withdraw Faustinus, and not to send such a judge into their province again. This is an abstract of this strange case, as it is usually given. Let us test its force in favour of the contention of Dr. Stokes.

Now, as he has that "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history," he must be aware that some very

learned men have regarded this whole story as a clumsy concoction. And, no doubt, it is weighed down by a load of improbabilities. The African bishops are supposed to be entirely ignorant of the decrees of Sardica, a celebrated Council held some fifty years before. The Pope is supposed to be equally ignorant of Nicea and Sardica, for he confounds both, and his ignorance continues, even after official delegates had brought from Antioch and Alexandria authentic copies of the decrees of Nicea, which he was able to compare with an equally genuine copy in his own possession. This ignorance seems to be incredible, whether we consider the character of the bishops or of the Pope in question.

Again, the case of Apiarius began in A.D. 416, and the controversy was at its height in A.D. 418. Now we have three letters of Zozimus (the Pope who is supposed to have originated this quarrel) addressed to the African bishops—two in A.D. 417 and one in A.D. 418. In these letters he insists on his authority to deal with Celestius, excommunicated by the African bishops. They do not deny his right to receive the appeal; they merely argue that he has been deceived. And in these three long letters there is not one word to indicate that another appeal, a source of equally bitter controversy, was pending just then.

Again, at the very time this extraordinary letter of the bishops is said to have been written, St. Augustine wrote the letter already mentioned about Antony, Bishop of Fussala, who was deposed, and had appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine requests the Pope to confirm the deposition, and the Pope complied. In this letter there is no reference to the alleged extraordinary letter of his brother bishops, nor to the bitter controversy about Apiarius, which must have been at that precise time a source of universal excitement in the African Church. In any of St. Augustine's voluminous works there is no reference to this extraordinary case. And St. Augustine's silence is the more remarkable, because he speaks of Urban of Sicca (the bishop who suspended Apiarius) in language which indicates that they were friends. And in any of St. Celestine's letters there is no reference whatever to this case. This "cold chain of silence" is more

than remarkable. It goes far to brand the case of Apiarius as a forgery pure and simple. But even admitting the ordinary version of this case, it affords no grounds whatever for saying that the authority of the Pope was not admitted in Africa at that time. Before the case of Apiarius was ever heard of, the Pope restored Athanasius to his See. Zozimus, a few years previously, accepted the appeal of Celestius, and the African bishops did not dispute his right to do so. While the case of Apiarius was pending, Antony of Fussala appealed, and his appeal was dismissed at the request of St. Augustine, and the bishops of Africa did not dispute the right or question the decision. And after the alleged letter of the bishops, appeals from Africa were received and decided as before, as we see from the appeal of Lupicinus to Leo the Great, A.D. 446.

Thus then, *before, during, and after* the alleged case of Apiarius, Papal authority was invoked, exercised, and obeyed in Africa, and that with the full knowledge and consent of those very bishops who are said to have addressed this impertinent letter to Pope Celestine. By their own acts they admit what their words seem to deny. They seem to have written this letter (if they wrote it at all) under a feeling of exasperation, caused by what seems to be a fact, that the appeal of Apiarius was received at Rome without due consideration, and decided without due investigation. But an inherent right is not lost by the impudent exercise of it. And, however loudly they proclaim their independence in this letter, their own acts show that they did not mean what they said. The case of Apiarius, then, if it ever occurred at all, is an argument against the consistency and good temper of a number of African bishops; but it is no argument at all against the authority of the Pope at the time. It is a curious commentary on Dr. Stokes' boasted impartiality that he should pass over all the acts of Pope Celestius which demonstrate his primacy, and only record a solitary act which seems to tell against it. However, he is quite welcome to all the aid derivable from the case of Apiarius.

Readers of ecclesiastical history will, no doubt, be surprised to hear St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose set up as witnesses against Papal authority; the former of whom was

shielded by the Pope when all the world was against him, and the latter the author of the celebrated saying, "*ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*." Dr. Stokes assures us that "Ambrosius, and the province of North Italy, sent Virgilius and his companions to convert the pagans of the Alps." Page 50.) Well, there are two of the name Virgilius known to ecclesiastical history. St. Ambrose was a hundred years in his grave before the birth of one, and three hundred years in his grave before the birth of the other. Will the professor tell us which of the two did he send to "convert the pagans of the Alps"? Dr. Stokes must have calculated on the invincible ignorance of his audience when he made such statements as these.

Again, he tells us that St. Columba and St. Coluabanus never sought any Roman authority for their mission. How does he know? What authority has he for this statement? None what ever, except the alleged silence of the writers in question; and on his own testimony the argument from silence is a bad one. He thinks it a bad argument when writing for Smith's *Dictionary*, which is sure to be consulted by scholars, but he thinks it quite good enough for clerical students in Trinity College. Really he is not complimentary to them. He will not admit a Roman mission unless we can produce the autograph letters granting it; and even then he would say, "What does it matter? Does that in any way affect the independent claims of 'the Irish Church?'" A most versatile man is this professor, and far-seeing too, for he judges men by *what they did not say*. The acts of the saints named are parts of a system, and what that system was the facts of history prove. The facts and extracts already given show beyond a doubt that the primacy of Rome was universally admitted when St. Patrick came to Ireland. It must have formed part of the system in which he was trained. It was the belief of his teachers, of his acquaintances, of his contemporaries. It was "accepted by St. Martin, who instructed St. Patrick, by St. Germain, with whom he read the canons, and by all the great lights of that age." (I. E. RECORD, March, 1888, page 202.) It must, then, have been part of the system which he brought with him to Ireland—the only system known to him. Dr. Stokes

denies all this, and attributes to St. Patrick theological views that were absolutely unknown to him. If St. Patrick had sought to introduce into Ireland the theology of Dr. Stokes and Dr. Plunket, his departure from the tradition of the Fathers would not have escaped the vigilance of Germanus the Papal legate, or of such Popes as Leo the Great, Hilary, and Gelasius, all of them his contemporaries; and because of his novel doctrine his name would have come down to us in ecclesiastical history, not as our Father in the faith, the glorious apostle of our nation, but as that of a restless innovator—a schismatic who sought to sow amongst us the seeds of spiritual death. It cannot be Professor Stokes' wish to make St. Patrick appear in this character; but it is the inevitable logical outcome of his theory of Irish ecclesiastical history. However, if he lay aside his prejudices, and study the career of our national apostle in the light of contemporary history, seeking earnestly for truth, rather than seeking to "attract an audience," and if he pray for light to guide him, he too may come, like so many others, to condemn what he has embraced, and to embrace what he condemns.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

THE ROMAN CHASUBLE.

IN the November number for last year¹ of the I. E. RECORD I read an article on "The Gothic Chasuble," in which the writer advocates the use of the genuine Roman vestment.

I had prepared a short article in support of this view, which I proposed sending for acceptance in the January number of this year (1890). I have delayed sending it until now, because being then in Rome I had not at hand the references on which my argument depended, and when I returned to England, and began to write the article, I found that I could make what I had to say more complete by look-

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. x., No. 11 (Nov.), page 1035.

ing up some facts, which I knew could be found in Belgium. Accordingly, on my return this year to Rome, I went to Bruges, where, in the Public Library, I found all I wanted. I now send you the result.

My attention had been drawn to the question as to the genuine form of this vestment more than thirty years ago, when in 1852 I was engaged, with the late Father Rinolfi, in preaching a mission in the City of Galway. I was there shown an ancient chasuble, of rich cloth of gold, found in a chest in the muniment room of the (now) Protestant cathedral. It was supposed to have been left there in the time of James II., when Mass was last said in the ancient cathedral. It had been presented by the Protestant warden of Galway (he having no use for it) to the Catholic warden; for it was before the appointment of the first bishop of Galway. It is of the ample and genuine Roman form, such as we see figured in the copper-plate engravings in the large Roman Pontificals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is the form which we see represented in the well-known portrait of St. Philip Neri, in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, a copy of which may be seen in the London Oratory. A similar vestment is shown on the large silver figure of St. Ignatius, which adorns his altar on great festivals, in the Church of the Gesù in Rome. I was allowed to take the pattern of the Galway vestment, and most of the chasubles used in our Church of St. Etheldreda, Ely-place, London, were made from that pattern.

The Galway vestment has the cross on the back; it is very probably, therefore, of French, not of Roman make; showing, as I shall prove later on, that this use prevailed then, as it does now, everywhere except in Rome and in Italy generally. However, I shall also show that anciently in Rome, as elsewhere, the cross was on the back of the chasuble.

The vestments, vulgarly called *Gothic*, were first introduced into England about fifty years ago, after designs made by that man of eminent genius, the late Augustus Welby Pugin, the father of the revival of mediæval architecture and of Christian art in England and in Ireland. It had always seemed to me,

though I have an unbounded admiration of everything else that Pugin did, that this form of vestment was not a true return to that of the ancient mediæval chasuble. These modern Gothic vestments were, for the most part, cut into a pointed form behind and in front. They had not the ample folds of the ancient examples which we see figured in the old stained glass, and on the recumbent effigies of bishops and priests on monumental tombs and sepulchral brasses.

These vestments, as there represented, come to a point in front. There is no evidence that they came to a point behind, for we never see more than the front of the vestment on these ancient figures. But they fall in front into a point, naturally, because, being lifted up over the arms, and being made of rich but pliable silk or cloth of gold, they must necessarily assume this form, at least in front; for the ancient vestment being circular, that part in front that fell between the arms would fall in ample folds into a somewhat pointed outline. Of the way in which these vestments fell behind, I shall have something to say before I finish.

The modern Gothic vestments being cut into the shape of a point, or at least narrowed to an oval behind, and hanging flat, without folds, present only a poor, superficial imitation of the mediæval vestments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represented in paintings and sculpture. These so-called Gothic vestments, used in many churches in England, though rather tolerated than permitted by the ecclesiastical authorities, and forbidden by some bishops, are of all sizes and shapes, according to the fancy of the priest, or of some pious benefactress; or they are made according to some traditionary *Pugin pattern* of this or that convent of nuns, or secular vestment-maker. This false departure has, as I believe, been the cause of stopping the restoration of the really majestic and authoritative chasuble of the Roman Pontifical.

The dimensions actually given by St. Charles Borromeo, the great restorer, under the authority of the Council of Trent, of ecclesiastical discipline, and of the solemnity of public worship, produce a much longer and more ample form of vestment than the modern Gothic. The measurements

given by St. Charles and other authorities on ritual prove this, as I shall proceed to show.

The Gothic vestments which were a movement, if mistaken in details, in the right direction, had to go through a period of serious opposition in England and in Belgium, where they had been introduced, as a part of the mediæval revival, in which these countries led the way. We will speak first of what befel them in England.

Some of the English converts, of the *Oxford school*, having become Catholics, thought they could not be too *Roman*, and by Roman they meant anything and every thing which they had seen in use in Rome. I remember an extreme instance of this in a great friend of mine, a typical Oxford convert, who died a universally venerated priest. He had recently been received into the Church, and I met him in Rome in 1854. He had taken the *Roman jever*. He was enchanted with everything he saw; and he saw everything *couleur de rose*, in the lovely halo of his fervid faith and religious imagination.

"How delightful [he said to me] is everything in Rome. I would have no Gothic churches. They remind me of the cold Anglican cathedrals, the burial-places of a dead faith. Here is the living Church, the real link for us, with the saints. I love the glow of colour and gilding; of thousands of candles, offerings of the faithful, which speak to me of the living faith of the people. It is all so unlike Protestant Christianity. Nay, I love to see the dogs running about free, in St. Peter's, in and out between the legs of the Swiss Guards.¹ It seems as if they too felt at home in their Father's house."

"I should like," he continued, "to see the dogs running in and out of our churches at home." This was, of course, an extravagance, and in this sense it was spoken; but it indicates a very real undercurrent of sentiment which most of us converts can respect; for many of us have felt it, more or less; a reaction, on our conversion from Protestantism. When these English converts came home, many of them very naturally felt out of sympathy with the mediæval revival, in which before

¹ Since the Italian occupation the dogs no longer frequent the churches. It would seem that they, too, have joined the party of the Quirinal.

they had delighted, the animating idea of which was a return to the forms which we connected with the Catholicity of England before the Protestant *De-formation* of religion in the sixteenth century. That which offended these good people most, was the so-called Gothic vestments; and the very shape adopted in the pointed chasuble, gave a certain handle to their protest against *innovation*. An appeal to Rome was decided on, in order to endeavour to get the Sacred Congregation of Rites to prohibit the new form of vestment. It is said that some of the *ecclesiastical ladies* of the party—*Matriarche*, as such ladies are sometimes termed in Rome—undertook to dress a doll, representing a priest vested in a Gothic chasuble; and, no doubt, without much violation of truth, it was made to look very like a lady dressed in a shawl or fashionable-pointed mantle; and, by a happy accident, there had come in a fashion of making ladies' mantles very like Gothic chasubles and dalmatics.

Whether the bearers of the doll had the courage to present it before the Sacred Congregation, I cannot say; but it was introduced into society in Rome, figured at “4 o'clock teas,” at which some Monsignore dropped in; and this served to stir up gossip, and make the Gothic revival laughed at.

Some bishops in England, impressed by what some Roman Monsignore was reported to have said in the precincts of the Vatican, with the probability that something decided was about to be done by the Roman authorities, began to speak in condemnation of the Gothic vestments, if not to prohibit them.

Rome, however, moves slowly, and nothing was done by authority there until 1863, when the Pope having been informed that in the revival of mediæval taste, in which Belgium took a leading part, the mediæval vestment had been restored in some churches, Cardinal Patrizi, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, by command of His Holiness Pope Pius IX., wrote a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, Primate of Belgium, to the following effect:—

“Information has been received by the Holy See, that in certain dioceses of England, France, Germany, and Belgium, a

change has been made in the form of the sacred vestment used in the celebration of Mass, and that this has been conformed to what is called the Gothic style.

"The Holy See is well aware that this style was in use in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, but that from the sixteenth century (the time of the Council of Trent), without any protest from the Holy See, their use has been given up. Wherefore, this discipline continuing, without consulting the Holy See, no innovation ought to be introduced.

"Yet, since the Sacred Congregation of Rites considers that there may be weight in the reasons that have led to this innovation, the Holy Father Pius IX. invites your Eminence to state the reasons which have led to this change in some churches of your diocese."

The letter is dated, Rome, 21st August, 1863. From this letter and nothing later has emanated from the Holy See, except references, in letters to certain bishops, to this letter of Cardinal Patrizi. It is clear:—

1st. That no prohibition has been issued against a return, even to the largest form of the vestment in use previous to the Council of Trent.

2nd. That what is forbidden is to return to the ancient forms, the other form being in possession, seeing that such a return would have the appearance of innovation.

3rd. That the change in the size and form of the vestment, in the sixteenth century, can only claim for itself *toleration* on the part of the Holy See, not authoritative sanction, the words of the letter being *Sede Apostolica minime reclamante*.

4th. That the Sacred Congregation admits that there may be *reasons of some weight*, "*rationes alicujus ponderis*," in favour of a return to the usage of antiquity, and distinctly invites an inquiry. These reasons could hardly be, because the Sacred Congregation saw that the manufactured clipping and cutting had gone on to an extent which the authorities might be disposed to remedy, and to change the attitude of *Sede Apostolica minime reclamante*.

So far as to the pre-Tridentine form of the chasuble, which may be seen figured in all mediæval painting and sculpture, as well in Rome as elsewhere—notably in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and in a recumbent figure of an English bishop, who died in Rome in the early part of

the sixteenth century, which may be seen in the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury of the English College, and which is evidently of Roman art of that date.

The more ancient form of the chasuble was circular. It had an opening in the centre to admit the head, and it hung down in graceful folds, like a mantle, reaching almost to the feet. In fact, it was, as we shall see, no less a *vestis talaris* than the cassock. The ancient chasuble, in fact, differed from the cope, only in the latter being less ample, being cut up the front, and being furnished with a cape, which originally could be drawn over the head, like the cowl of a monk. It was called *pluviale*, a garment that could defend the wearer from rain, and was used originally for outdoor processions, and so for processions generally, and for other solemn religious functions. If a modern cope were made ample and of light material, and sewn up the front, with the omission of the cape, it would become an ancient chasuble of the thirteenth century. It is this form of vestment that we see on the ancient figures, falling in graceful folds over the arms, and between them, in front, taking therefore a somewhat pointed outline. But the back part must have been square, like a cope; because the portion raised by the arms, and falling down between them when used in the sacred functions, could not have been more than one-third of the whole vestment, and so the raising of the arms would only slightly disturb the portion hanging like a cope from the shoulders.

The chasuble used in the Oriental Rites, such as we see celebrated in Rome, in the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, during the Octave of the Epiphany, is precisely of this ancient form, once used universally in the Western, as well as in the Eastern Church.

For these reasons it is an absurd misnomer to term this form of vestment *Gothic*, for it was in use ages before Gothic architecture (as it is also improperly called) had been invented by the marvellous genius of the mediæval architects.

The round form of the chasuble, coming down nearly to the feet all round, was what gave it the name of *Casula*,

a little house. Durandus, Cardinal Bona, and other archaeological and ritual authorities, say that it symbolized charity, which covers over all that is evil, for "charity covereth a multitude of sins." This meaning is still retained in conferring the order of priesthood, when the bishop lets fall the folded chasuble over the newly-ordained priest, saying: "*Accipe vestem sacerdotalem per quam charitas significatur.*" However, the rite, as originally instituted, and placed in the *Pontifical*, must, when the ancient vestment was still in use, have much more fully expressed the symbolic meaning than it is expressed "when the meagre modern chasuble, often stiff with buckram, scarcely wider than a monk's scapular, often not reaching to the knees, and covering nothing, is let to fall over the priest's shoulders. The meaning of the chasuble is still expressed in the words when we say, *Domine qui dixisti*, in putting on the vestment. "O Lord, who hast said, 'My yoke is easy and My burden is light,' grant that I may so bear this vestment that I may obtain Thy grace." What we ask for is that sweet yoke of Christ's charity, which makes all our priestly burdens light.

About the thirteenth century the material of the vestments had become of a richer and heavier kind of silk damask or cloth of gold, and they were often adorned with orphreys and borders of the most exquisite embroidery, heavy with gold, silver, pearls and precious stones. Hence they had often become so heavy that it was difficult to raise the arms from underneath their folds, and to keep them extended in the form of the cross, as is prescribed, during the Holy Sacrifice. Hence came the necessity of the directions we find in the Missal, that the clerk who served, or the deacon at High Mass, should lift the border of the vestment, so as to aid the priest when he raised the Sacred Host at the Elevation. It was about this period that the chasuble began to be cut at the sides, so as to enable the priest more easily to raise his arms.

The orientals and Russians, using the chasuble in its ancient form, raise it up entirely in front, so as to allow no portion to fall between the arms. This may be observed

when those rites are seen in Rome. They also use a lighter silk, without any stiff or heavy lining, so that the vestments, lying in soft plaits on the arms, and being probably secured by some kind of fastening, are no impediment to the use of both hands in the ceremonies of the altar.

I have seen, in Paris, some Russian (non-Catholic) vestments, made of heavy damask or velvet, stiff with massive gold embroidery. These were cut out in the front, so as to resemble a cope, the material being left uncut over the breast, thus leaving the arms free for the ceremonies.

The Roman chasuble, and that used throughout the whole Latin rite, by the time of the Council of Trent, had gradually, by cutting at the sides, assumed the form of an oval, instead of the circular form of antiquity. Yet, it never innovated on the broad square form behind, which is still distinctive of the Roman vestment. It was also made of pliable silk, such as we see figured in the *Roman Pontificals* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, published according to the directions of the Council of Trent. It also hangs over the shoulders nearly to the bend of the arms.

In the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (tom. i., Lugduni, 1683), published by St. Charles Borromeo, for the vast diocese of Milan, which was intended to be, and has in fact been, the model for all dioceses, and which is therefore of the very highest weight, we read, distinctly laid down, the *measure* of the vestment of that period, therefore, in its less ample form, as *tolerated by the Holy See—Sede Apostolica minime repugnante*, to which Cardinal Patrizi, in his letter above quoted, refers. This form of the vestment has therefore the prescription of three centuries, and to make vestments after this measure is plainly no innovation, but a dutiful following out of the prescriptions of the Holy See. This measurement has then the force of law, since in the *Ceremoniale* published by St. Charles, he was following out the order of the Council of Trent, and the work was published with the full Papal authorization.

It may be observed in passing, that St. Charles's directions are addressed to all the churches of his vast diocese following the Roman rite—and they are probably the majority—as well as to those churches which follow the rite of St. Ambrose.

The chasuble is to be "three *cubits*, or somewhat more, in width, and is to fall from the shoulders at least one *palm*, so that it may hang over the arms, with one fold, at least, below each shoulder." It would seem, then, that it is to rest upon the arms, and thus make this fold *complicationem unius saltem palme*. "Casula (quam alii phenolium et planetam etiam ab *amplitudine* dicunt) cubitas tres et paulo amplius late pendens sit; ita ut ab humeris projecta, *complicationem unius saltem palmae, infra utrumque humerum recipere possit.*"

Gavantus gives the less ample measurement of about two cubits in breadth and three in length. This is about the dimensions of the Galway vestment, and much longer and more ample than the so-called Gothic is ever made. In length, St. Charles prescribes the same measure in cubits or something more, so that *it may reach nearly to the heels*.¹ In the measurement of the width of the chasuble, St. Charles is to be understood as giving the *minimum*, for he uses the word *saltem*, at least, and *paulo amplius*. As regards the length of the chasuble, it is distinctly said that it is to "reach nearly to the heels," *paene ad tales pertingat*. This, of course, supposes that a priest should, properly speaking, and where possible, have a vestment in proportion to his height, just as the cassock, which is also a *vestis talaris*, should always be proportioned to the wearer. The words of the *Acta* are: "Longe autem cubitus totidem, aut aliquanto longius demissa sit, ita ut *paene ad tales pertingat.*" It is added, that the *fascia* or *orphreys* forming the cross were to be, at least, eight inches wide. The exact words are: "Fasciam item unciis ad minimum quae assuta sit, ab anteriori et posteriori parte, usque ad extremum dependentem habeat: cui altera fascia transversalis ex summa prope parte, et a fronte et a tergo adjuncta, crucem utrumque exprimat."

Thus the *fascia* or *orphrey* is to come down to the bottom of the vestment, and there is to be another *fascia* placed transversely near the upper part, and these are to form a cross before and behind. It would, therefore, appear that the post-Tridentine chasuble described by St. Charles had a

¹The Roman cubit was 493 centimètres. The Roman palm was 25 centimètres. This can easily be reduced to English feet and inches.

cross before and behind, exactly as it is described in the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis. (Book iv., ch. 5.)

Gavantus says: "The chasuble had formerly a cross behind as well as before [he is speaking of the Roman usage]; but in more recent times the former has taken the shape of a pillar, which also has reference to the Passion of our Lord, as if the priest stood, as it were, between the Pillar of the Scourging and the Cross of Christ." (Gavant. *Thesaur. S. Rit.*, pars. 2, n. 5, p. 85, Lugdani, 1671.) The present Roman use, of the cross in front of the vestment only, is modern, like the cutting and clipping of the vestment, and rests, apparently, on no authority beyond tolerated custom.

From this it is clear that the common way of accounting for the cross being on the front of Roman vestments—because in St. Peter's, when the Pope celebrates at the high altar beneath the dome, and also at ordinary High Mass in certain ancient churches, as at San Clemente of the Irish Dominicans, the celebrant stands behind the altar with his face to the people, showing the cross on his breast—has not a particle of foundation beyond pious imagination. Perhaps the pillar, originally, was a corruption of the cross in the form of the letter T, such as we see generally on vestments of the fourteenth century. It may have originated in the pious imagination of someone, and was one of the many liberties taken by vestment-makers in ancient as in modern times. Let us hear Cardinal Bona, on the subject of the liberties taken by vestment-makers. He says:—

"Ex quo [the testimony of Moroni] et ex pictura supra relata facile conjici potest, quo tempore hujusmodi *scissio* fieri cœperet, et quomodo *sensim* propagata fuerit; *quam nullo Pontificum seu Synodorum Decreto stabilitam invenio.*" (*Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. 1, cap. cxxix., p. 284. Antwerp, 1690.)

The clipping and shaping has gone on, depending on no ecclesiastical tradition or authority, in spite of the measurements prescribed as the *minimum* to which vestments could be reduced, solely on the authority of vestment-makers, or because of the poverty, bad taste, or penuriousness of the clergy or benefactors.

The dimensions of the vestments, however, in France, in

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and up to the Revolution, followed the measurements and directions given by St. Charles. (See *Le Parfait Ecclesiastique*, Paris, 1685.) The same appears from a French Ritual of 1715.

The chasuble preserved in Galway, of which I have spoken, is probably a French vestment of this period. It has the cross on the back, and I think some trace of a cross on the breast also, in the form of a T.

Who can describe the abortion of the chasuble that prevails France at the present day? Fiddle-shaped in front, not coming down to the knees, stiff with buckram, or paper pasted on the poverty-stricken half-cotton-half-silk material of Lyons manufacture. They are as stiff as tea-boards, and crack if they are bent.

I was told a story lately in Belgium, of a priest who objected to the stiff paper pasted between the flimsy silk and cheap cotton lining. The manufacturer—very likely a Jew, for the Jews are the great vendors of these shabby articles—misunderstanding the objection of the priest, replied: “Yes, M. l’Abbé, we always use paper, in order that they may wear better, and to add to the substantial appearance of our vestments; but I assure you, on this point I have a delicate conscience, and I never put into vestments anything but *des bons journaux Catholiques*.” These Lyons vestments are going every day all over the world. They are cheap, and *Les Dames pieuses* can thus make their collections go a good way in providing vestments for *Les Missions Étrangères*. We have plenty of experience at home of our own *Dames pieuses*, who sometimes thus supply the necessities of *poor missions*, parishes, and convents. We need not wonder that Pius IX. intimated in the letter of Cardinal Patrizi, that there might be good reasons *rationes alicujus ponderis*, in favour of a return to the more ancient form of the vestment.

I think, therefore, I have proved my points:—

1st. That there is no such thing, and never was, as the *Gothic chasuble*.

2nd. That all through the Latin Church the Roman vestment, together with the Roman Liturgy, had come down by tradition; some slight variation in the Missal having been

permitted in certain churches of the Ambrosian rite, in the Archdiocese of Milan, and also some variations in the rite of some of the older religious orders.

3rd. That the Roman chasuble came down to near the heels, and was wide and square behind, almost like a cope. This may be seen in the Galway vestment.

4th. That vestments cut to a point are pure inventions of vestment-makers, and, although more graceful, are as great a departure from the ancient traditionary form, as the vestment reaching hardly to the knees, behind, and in front, cut into the shape of a fiddle, of which France has the sole claim as inventor.

5th. That it would be, strictly speaking, no innovation to restore the Roman vestment to its ancient dimensions, though this would require Papal sanction, but that it requires no special permission to make vestments of the size prescribed by St. Charles, and referred to in Cardinal Patrizi's letter, as the form of the post-Tridentine chasuble, which had become the established discipline of the Western or Latin rite, *Sede Apostolica minime repugnante*.

Lastly. That for Ireland we have the venerable authority of the *Galway chasuble*, which may serve as the best pattern for the making of vestments, even though in deference to modern usage, and the forms to which the eyes of the faithful have been accustomed, we should not venture on the full dimensions of the ancient model.

WILLIAM LOCKHART.

THE POPES, INTERNATIONAL PEACE-MAKERS.—II.

IN the October number of the I. E. RECORD we saw that the Church, in forming Christian society, fulfilled its mission of peace by showing rulers and nations a better and more lasting way of settling quarrels than by the sword. We saw also, as far as we went, that the Popes did not mean that teaching to be a theory and nothing more. Once the place of the Church was acknowledged, they lost no occasion of

shaping society on Christian principles, of teaching nations in their mutual dealings that might does not make right. We followed the history of the Popes in their mission of peace till the restoration of the Western Empire.

When Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West, the place into which the Papacy had for a long time been settling began to assume a definite juridical shape. The Pope became president of the Christian republic that was then formed. He was the unifying power that bound together the great community of European nations. He heard the complaints of subjects against rulers, and decided the quarrels of kings. He was, says Schlegel,¹ like the all-embracing vault of heaven, beneath whose kindly shelter those warlike nations began to settle in peace, and gradually to frame their laws and institutions. The Patriariate which Charlemagne had held before his coronation was an office limited to the defence of the Church, and entirely subordinate to the will of the Pope.² His imperial dignity was a primacy of equity and peace. It was not juridical, but moral. It was neither perpetual nor unchangeable, but dependant on circumstances, and circumscribed by the needs of society. It did not infringe on the internal constitution of States; but it was a great social centre around which they gathered—all compact with the supernatural unity of faith, and directed by the Vicar of Christ. The Christian commonwealth thus formed was not imposed by the Popes: it came right from the people. Or, perhaps, it is more true, to say that it was begotten of circumstances and events, and of the impulse of the Christian spirit that then permeated the heart and will of Europe; but it was constituted by the free consent of the people. Royalty was looked upon then more as a charge and an office than as an inheritance and patrimony. It was everywhere elective. In England, France, and Spain the king was elected from the members of a dynasty. In Germany, the spirit of individual liberty was more developed, and the authority of the sovereign was limited by the general assembly of the nation. It was universally admitted that the

¹ *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Lecture xii.

² Savigny, *Hist. of Roman Law*, vol. i.

people could impose conditions on the king when electing him, and make him a responsible ruler. Christianity taught the people that kingdoms and subjects were not made for princes, but quite the contrary, and that he who used for his own sake the power with which the people invested him was entitled to it no longer, if the people wished it so.¹

Moreover, the Christian religion was taken to be the foundation and the mainstay of civil society—and Christianity at that time meant the Catholic Church. Society, therefore, maintained it as it would its own existence; and to defend it was, therefore, the first duty of kings, as the representatives of the states they ruled. As it was part of the constitution of every state that subjects should faithfully obey their king who faithfully obeyed religion, so all were persuaded that their duty of fealty ceased when a king became faithless to religion. That is the idea of the Christian empire as understood by Fénélon, Hurter, De Maistre, and substantially so by Leibnitz. Hence, from the time of Dionysius, who first collected the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Pontifical Decretals were received into the Civil Collections. The Decretals of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V., were received as part of the civil law. Charlemagne abrogated any laws opposed to ecclesiastical discipline. In Spain, synods confirmed the royal edicts. In England, the statutes of a synod held in 691 were adopted into the code of King Ina. The Emperor Henry II. confirmed as imperial laws the decrees made by Benedict VIII. in the Synod of Pavia, in order to secure their execution. In the middle ages, religion governed all the relations of life, social, civil, and domestic; and the Pope was acknowledged everywhere to be the true interpreter of the natural and the divine law. Wherefore, his teaching was accepted by the state, and was applied in everything, from the punishment of a criminal to the deposition of a king. With this idea before us of the position of the Popes, we can follow with more interest their action with regard to international disputes.

It was Leo IX. cut short the war that broke out between the German Emperor, and Andrew, King of Hungary. The

¹ Cardinal Hegenröther, *Kirsch und Staat*, Dissert. vi.

Pope went in person to Germany for that purpose. His work of intervention was made specially and unnecessarily difficult by the imprudent refusal of the king to agree to conditions for which he afterwards craved when he saw the Emperor's army before the gates of Presburg, and also by unprincipled and self-seeking courtiers who saw their interest in the defeat of the king, and were therefore jealous of the mission of the Pope. But the public good was not to be sacrificed for a German diplomatist, nor was the Pope turned aside by fear of their opposition. He persevered and succeeded.

A few years later, a more difficult task came upon the successor of Leo, and a more important one, for the consequences of failure would have been greater and wider. The Emperor Henry died in A.D. 1056, leaving after him a child five years old, at the head of the state. The Count of Flanders and the Duke of Lorraine saw the opportunity of their ambition, and they seized it. It seems they did not think that personal purposes should weigh less with them than the public good or the public peace. But Pope Victor thought otherwise. The dying Emperor had recommended his son to his care. The Pope, with the supreme influence which he had over Europe, might have made it an occasion of satisfying that greed for power for which the Popes of the middle ages so often get credit. But he did not covet territory for himself, and he would not allow others to gratify their greed for it against the public interest. Faithful to the sacred charge intrusted to him by the dying Emperor, he stayed the ambition of the usurpers grasping for power. He saw the succession of the Emperor's son secured, and he provided a guarantee for peace in a solemn treaty between the parties.

No Popes are better known than Gregory VII. and Innocent III. No Popes have been more praised and more abused, more zealously defended and more wantonly slandered. But anyone acquainted with the state of society in the tenth century, and who has at all studied the nature of the conflict in which their lives were spent, will read their worth more clearly even in the slanders of those who deery

them than in the panegyrics of those who praise them. Never was paradox more true than this, that a pile of contemporary documents written to stain the names of Hildebrand and Innocent III., is a pile of evidence bearing witness to their worth. For never since Christianity began has the antagonism between God and the "world" been more sharply marked than it was in their time; and the "world" does not revile its votaries; but it pursues with a devilish hate whoever gainsays its maxims, or would oppose its work. "If the world hate you, know you that it hath hated Me before you. If you had been of the world, the world would love its own."¹ Even the ablest defenders of Hildebrand have been Protestants; and such a thorough study of the character of Innocent III. as could produce "*Papst Innocenz III. und seine Zeitgenossen*" made Hurter a Catholic. Their work in the Church and in the State was not of a kind that passed away with the pontificate of either, or with their time. The influence which they exercised over Europe then has lived on to the present day. For it was not an influence that swept over the surface of society and crushed out a passing evil. It was a moral force that penetrated deeper, and drew from the public conscience the roots of customs and crimes that had long settled down into principles. In Hildebrand's time many of the rulers of Europe, and these the most powerful, were stateolatrous tyrants and sacrilegious thieves. Too many churchmen were in their own way little better, and, of course, more blamable. Philip I. of France, without shame or concealment, carried on a traffic in ecclesiastical benefices, and robbed the foreign merchants who visited the fair at Soissons. Henry IV. of Germany, had about an equal respect for the husbands whom he deprived of their wives, and for the wives whom, in turn, he handed over to his valets. His will ruled everywhere, and in all things. The Saxons and the Thuringians perished by thousands at his bidding; and opposition or disapproval from any of his subjects meant death. In A.D. 1075, Gregory VII. warned him of the consequences of his despotism. In January, 1076,

¹ John xv. 18, 19.

he threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry answered the threat by calling a Council at Worms to depose the Pope, he was soon made to feel otherwise, and his subjects could breathe more freely. The election of Rudolph by the German princes and the war that arose out of it between himself and Henry, were not the result of Henry's excommunication, but of his faithlessness; and Rudolph, moreover, was elected in spite of the remonstrances of the Pope. And if the excommunication of Henry opened a long struggle between him and the Pope, and divided the people into hostile factions for a time, it was but a temporary disturbance necessary for a permanent peace. Henry's despotism in the State, and his Josephinism in the Church, brought on the excommunication, and his defiance of deserved censure brought on the struggle. Had Henry stood by his acknowledgment of his crimes and by his promises to repair the evils he had caused, the solemn ceremony in Matilda's Chapel at Canossa would have been the beginning and the end of it all. The party accountable for any struggle is not that which is on the side of liberty and right, but that which is on the side of tyranny and wrong. When Gregory was Pontiff-elect he wrote to the Emperor begging him not to approve the election; but he declared if Henry should approve it, "I shall not tolerate your scandalous and notorious excesses."¹ Gregory's purpose throughout the struggle was the independence of the Church and the liberty of the people; and in the struggle for that twofold liberty, says Alzog, he secured the principles for which he fought, and by these principles cities have gained the right of franchise and the foundations of human liberty.²

During his pontificate, Innocent III. settled many quarrels between kings, and he brought several to a sense of their duty in morals and in politics. Very soon after he became Pope the King of Hungary died, and a dispute arose between his two sons. They referred the dispute to Innocent, who, after much anxious labour, reconciled both to his decision. He adjusted similar quarrels in Poland and in Norway.³

¹ Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, vol. v.

² Alzog, *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii., page 215.

³ Hurter, *Papst Innocenz III., und seine Zeitgenossen*, vol. ii.

About this time also another dispute arose, more important in itself and more far-reaching in its consequences than those already mentioned. The princes of Germany promised Henry VI. that, after his death, his son Frederick would be elected to succeed him.¹ But when his death came, it was unexpected and premature, and his son was yet an infant. The princes, therefore, felt that they were not bound to make good their promise: for the nation would be without a head who could guard it; and, besides, the promise was made when Frederick was yet unbaptized. All agreed that the king should be one who could personally watch over the public good, and promote it. But when they set about electing one, they found themselves without any tradition or law to define their choice. Otho of Brunswick, and Philip Duke of Suabia, brother of the late Emperor, were supported by rival factions. The contest revived the party-cries of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which had been heard for the first time at the battle of Weinsburg, half a century before. The Ghibellines elected Philip. The Guelphs elected Otho. Otho petitioned the Pope to acknowledge his election and to crown him emperor, promising on his part to ratify any conditions to which the Pope and his ambassadors might agree. King Richard of England, Count Baldwin of Flanders, the Counts of Hainault and Metz, and some other powerful Houses were supporters of Otho. The supporters of Philip were more numerous and strong; and on their side also they spared neither prayers nor promises. The storm raged from the North Sea to the Danube, and from the Vistula to the Rhine. The peace of Europe, indeed of the Christian world, depended on the issue. The Pope tried to reconcile the two princes and to get their supporters to come to an understanding. When he found that, instead of coming to an understanding for the sake of the nation, they threw it into a state of civil war, he bade them to restore peace or that he would himself interfere in the election of a king. After much deliberation on the merits of the rival claimants, and patient waiting in vain for peace, he at length decided

¹ *I. e.* as *elective* king, not emperor, for with that they had nothing to do.

in favour of Otho. Philip and his supporters who, by their petitions and promises, had already acknowledged the Pope's right to interfere, now turned over and denied it. The civil war went on. At length the Pope got them to make a year's truce, and in the meantime he tried to arrange matters through their ambassadors in Rome. But, before the year of peace was at an end, Philip was assassinated by Count De Wittelsbach, and a permanent peace began.

Whilst Innocent III. was engaged in that difficult work of reconciliation, he was also occupied arranging disputes between King Richard of England and Leopold of Austria; between Alphonsus 8th, king of Castile, and Alphonsus 9th, king of Granada, and between King John of England and Philip of France. He was always on the side of right against might, maintaining the right of the weak against the tyranny of the strong. He sustained Ingelberga against Philip Augustus, and made him take her back after a separation of twenty years. In the struggle which was closed by *Magna Charta*, he took the part of the English people against the despotism of King John. "He protected their liberties and their laws," says Cardinal Manning, "and he used his power to restrain the violence of the king."¹ Nearer home, also, his intervention in the cause of peace was called for, and it succeeded. The Venetians and the Genoese, the Genoese and the Pisans, were at war; and similar struggles were desolating the cities of Lombardy. He had reconciled some, and was on his way to arrange in person the disputes of others, when he was struck down by a fever at Perugia, and was taken away by death. He died, as it were, a martyr to the work in which so much of his life was spent.²

Honorius III. succeeded Innocent III. During his pontificate the peace that had been effected by Innocent between Philip of France and John of England was interrupted by a quarrel between their successors, Louis and Henry. War was again stopped, and the truce was renewed through the intervention of the Pope. Just twenty years after, Innocent IV. regulated affairs in Portugal, and settled a dispute between

¹ *Miscellanies*, vol. ii., page 261.

A very touching tribute to his influence may be seen in the third volume of his *Life* by Hurter.

Frederick II. and the King of Hungary. The King of Portugal, a weak-minded man, and controlled by a wife who badly controlled herself, neglected the interests of his people. Seeing their country in disorder, the good suffering wrong with impunity, public morality disregarded, and the Saracens encroaching on the territories of the Christians, the Portuguese turned to the Pope for a remedy. The Pope remonstrated with the king; but, finding that his remonstrance was in vain, and that the evils rather grew than lessened, he bade the people appoint the king's brother to administer the affairs of the nation in his stead. That is only one out of several instances of similar intervention during the pontificate of Honorius—always on the side of freedom and right against oppression and wrong. But we must pass on.

In 1277 Cardinal Orsini became Pope, under the name of Nicholas III. He reigned only three years; but in that short time he did a great deal to crush out the quarrels of rival factions in Italy. He reconciled, through his legate, the Communes of the Romagna, and got the factions of the Geremei and the Lambertazzi of Bologna to accept his proposals of peace. In Florence, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines were at war, and each rival faction was in itself divided by internal quarrels. And the mischief which the Adimari and the Donati made in Florence, other rival families, with their respective partisans, produced through nearly all the cities of Tuscany. The Papal legate visited Florence in October, 1278, and by February, 1279, he had the happiness of seeing his mission crowned with success. The success that attended his mission in Bologna and Florence, crowned his labours also in Genoa, Siena, and in the Marches of Ancona.

We now come to Boniface VIII. Cardinal Wiseman says that "he has scarcely ever found a good word even among modern Catholic writers."¹ Yet it cannot be more truly said

¹ *Essays on Various Subjects*, vol. iii. The essay on Boniface VIII. was written for *The Dublin Review* of November, 1841. But Boniface has found many apologists since then. As far as I am aware, Cardinal Wiseman himself is the first writer of note in the present century who has placed a defence of him within reach of the public. He has been followed since by Abbot Tosti of Monte Cassino, Hefele, Brunengo, Balan, and the late Cardinal Hergenröther.

of any Pope than of Boniface, that the single purpose of all his life was justice and peace. In most cases, too, he succeeded in his purpose: and when he did not succeed, his failure was owing more to the perversity of those whose disputes he desired to settle than to any want of zeal in himself. To trace out fully the work that he did in the cause of peace, would vastly exceed the limits that we can afford. We will, therefore, run over *per summa capita* the leading events of his life, without attempting to trace their historical connection or bearing. Although that must be dry and uninteresting, it is doing him more justice than if we gave the appearance of completeness to what must necessarily be imperfect. The following summary by Guglielmo Audisio of the state of Europe when Boniface became Pope, will give us an idea of the work he had before him:—

“The contest of the Empire between Adolph of Nassau and Albert of Austria divided Germany. Philip the Fair of France, and Edward I. of England began that war which, suspended and renewed, brought France to the verge of ruin. Sicily, still stained with French blood shed in the Sicilian Vespers, defied, under the tutelage of the Aragonesi, both the Neapolitan arms and the censures of the Church, whilst the reaction of rebellion distracted Spain. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were at war. Tuscany was distracted by the contests of the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*;¹ and from Sicily to the Alps the Guelphs and Ghibellines arose. The war-cry and the threats of the Mussulman sounded in the East and in the South. Pope Boniface's endeavours in the cause of truce and peace proved that, if the Crescent stormed and held the first bulwark of Europe, the Popes were not to blame.”²

Before he became Pope, he had laboured, as well as after, in the interests of peace, having been sent by his predecessors on several important missions. In 1280, Nicholas III. sent him, with Cardinal Matteo D'Acquasparta, to arrange a dispute between Charles of Anjou and Rudolph of Hapsburg. They succeeded in having it settled by the arbitration of the Pope. In 1283, Martin IV. sent him (now Cardinal Cajetan),

¹ These were two powerful families of Pistoja, by name Cancellieri. They were rivals engaged in incessant quarrels. One party was called the *Bianchi*, the other the *Neri*—party shibboleths, like the *Red* and *White* *Roses*, or the *Three* and *Four* *Years*.

² *Diritto Pubblico della chiesa e delle Genti Cristiane*, vol. ii., tit. 22.

which he became immediately on his return to Rome) to settle a dispute between Peter of Aragon and Charles of Anjou, in which he was also successful. His credentials from the Pope had these words:—"We send our beloved son Benedict, of the title of St. Nicholas in Carcere, a man of profound wisdom, faithful, able, prudent, and zealous for your glory and the majesty of your royalty." During the pontificate of Nicholas IV. he was sent on several important missions of a similar nature to Portugal, Spain, and Sicily. He got a commission also to restore peace between Edward I. of England and Philip the Fair, with the latter of whom his whole pontificate afterwards was spent in conflict.

When he became Pope his zeal in the cause of peace increased with his responsibility and power. In 1296, the three Ecclesiastical Electors of Germany, at his bidding, made Adolph desist from his purpose of invading France. He restored peace in Lombardy, Tuscany, in the Romagna and the Marches, and in other cities and Communes of Italy. He dissuaded Alphonsus, king of the Romans, from invading France, and he brought Charles II. of Sicily, and James King of Aragon, to terms of peace. He made James of Aragon restore to his uncle the kingdom of Majorica, and he restored their independence to the islands that composed it. He intervened also between Adolph of Nassau and Albert of Austria, who contended for the crown of Germany, and between James of Aragon and Philip the Fair, who disputed with each other's title to the Valley of Aragny. If he did not succeed in effecting a permanent peace between Edward I. and Philip the Fair, it was mainly Philip's fault; at any rate, it was not the fault of Boniface. In 1296, 1297, and 1298, he succeeded in making them observe a truce, and they agreed that he should arbitrate between them. He gave his decision; but Philip was not satisfied with it, and accused him of partiality to England. Henceforth, till the end of his pontificate, he defended the independence of the Church and the pontifical rights against the despotic purposes of Philip with a fortitude and patience hardly equalled in the history of the Popes. I do not overlook the fact that, as an adversary, he was always strict and often

severe; but we must at the same time remember that, in dealing with Philip, he was dealing with one who insulted his sacred office, falsified his letters, and claimed to be above all spiritual rule. The Gallicanism of Louis Quatorze began with Philip the Fair; for in 1302, the juridical pretence of a Catholic appealing from a Pope to a General Council was heard for the first time in the history of France. The following words of a Protestant historian will enable us to know more of Philip, and will also help us to understand Boniface better. Christophe writes of him:—

“To carry out his enterprises, he pauperized the people and falsified money. The great vassals of the crown had been subdued and humbled in the preceding reigns; and he, seeing that proud aristocracy kneeling helpless before his throne, overrated his power and made his authority a tyranny. It was not conscience, nor justice, nor morality, but ambition to succeed, that justified for him the means and the end. His contemporaries called him the Fair, from his personal beauty; history ought to call him the Funguer, he having been the first to bring to light the art of knowing how to do evil.”¹

We need not wonder then when we find his agents and their retainer shouting “Long live the King of France, and down with Boniface” along the streets of Anagni, breaking into the Papal palace, insulting Boniface in his own presence-chamber, and dragging him off to prison. Dante spent his wit’s power in cutting him with bitterness. But, when he found that Philip’s arrogance had come to this, it was too much even for his Ghibelline spite. Wherefore, in the *Divina Commedia*, he makes Hugh Capet exclaim:—

“Veggio in Alagna entrar il fiordaliso
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un’ altra volta esser deriso,
Veggio rinnovellar l’aceto e’l fele,
E tra’ nuovi ladroni esser anciso.
Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.”²

We will let the words of three eminent writers sum up

¹ *His-tire de la Papauté pendant le 14^e Siècle*. Philip’s character is well “taken off” by Audisio. He calls him “*Il coracuto Marcone III. de la Francia*.” (*Op. cit.*, vol. ii., page 167.)

² *Il Divin Comedie*. Canto xxviii. v. 1-8.

the character of Boniface and his work in the cause of holy Church and in the interest of states. Gregorovius,¹ as unfriendly to Popes as historian could well be, writes of him that he was firm, noble-hearted, and majestic. Audisio² says that, if the spirit of Boniface had lived in his successors, Rome would never have suffered the slavery of Avignon. Cardinal Wiseman tells us, on the strength of authorities which he quotes, that Italy showed its recognition of his services. Velletri named him its chief governor; Pisa voluntarily appointed him ruler of the state, with an annual tribute; and when he sent a governor there, it was with orders to observe the laws of the place, and to spend all his income upon it. Florence, Orvieto, and Bologna erected statues to him at great expense, in token of their obligations and admiration. Of his literary acquirements we do not speak; no one has disputed them; and the Sixth Book of Decretas will attest them as long as Christ's undying Church shall last.³

Papal influence comes nearer home to us when we reach the pontificate of John XXII. He is one of those Popes whose character had to suffer from silly stories which passed for history, until, one by one, they appeared as suspected tales or undoubted fables under the light of later historical research. I have before me two letters written by him on May 30th, 1318. One is addressed to Edward II. of England, in which he upbraids him for grievous wrongs which the Irish people were suffering, and warns him to have them redressed. The other is addressed to his two legates, Jocelin D'Ossat and Luca de Fieschi, who were then in Scotland, bidding them to keep before the king the urgent duty set forth in the Apostolic Letters. The letter was called forth by a memorial addressed by the Irish nobles and people to the Papal legates, complaining of the wrongs, and calling for the intervention of the Pope. The Pope, in his letter, having detailed these wrongs, refers to them in connection with the invitation sent to Edward Bruce to become king:—"Verum

¹ *Die Grabmäler der Päpste*, "Aber auch fest hochgesimt und majestätisch."

² *Diritto pubblico della chiesa*, &c.

³ *Essays on Various Subjects*, &c.

*Italia ferre acquiescentes ulterius, coacti sunt se a dominio tuo subducere et alium in suum regimen advocare."*¹ And he ends his letter to the legates with the words:—"Volumus igitur et mandamus, ut super hiis effectui mancipandis apud regem ipsum cunctis sollicitudinibus vestre partes apponere, prout videritis expedire, ut nobis et vobis in hiis crequendis, officii debitum ille prout de celo prosperavit, residuum faciat, id cujus manu sunt regum corda et omnia jura regnorum."²

This had the desired effect. The king, to use the words of Dr. Lingard, "urged by the repeated remonstrances of the legates, attempted to justify himself by declaring that if the Irish had been oppressed, it was without his knowledge and contrary to his resolution, and promised that he would make it his care that they should be treated with lenity and justice."³

The two legates were in Great Britain at this time on a double mission of peace. They were sent by John XXII. to reconcile Edward II. and Robert Bruce. The struggle between England and Scotland had now been going on for ten years, and the Pope was anxious to inaugurate his pontificate by bringing it to an end. He furnished them with credentials dated March 17th, 1317, with letters to Bruce and Edward, and with a Bull proclaiming a truce for two years as a preparatory step to the permanent peace which the mission was intended to promote. Bruce refused to read the Papal letter because he was addressed in it, not as *king*, but as *ruler* (*gubernans*) of Scotland.⁴ He continued the struggle in defiance of the Bull of truce which the legates had published, and was excommunicated for disregarding a citation to give reason for his contumacy. But he soon relented, and longed for reconciliation with Rome; and Edward found that he had to fight Bruce with one hand tied by the

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibern. Et Scot. Historiam illustrantia*, page 201, Epist. 422.

² *Ibid.*, page 272, Epist. 423.

³ *Hist. of England*, vol. iii., chap. 4.

⁴ The Pope explains why he so addressed Bruce. To call him *king* would imply the rightness of his cause in the question between himself and Edward, whilst the question was *sub judice*. (See Theiner, *op. cit.*, page 208.)

barons. Both sides were weary of the war, and the two years' truce was concluded between them in 1320. After three years more of Papal intervention terms of peace for thirteen years were agreed to, and the war which had, excepting a few pauses, gone on for twenty-three years, was brought to a close. It was the same Pope who persuaded Edward III. to avoid the public scandal of having his mother, Queen Isabella, cited before a public tribunal for her scandalous alliance with Mortimer; and there is a letter¹ from the Pope to the king, written at the request of the latter, containing counsels as to the right government of his kingdom. Pope John also wrote a similar letter² to David, the son of Robert Bruce. He reconciled the Duke of Cracow and the King of Bohemia, who were rival claimants for the throne of Poland; and throughout his pontificate he was occupied in keeping the Guelphs and Ghibellines and other Italian factions in order. That war between England and France, which includes in its history of destruction and bloodshed the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, is so well known that it would be a waste of space to recall its cause. But in order to set the full and proper value on its importance, it will be well to recollect that it involved, besides England and France, the Spanish, Scotch, and Germans, and the other allied forces who sustained Edward and Philip. Benedict XII. was Pope when the war broke out, and he at once and earnestly sought to prevent the dreadful consequences that would necessarily come of it.³ He succeeded in getting them to observe a truce, but it did not last long; and his death also left them without a restraining influence when the war broke out anew. Clement VI. succeeded Benedict XII. In January, 1343, he got them to agree to a truce for three years and eight months, with a proviso also that they should in the meantime co-operate with him on both sides in bringing about a final accommodation. But he intervened in vain. "Each party," says Lingard, "violated the armistice, and the negotiators, instead of settling

¹ 10th August, 1329.

² 23rd August, 1329. *Vid.* Theiner, *op. cit.* *ad annum*, 1329.

Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. iv., chap. i.

the conditions of peace, were employed in discussing complaints and recriminations." The war was renewed once more; but Clement did not lose hope. The battle of Crecy had helped a good deal to cool the hostile frenzy of both sides. The Pope counselled, exhorted, reproved, and threatened them; and at length, through his mediation, they concluded a treaty of peace for six years.¹ In 1352, Clement died, and was succeeded by Innocent VI. For eight years Innocent negotiated with all the zeal of his predecessors. Bloodshed and destruction soon began also to make Edward and Philip feel that victory for either side really meant defeat for both. When the Pope proposed a reconciliation on the Easter of 1360, they agreed to abide by his arbitration. All that each now cared to stipulate for was peace with honour. Thus the treaty of Bretigny—the "great peace," as it is called—is a crown on the labours of three successive Popes.

Urban V. put down the turbulent Bernabo, Visconti of Milan, and left Avignon to reside in Rome, because it was represented to him that his presence in Italy would restore peace there. Gregory XI., the last of the Avignonese Popes, succeeded Urban in 1370, and during the eight years of his pontificate was engaged in the promotion of international peace. He reconciled Castile, in turn, with Portugal, Aragon, and Navarre. His intervention influenced Frederick of Sicily and John of Naples to conclude a treaty, the terms of which they submitted to him, with power to modify or simply confirm it, according to his judgment. We will pass over the next seventy years, during which the Church was distracted by the pretensions of anti-popes, and the persistent contumacy of the Basilean schismatics.

Nicholas V. became Pope in 1477. He was a man of the highest culture, encouraged the study of classical literature and Christian antiquities. His liberal heart gained for him the respect of all, and he was unanimously recognised as the rightful occupant of the Papal throne. By his conciliatory disposition he drew the Emperor Frederick into his friend-

ship; and to his prudence is owing the Concordat of Aschaffenburg, by which Germany and the Holy See were bound together again in peace. He harmonized the Genoese, Venetians, and Florentines; got Germany and Hungary to conclude a treaty of peace; marked out the confines of Milan and Piedmont, and had the consolation of setting all Italy at peace by the treaty of Lodi. Passing over Callixtus III., Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., who, according as necessity or occasion came, showed themselves equal to their predecessors in their zeal for peace, we come to Innocent VIII. He reconciled King James of Scotland and his subjects. Through the Bishop of Ely, he united the Red and White Roses in England by the marriage between Henry Earl of Rutland and Elizabeth of York, and thus planed the way to the end of the civil war which had distracted England for thirty years.

We now come to the famous decision of Alexander VI., between Spain and Portugal, with regard to their respective claims over the West Indies. Few Papal acts have been more discussed, more blamed, and less appreciated or understood. A good deal of erudition has been expended on it, and a good deal of ignorance also. It has been one of the chief items in the stock-in-trade of a certain class of writers for whom ecclesiastical history is a preserve over which they run smelling like sleuth-hounds after the iniquities of Popes. "*De tous les crimes des Borgia,*" says Marmontel, "*cette Bulle ut le plus grand.*" He refers to the Bull *Inter Caetera* (4th May, 1493), by which Alexander marked out the limits of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in the West Indies.¹ By that decision the Pope neither pretended to have power to partition the world, of which he has been often so stupidly accused, nor did he intend to destroy actual titles or to create new ones. He was asked by two Catholic powers to give his decision on this dispute, and he gave it—that is all. If he had refused to interfere or decide, the Spanish and Portuguese would nevertheless have taken possession of the

¹ The map on which Alexander drew the boundary line is still to be seen in the Museum of Propaganda in Rome,

Indies; but they would have defined the limits of their dominions by the sword and marked it out with blood, whilst the Pope did it with ink and paper. Had he refused to arbitrate he would have been spared a good deal of calumny; but blood would have been needlessly shed, which his arbitration prevented, and the defenceless natives would have been a prey to European adventurers, whilst the Pope provided in his Bull for their safety and for their civilisation.¹

We now come to a Pope whose pontificate, if we should credit the popular notion, would be an unmaking of the history of peace which we have hitherto delved out of the career of his predecessors. For that reason, a reference to Julius II. is due of us here. The notion prevails generally outside the Church, and to a certain extent even within it, that Julius was a man whose thoughts were occupied more by war and conquest than by the office of peace in which he succeeded the fisherman of Galilee. Until recent years we were left, for a knowledge of him, at the mercy of writers who took their inspiration, at first or second hand, from Erasmus, Hutten, and Guicciardini. It is no wonder then if the thoughts of many of us have been more or less coloured by such influences in matters in which the individual may at once be separated from the Pope. Putting aside Jungmann, Gosselin, Cantu, Audin, Roherbacher, &c., who may be suspected, we can read his justification sufficiently well in the pages of Ranke.² Ranke says that Julius "had an innate passion for war and conquest;" but he gives no reason to justify that. On the contrary, he gives more than one that help to upset it. He says Julius "found the whole country in the utmost confusion." "Factions," he says, "were on foot everywhere, and they fought their feuds even in the very Borgo of Rome." "The Venetians," he says, "were in possession of the greater part of the coasts of the ecclesiastical

¹ It would be too long to go with any thoroughness into a defence of the Bull *Inter Caetera*, and the action of Alexander VI. A good defence of it may be seen in Jungmann (*Dissertationes in Hist. Eccl.*, tom vi.), and in a work by the late Cardinal Hergenrother (*Kirche und Staat*), in the twelfth Dissertation.

² *History of the Popes, their Church and State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, page 17, *sqq.*

states." Louis XII. of France crossed the Alps to avenge the defeat of Charles VIII., and would have reduced Italy to a province of France if he had not Julius to oppose and drive him back. When Louis found himself defeated by his own arms, he tried the spiritual weapons that were manufactured for himself and Maximilian by the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa; but Julius met them with the anathemas of the eighth Council of Lateran, and was victorious again. Under his influence the Guelphs and Ghibellines solemnized a perpetual peace on the Capitol. He subdued the factions that were distracting the Papal dominions, took Bologna from the Bentivogli, Perugia from the Baglioni, and made the Venetians give up Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna. But, in all this, it is not easy to discern an "innate passion for war and conquest." A sovereign cannot be said to have a passion for war and conquest, because he puts down factious princes who embroil the country, and defends the liberty of his people against the intrusion of strangers. One might as well say that a man has a passion for "the ring," because he does not let an aggressive bully blacken his face with impunity. To go to war may happen to be the duty of a peaceful sovereign, as it is the pleasure of a warlike one. More than that, when war becomes inevitable, it is but a way to peace. All the authentic knowledge we have of Julius II. justify us no further than this—that he knew how to use the "two swords," and was able to beat the invaders and factions of the Papal States as well with one as with the other. Rohrbacher brings out his case clearly in the following:—

"That a Pope, old and sickly, should undertake to beat the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, in order to teach them that he was master in his own house, is indeed surprising, but not more so than that French and German writers should represent this act of self-defence as a scandalous abuse of power, probably because he defeated them instead of being defeated by them."

It would remind one of the placards of the London dailies during the campaigns of the last few years. If British soldiers won a battle, it was "A glorious victory!" if the

Madhi or Celowayo won, it was "A frightful massacre of British soldiers by the savages!" As far as we know from trustworthy evidence, there is no more reason for saying that Julius II. was not a man of peace because he drove intruders from the Papal States than there is for saying that Leo XIII. is ambitious or implacable because he will not bless the robbery of the Piedmontese. I have tried several sources in order to find what kind of man Julius really was. The greater number of the writers I have seen call him warlike; but I have looked out in vain for a single convincing proof that he was driven to the battle-field more by disposition than by the force of circumstances. It must be the absence of such proof that has made one of the greatest historians of the century speak of him thus:—

"When we find him obliged to campaign within the roar of the cannon, we understand that we are in an age very different from that in which one would find Gregory VII. was enough to bring humbled kings from the heart of Saxony to kiss his foot in the Castle of Canossa."¹

There is also another consideration that must not be forgotten, and these words of Ranke substantially express it:—

"The re-establishment of the States of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprise; it even considered it a religious one."²

He left their old privileges to the cities he conquered, or added new ones; and he became the founder of many independent municipalities where the nobles, the bourgeois, and the artisans were bound together by a common interest. Several great works existing in Rome at present bear witness to his munificence. For love of religion he laid the foundation of St. Peter's; his love of country may be read on a fountain in the Via Giulia, which he dedicated to *Italia liberata*. Fea thinks that his age ought rather be associated with him than with Leo X.; and Ranke admits that "He always appeared as a liberator, that he dealt kindly and wisely with his subjects, and gained their good-will and attachment."

¹ Cesare Cantù, *Gli Eretici D'Italia*, vol. i., page 241.

² *Loc. cit.*

We are not well into the sixteenth century—another landmark in the history of the relations between the Church and civil society. But we must stop.

We have observed how, before society became Christian, the Church was engaged quietly preaching its gospel of peace, and making its influence felt. No sooner had the Roman empire begun to be informed by the Christian idea than it was pulled to pieces by internal decay, and by the rude prowess of the barbarians. The action of the Church was then changed. It had to try both to save Europe as well as might be, and at the same time to Christianize and to civilize the new power. Although that meant building up from the foundation, it had its advantages; for in putting the Christian spirit into the old empire, the Church had both to undo and to do. The work of the Church in behalf of social order during that time of transition made its influence great—an influence that went on developing until the harmony between Church and State was perfected in the Christian empire of the Carlovingians. The instances of Papal arbitration that we have noted during this epoch of the Church's greatest power are but a sparse selection out of all that are recorded; but they help us nevertheless to see the great influence for good, for liberty and peace, brought to bear on society by the Popes of the Middle Ages. For three centuries we have been going on principles that are quite different from the principles of those days. In the middle ages it was part and parcel of the public law of Europe to look to the Papal authority with reverence; and that not from choice but from duty. We have seen in part the result. For three centuries we have been going on without it; and we know the result, for we have counted the cost. Without going into the statistics of standing armies and taxes, we can read it in the growing disposition to seek arbitration instead of war; that is, the rational principle of peace, of which the spirit of revolt robbed us three hundred years ago. Of course, it is the shell without the kernel; for it is choice more than duty that directs us to it, and the unifying principle of authority is left out. But it is something. It is as natural for nations as it is for

individuals to dispute about rights. But, if a dispute arise, surely the right cannot be determined by a mitrailleuse or a Martini-Henry. If it were so, might and right would be one and the same. To determine right by arbitration, is to act as rational beings. To attempt it by war—well, it might as well be tried by a bull-fight, or by a pair of champion mustiffs. A battle is fought, and might gains; but right is left just where it was before.¹ In war the weaker side is defeated, and is kept quiet. But peace can never come by force, except that peace described by an old Roman writer—*Quam silentium fecerint, pacem appellant*. It is only the consciousness of right that can create peace. All this has been put by Cardinal Manning with his inimitable clearness and force:—

"What [he asks] has preserved Europe, but the principle of obedience, the precept of submission, which has been taught throughout the whole of its circuit by the Church of God, especially through the mouths of its Pontiffs? By them, subjects have been taught obedience, and rulers have learned justice. What has limited monarchy? What has made monarchy a free institution, and supreme power compatible with the personal liberty of the people, but the limitations which the Holy See, acting through its Pontiffs, has imposed upon the princes of the world? Does anybody doubt these propositions? To them I would say, the Pontiffs, with their temporal power, have been accused of despotism; at least, then, let us give them the credit of having taught the people to submit. They have been accused of tyranny over princes; at least, let us give them the honour of having taught kings that their power is limited. The dread chimera at which the English people especially stand in awe, the deposing power of the Pope—what was it but that supreme arbitration whereby the highest power in the world, the Vicar of the Incarnate Son of God, anointed high-priest and supreme temporal ruler, sat in his tribunal, impartially to judge between nation and nation, between people and prince, between sovereign and subject?"

M. O'RIORDAN.

¹ I do not overlook the distinction between *offensive* and *defensive* war. Cf. Cardinal Manning, *Temporal Power of the Pope*, page 62; *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, vol. iii., page 136; *The Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, pages 77, 130, and 164.

² *Temporal Power of the Pope*, Lecture ii., pages 45 and 46.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—II.

IT will be remembered that a type is the foundation of the mystical sense. In the previous part¹ mention was made of what is at once the most obvious requirement and the differentiating quality of a Scriptural type; namely, that it must be an objective reality.

We now proceed, according to promise, to develop our consideration of a type under this aspect by comparing it with a symbol. The contrast will enable the reader to understand with ease the nature of the former, because he can see at a glance how far it transcends a symbol. Both indeed are signs; sometimes what is symbolic happens to be, moreover, a real thing; yet wide is the difference between the two. A type must be, a symbol may not be, a reality. Nay, more, the objective reality of even a real symbol has no connection with its significance, whereas it is essential to that of a type. The colossal statue, with head of gold and feet of base materials, seen by Nabuchodonozor in his dream (Dan. ii. 31-33), was as much a symbol as were the actions really performed by Ezechiel (iv. v.). The one in its fall signified the destruction of the world's great empires, the others portended the fate of Jerusalem. As regards their symbolical meaning, the question of objective reality or external existence is purely irrelevant. The respective signification would not be affected, if the prophet had only dreamt that he had cut off his hair, or if a real statue had been displayed to the eyes of the Babylonian king. But, on the contrary, and be it well remembered, the typical nature of Abraham's sacrifice demands the real existence of himself and Isaac, and the historical truth of the event recorded in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis.² Cornely well remarks:—

“Ex illis, quae diximus, consequens est, ut typos a symbolis probe discernamus. Non raro in Jeremia, Ezechiele, aliisque

¹ See I. E. RECORD, 3rd Series, vol. xi., Aug. 1890, page 708.

² “Hircus (Dan. viii.) vel alia hujusmodi, per quae aliae personae a Christo in Scripturis designantur, non fuerunt res aliquae, sed similitudines imaginariae, ad hoc solum ostensae, ut illae personae significarentur; unde illa significatio qua per illas similitudines personae illae, aut regna desig-

Prophetis occurrunt actiones quaedam symbolicae, quae etiam aliquid futuri praesignificaverunt, at totam suam existendi rationem ita in hac praefiguratione habuerunt, ut ea sublata jam non essent factae."

Real existence, complete and self-sufficing, is the proximate end of what is ordained, moreover, to be the type of something higher than itself: whereas signification is the Alpha and Omega of a symbol. Of course the symbol must exist in some way—objectively or subjectively; but whether it be an *ens reale* or an *ens rationis*, matters not—for existence is neither its end nor the measure of its effectiveness, but at most a mere *sine qua non*, because if it *was* not, it could not signify.

7. Again, a symbol may represent what is past or present: it may be a record or a token, and for this any connection with its object will suffice. Thus the rainbow, the paschal lamb in its retrospective signification (Exodus xii. 14, 26, 27) as the memorial of the deliverance out of Egypt, and the golden plate on the high-priest's forehead—all were symbols. But a type refers exclusively to what is future, and its scope and aim is to convey information on a new subject. It relates to what is otherwise unknown. Hence, the antecedent recognition of a type is impossible, since there is not yet any association of ideas. Its office is prophetic, and this office it cannot fulfil but by the exhibition of its own self, of its peculiar and distinguishing attribute. The type can bear no resemblance to the antitype, except an intrinsic one, and consequently as such they must both belong to the same class. They are respectively, if we may so speak, the protasis and apodosis of reality: and the likeness between them is purposely designed; it is *τελικη*, not *κατ'εμβασιν*. The type must participate in the very attribute or quality which

naturam non pertinet nisi ad historicum sensum: sed ad Christum designandum etiam illa quae in rei veritate contigerunt, ordinantur sicut umbra ad veritatem; et ideo talis significatio, qua per huiusmodi res Christus aut ejus membra significantur, facit alium sensum praeter historicum, scilicet allegoricum (h. e. spirituales). Si alienubi vero inveniantur quod Christus significatur per huiusmodi imaginarias similitudines, talis significatio non excedit sensum litteralem; sicut Christus significatur per lapidem, qui excisus est de monte sine manibus. Dan. 2." (S. Thom. Quodl. vii., q. 6, art. 15, ad. 1.)

it foreshadows. Hence Melchisedech was a real priest, and Isaac a real victim. Hence, too, the types of the old law, which all refer in some way to the Incarnate Word, were many, because no one shadow could represent every outline of the substance, no single figure portray the Great One that was to come:—

“Attendere oportet [says Danko]¹ ‘typum’ inter et ‘symbolum’ grande discrimen intercedere; quod ex ipsa definitione utriusque sponte sua sequitur. Symbolum, το συμβολον, est signum pro repræsentatione veritatis cujusdam supersensualis et invisibilis, quæ ad relationem Deum inter et homines spectat. Typus, ο τυπος, est res quæ ex intentione Divina facta est, ad rem aliam futuram indicandam, quæ nondum existit, sed certe aliquando eveniet.”

8. There is, in consequence, a third difference. The mystical, or typical sense, is peculiar to Scripture. No work of man can claim it, though human literature and art may reach a high degree of perfection in symbolism or allegory. We need only call to mind *The Pilgrim's Progress*, or the *Divina Comedia*, the *Lusiad*, and the *Faerie Queene*, or many of the frescoes in Raphael's stanze. True, symbolism is superior to metaphor and simile; yet no mere *figure* can reach the lofty eminence occupied by the *realities* with which on the canvass of sacred history the great Artist depicts the higher ordinances of His everlasting covenant. Man can never rise above words or images; the mystical sense is the language of God. Not only because as prophetic it needs divine prescience, but still more because as signified exclusively by persons, places, events, &c., it demands omnipotence in its author. He must be able to shape the course of history at will, and to work out his own purposes by the free acts of rational creatures. Man's deeds must be his words; man's surroundings, the revealed manifestation of his good pleasure. Whenever this took place of old, then there was *real* prophecy, or the mystical sense of Scripture. But of this peculiarity of the inspired word, which is in the writer's opinion the most beautiful truth in all sacred hermeneutics or Scriptural theology, fuller treatment will be found in its own

¹ *Hist. Div. Revelationis*, part 3, sect. 113. (Vindob. 1867.)

place: here he but marks it for future consideration, for at present we must confine our attention to the symbolical sense, and bring our study of it to a close.

9. In common with all other signs, a symbol implies that he who uses it is himself possessed of intelligence, and that he speaks to man after the fashion of men. The employment of signs is peculiar to man, and necessary for his communication of knowledge as well as for his reception of it, at least in great measure. The lower creation has no idea to express; the higher needs no such manifestation for its wealth of intuition; but he in whose nature matter and spirit combine, in whom the visible and the invisible world meet, can only by spoken word or written character, by bodily gesture or external representation, give expression to his thought. So true is this, that the very science of the laws, operations and results of human reason starts with the considerations of signs.

Among them an important place belongs to the symbol. This emblem of thought, as it may be called, is not so much a picture of an object conceived by the mind, as a representative mark by means of which knowledge may be imparted; or if it be a pictorial image, in its own symbolical function, it is viewed, not as the representation of a physical thing, nor as individual, but as conveying a general notion to the mind. A symbol suggests, or indicates by association of ideas, what we are to think of. For instance, the lion or the eagle on national flags symbolize the valour, courage, and other qualities which the nation boasts; the cross is the symbol of redemption; the circle, of eternity; the anchor, of hope; and the Church's liturgy contains a complete system of the highest symbolism on earth.¹

While the eyes of all look at the symbol, the mind of

¹The Bishop of Rochelle, Mgr. Landriot, in his work *Le Symbolisme*, thus defines it:—"Le symbolisme est, dans une limite déterminée, la science des rapports, qui unissent Dieu et la création, le monde naturel et le monde surnaturel; la science des harmonies qui existent entre les différentes parties de l'univers, et constituent un tout merveilleux, dont chaque fragment suppose l'autre, dont chaque sphère est pour l'autre, et réciproquement, un centre de clartés, un foyer de lumineuse doctrine."

the initiated sees through it. Such pre-eminently was the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians, and it affords us a perfect example for the additional reason that it holds the same place in respect of the alphabet that metaphorical or figurative language does in regard to plain, direct, literal statement.

10. The symbolical language of numerous portions of Scripture, some of them being of considerable length, as Jacob's blessing, and the beautiful description of old age in the last chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, must be familiar to every reader. Oriental imagery, more in some books, less in others, is found in all, and to a degree which makes our prosaic Western minds feel the need of an interpreter. Thus, according to the vast majority of orthodox writers, that most obscure book *The Canticle of Canticles*, is an allegory pure and simple;¹ it is symbolical, not typical, and means exclusively the union of a Divine person with human nature, and what results from the Incarnation; and does not record, in the first place, as some Jews and modern rationalists would have it, the marriage of Solomon and an Egyptian princess.

11. The symbolism of Scripture presents a wide field to the student. Its extent, which is far greater than would be anticipated, is equalled only by its ever-varying beauty. From the first ages of Christianity, the study has been a favourite one with the saints and doctors of the Church; and may we not say that in great measure they owed their sanctity to it? Those to whom the Scripture is unfortunately a doubly-sealed book, are apt to associate the name of symbolism or verbal allegory with that of Origen, and then to dismiss the whole matter.² So, in a periodical of the day a Protestant writer thus expresses himself:—

“The allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament is, however, first reduced to a system by Philo. This eminent leader of

¹ Honorius of Autun is the first to deny it. He wrote early in the twelfth century. See *1e Hir, Grandvaux*.

² Pitra says: “*Communis enim hominum opinio est, qua nihil esse posset theologiae symbolicae exitiosius, eam e palaestra Origeniana in campum Christianorum insiluisse*” *Spicil. Solesmense* (vol. iii., Prol.

Alexandrine Judaism lays down a series of rules, both negative and positive, for the regulation of his favourite method. The negative rules appear to have been borrowed directly from the Stoics."

And again:—

"The allegories of Philo and the Alexandrians were only an instance of the use of a method thus widely diffused and deeply rooted in the natural tendencies of the human mind. Philo found the method already largely employed. His immediate predecessors were the Greeks. They, too, had a book [*Homer*], which, if not exactly regarded as sacred in the strict sense of the term, was at least an object of great veneration. They extracted their divinities," &c.

Long ago did Newman (*Hist. of the Arians*, first edition, page 63) expose the shallowness of this false theory, in a passage of such exquisite beauty that it must be transcribed entire:—

"But it is more natural to consider that the Divine Wisdom used on the sublimest of all subjects, media, which we spontaneously select for the expression of solemn thought and elevated emotion, and had no especial regard to the practice in any particular country, which afforded but an instance of the operation of a general law of our nature. When the mind is occupied by some vast and awful subject of contemplation, it is prompted to give utterance to its feelings in a figurative style; for ordinary words will not convey the admiration, nor literal words the reverence, which possesses it; and when dazzled at length with the great sight, it turns away for relief, it still catches in every new object which it encounters glimpses of its former vision, and colours the whole range of thought with this one abiding association. If, however, others have preceded it in the privilege of such contemplations, a well-disciplined party will lead it to adopt the images which they have invented, both from affection to what is familiar to it, and from a fear of using unsanctioned language on a sacred subject. Such are the feelings under which a deeply impressed fancy addresses itself to

page viii.) ; and "Sed alterum est quod Alexandrinis multorum errorum causationi erit, quibus videlicet fauste contigit præcipuum allegoricæ interpretationis fundamentum aptis hinc tangere, et præclarior quam sive ante eos sive post, a quocumque factum fuit, proferre et tueri: servari videlicet ab Ecclesia Catholica interpretandæ Scripturæ regulam, ex Apostolis ad episcopos derivatam; qua, quum non inesse Scripturæ veris mysticos sensus citra impietatem dici nequeat, jubetur quisque eos erigere, insistendo vestigiis Apostolorum, maxime Pauli et Joannis, quin et ipsius Verbi Dei Salvatoris exemplo." (*Ibid.*, p. ix.)

the task of disclosing even its human thoughts; and the description, if we may dare to conjecture, in its measure applies to the case of a mind under the immediate influence of inspiration. Certainly, its contents favour some such hypothetical account of the structure of the sacred volume, in which the divinely instructed imagination of the writers is ever glancing to and fro, connecting past things with future, illuminating God's lower providences and man's humblest services by allusions to the relations of the evangelical covenant, and then, in turn, suddenly leaving the latter to dwell on those past dealings of God with man, which must not be forgotten merely because they have been excelled. No prophet ends his subject; his brethren after him renew, enlarge, transfigure, or reconstruct it; so that the Bible, though various in its parts, forms a whole, grounded on a few distinct principles discernable throughout it, and is, in consequence, though intelligible in its general drift, yet obscure in its text, and even tempts the student to a lax and disrespectful interpretation of it."

They know not the exact position of the great Alexandrine teacher. True, he delighted in allegorical exposition, while recognising the necessity of limits, which in practice, however, he usually exceeded. "Ubi bene, nemo melius, ubi male, nemo pejus," Cassiodorus, I think, says of him; but we are not concerned with his history now.

12. Origen is not the earliest nor the greatest exponent of symbolism. In Alexandria itself Pantaenus and Clement preceded him, and the latter is a far higher authority on the subject than even his illustrious pupil. He says a good deal in the *Stromata* (book v., chaps. 4-9), though he speaks with great caution and reserve; because, as he implies in the twelfth chapter (*Migne. Patr. Gr.*, ix. 120), the symbolic interpretation of Scripture is part of the *arcanum*. A living writer conjectures that Origen violated on this point the *disciplina arcani*, and that his premature revelation of symbolism caused the reaction on the part of several Fathers against the allegorical exposition of the whole Alexandrian school:—

"La tradition mystérieuse dont parle Clément, n'est pas, comme on l'a dit, une doctrine dogmatique de l'Eglise primitive; c'est le secret de l'interprétation symbolique des Ecritures, ce qui est indiqué par le nom de *Clef*, que S. Mélicon a imposé à son vocabulaire, destiné alors aux saints. La première règle

de la science symbolique affirme donc sa qualité mystérieuse. C'est la chose cachée, la tradition secrète. Clément craint également d'en trahir le mystère, et de la laisser se perdre dans l'oubli. S'il ne l'avait pas manifestée, personne n'aurait pu, un peu plus tard, recueillir les témoignages des apôtres et les transmettre avec autant d'autorité et de certitude. Le grand tort d'Origène, et qui a engendré tous les autres, a été de ne pas obéir à cette loi du secret, qu'il connaissait, et dont Jésus Christ était lui-même l'auteur. Cette loi était cependant regardée comme si rigoureuse, que même après l'imprudence d'Origène, elle a été observée comme si le mystère n'en avait jamais été divulgué. C'est ce qui ressort des enseignements de S. Chrysostome, de S. Grégoire de Naziance, de S. Augustin, comme de ceux de S. Denis l'Arcopagite."¹

13. St. Melito of Sardis is of all the Fathers the one who has most fully witnessed to the *depositum fidei*, as regards the symbolism of holy Scripture. He was probably the second bishop of that see, and was one of the circle composed also of St. Polycarp, Papias, Onesimus, Abercius, and Apollinaris of Hieropolis, his ally in the controversy with the Ebionite Quartodecimans. Thus he enjoyed what were, even in the second century, uncommon opportunities for the acquisition of the sublimest knowledge. He drank of the stream of Apostolic tradition, fresh from the fountain head. We have abundant evidence of the veneration in which St. Melito was subsequently held.²

Polyrates of Ephesus, in his letter to Pope St. Victor, says that all Melito's works were done in the Holy Ghost; another Greek styles him "among teachers godlike and wisest;" and St. Jerome remarks: "Hujus elegans et declamatorium ingenium laudans Tertullianus, in septem libris quos scripsit adversus Ecclesiam pro Montano dicit eum a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari." To form some estimate of the authority of the saint's teaching on inspired symbolism, we need but reflect that he was bishop of one of the Apocalyptic churches soon after its foundation, and that the Apocalypse is the symbolical book of the New Testament, and that St. John's last work bears the same relation to the books of that

¹ Le Blanc d'Amboise, *La langue Symbolique et le sens spirituel des Saintes Ecritures*, page 11. Paris, 1881.

² See his life, &c.; *Migne, Patr. Gr.*, v., pages 1145-1207.

description in the Old Testament, which, in point of Messianic prophecy, St. Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews do to their counterpart, the law and the prophets.

14. The "clavis," or key to the symbolical language of Scripture is not only one of the most valuable of all the Patristic writings, but it is unique, a book altogether *sui generis*. The saint's work is not a scientific treatise or a manual of hermeneutics, but an enumeration of symbols, and doubtless belonged to the *arcanum*. It contains in its purest form the Apostolic teaching on the hidden sense of the inspired word. To anyone who understands, as far as man's slight knowledge goes, why the Old Testament was written, and how it is actually employed in the New, the supreme value of such authoritative exegesis is self-evident. And how deeply this was impressed on subsequent ecclesiastical writers, how perfectly in harmony it is with the mind of the Church, is shown by the fact that before the sixteenth century, six hundred writers, from St. Eucherius down, had taken St. Melito's "clavis" as their guide, and written on symbolism. Most of these writers, were Latins, as Pitra remarks (*Spicil. Solesmense*, ii., page xxi.). Among them he singles out St. Eucherius, St. Gregory the Great, Rabanus Maurus, and St. Bernard, not as if they were the chief, but rather for the sake of a convenient chronological division.

15. Dom (afterwards Cardinal) Pitra, from whom this description is mainly taken, was the discoverer in our day of the long-lost "clavis." After a search of twenty-five years, he was so fortunate as to become aware of the existence of no less than eight MSS. His *Prolegomena*, the critical text, and the notes comprising those of about one hundred and fifty commentators, are contained in vols. i. and ii. of his *Spicilegium Solesmense*.¹ The *Prolegomena* (about one hundred pages) give the learned editor's views—*De Re Symbolica*—the history of St. Melito as far as it is preserved, and an account of the representative writers on symbolism. The "clavis"

¹ He returns to what is evidently a labour of love in his *Analecta Sacra*, tom. ii., Paris, 1883.

itself consists of about eight hundred formulas, or figurative expressions which require traditional explanation. It contains no canons of exegesis, being, as was remarked above only a glossary. We meet indeed with types in it; for instance, "Nubes, humanitas Christi, vel Virgo Maria—cui Dominus ascendit super nubem levem;" but symbols vastly preponderate (the pelican of our Lord, the lion of St. Mark,¹ &c.) Hefele's excellent article on St. Melito (*Goschler*, xiv. 495) differs in some important respects from the above. Pitra is, however, followed by many, including the editor of *Dom Ceillier's Auteurs Sacrés* (i. 449), Paris, 1858.

16. Besides the symbolical expressions of which the "clavis" treats, there are in the Bible symbolical visions and actions. As an example of the former, we may mention that in which Jeremias beheld the almond-tree (Yal'g, "virgam vigilantem"), Jer. i. 11-13. See also Ezech. i. the four living creatures (cherubim); viii., abominations of Jerusalem; ix., destruction of sinners, and the sign of the cross (Tau); x., the four cherubim; xxxvii. 1-14, the dry bones; xl.-x'viii., the temple; Amos vii. 1-6, the locusts; 7-9, the trowel; viii.-1-3, the hook; Zach. i. 8-17; the horses, red, speckled, and white; 18-21, the four horns and the four smiths; ii., the measuring of Jerusalem; iii., Josue, the high priest; iv., the golden candlestick, &c.; v., the flying volume, &c.; vi., the four chariots, &c. And of the latter, Jer. xiii. 1-7, hiding the linen girdle; xix. 10-11, breaking the potter's vessel; Is. xx. 2, laying aside garments; Ezech. xii. 3-16, removing goods and going forth from the city; xxiv. 15-24, refraining from tears; xxxvi. 16-23, writing on sticks.

As regards the New Testament, the Apocalypse is simply a book of visions: and Christ's cursing the barren fig-tree, and Agabus, by inspiration, binding the feet of St. Paul, as a prophetic sign of what was to befall the Apostle, afford us instances of the second kind. We need only repeat,

¹ Pitra speaks of both indiscriminately: "Lato enim sensu, symbolum quodvis signum est, σημεῖον. Nostro autem, qualem expriment plerique allegorici nostri interpretes proprie signum est, quo sub rerum aut verborum integumentis, mysteria supra naturam posita, quae noscere nostra refert, significantur." (Vol. iii., page v.)

that though these visions and actions refer to the future, they have only literal sense. They are not types, but allegorical scenes, or similes in action. Patrizi's rule (*Inst. Interpretis.*, No. 299) may be useful to some of our readers:—

“In universum autem, ut typos a meris symbolis secernamus, regula haec esto ex natura sensus spiritualis Scripturarum petita. Quoniam in symbolis nihil aliud deprehendere est, nisi unius alicujus rei significationem, quum aliquid, quod in Scripturis legitur, symbolum esse comperimus neque tamen sensus ipse obvius ac literalis verborum, quibus illud enuntiatur, quidquid tale referat, pro certo tenebimus, non merum symbolum id esse, sed typum. Concludendum enim erit sensui literali verborum alium quoque sensum subesse, spiritalem videlicet; et spiritualis sensus in verba, non a meris symbolis, quibus ut Thomas docet, iste sensus non subest, sed e typis, de quibus ea dicta sunt duntaxat derivatur.”

17. Now we have distinguished the mystical sense from that which bears the closest resemblance to it, the *species* from the *genus*, and have disposed of the last claimant in many minds to the honour due only to what is founded on a type. If to some our path seems circuitous, and our view of the subject rather oblique, we would remind them of the misapprehensions of the senses in question which exist on the part of other people, not so well-informed. A purely subjective notion on the meaning of some inspired passage; a notion invented for want of a better; a notion really at variance with the context, linguistic usage, syntax, Scriptural idiom, archæology, tradition, or authority, will be by many, in their blissful ignorance, fondly and firmly held as being a “mystical interpretation.” The magic of the name is enough for them; they are like the old lady who declared “it did her heart good to hear that blessed word ‘Mesopotamia.’”

Far be it from us to deny that much good may accidentally be done to souls who make mistakes as to the meaning of Scripture; for instance, a pious but un-exegetical nun may be, and no doubt often is, benefited by *her* thoughts on texts such as these: “Obedience is better than sacrifice,”

and "Virtue is made perfect in infirmity." Nay, perhaps, more in some cases owing to personal reasons or intellectual build, than if she knew the real meaning; yet ecclesiastics cannot concur in her opinion, nor accept her "mystical interpretation," for they know that Saul's act was not "sacrifice," but "disobedience," and that our Lord spoke not of St. Paul's virtue, but of His own; and to ecclesiastics this knowledge is immeasurably more beneficial as regards their souls than that accommodated sense just alluded to.

Again, others will be found who descant to their own satisfaction, no doubt, on the "mystical sense" of our Lord's parables and similes, as if Dives and Lazarus really lived in the Via Sacra, or the Ten Virgins really walked through the streets of Jerusalem. Finally, a less erring class will delight in the "mystical meaning" of Daniel's visions, or Ezechieh's symbolical acts.

We do not undervalue the good which may co-exist with all this, neither do we deny that even fathers and commentators who, however, knew what they were doing, have similarly *sensu latissimo* so applied the term in question; we only say that a great deal of sublime truth is lost sight of, and a great mistake made by those who imagine this mode of speaking to be strictly correct.

In the next section, with the reader's permission, texts of Scripture that have a mystical sense will be indicated.

REGINALD WALSH, O. P.

(*To be continued.*)

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE USE OF EGGS WHEN A FAST DAY FALLS ON FRIDAY.

“VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I find in the *Irish Directory* that abstinence from eggs is prescribed on the Vigil of All Saints, and at page 3 it is stated that the Vigil of All Saints is one of these days, on which, if it falls on Friday, eggs are not allowed. At the same page there is a reference to page 13 of the *Directory* of 1880 ; and on looking up that page it will be seen that the Irish bishops at the Synod of Maynooth, resolved to petition the Holy See for certain dispensations regarding the law of abstinence in Ireland. Among other dispensations there is one asking that when a fast day falls on a Friday, it may be lawful to use eggs, except on Friday of Holy Week. And the source of that law, for which there was a dispensation asked, and which does not arise from the common law of the Church is clearly stated by the bishops. It is custom ; and such a custom which does not prevail throughout the universal Church. “Cum dies jejunii occurrat Feria vi^{ta} mos est abstinere ab esu ovorum.” The dispensation sought for was granted, except for the Vigils of the Nativity, Assumption, Apostles Peter and Paul, and of All Saints, on which days the custom of abstaining from eggs, when any of these days fell on a Friday, continues in full force.

“One would naturally conclude from the above evidence that abstinence from eggs was prescribed on Friday, 31st October, the Vigil of All Saints ; and, accordingly, priests in every diocese in Ireland who had only such information at hand as that given by the *Directory* would not only have been obliged to abstain from eggs on that day, but would have likewise imposed it on their flocks. And it is not a matter of little or no importance to impose without legitimate authority such an obligation on any individual, not to speak of imposing it on the people of a parish, or of a number of parishes. But the fault lies not so much with the priests as with the *Directory*.

“Now, it is pretty manifest that abstinence from eggs is not prescribed in every diocese throughout Ireland on the above-named Vigils when they fall on a Friday. This will be clear by bearing in mind the sources of the obligation of fasting and abstinence. The common law of the Church enjoins :—

“I. Fasting on one meal on all fast days.

" II. Abstinence from meat, eggs, and whitemeats (*lactinia*)¹ on all fast days in Lent.

" III. Abstinence from meat alone on all fast days outside Lent.

" But there is another source which permanently modifies the law of fasting and of abstinence, and that is custom: dispensation modifies the law of abstinence. Hence custom modifies I., by allowing a collation; dispensation usually modifies II., according to the terms of the dispensation, and in this country custom has been more rigorous than the common law as regards III., for there is no abstinence from eggs or *lactinia* on fasting days outside Lent according to the common law of the Church. Wherever such abstinence has been introduced, theologians ascribe it to local custom. According to ancient usages in Ireland, Friday was a day of abstinence from eggs and *lactinia* as well as from meat. There are many other examples of the excessive rigour of the Irish Church in matters of fasting and abstinence, but they have all been abrogated, except that of abstinence from eggs, not on every Friday, but only when it happens to be a fast day. And even this one particular, viz., abstinence from eggs on a Friday when it happens to be a fast day, has been long since abrogated in several dioceses—Cashel, Limerick, and others.¹ The rescript, therefore, referred to above, and published in the *Directory* for 1880, has no reference to the dioceses of "Cashel, Limerick, and others," since the obligation had been abrogated in these places, namely, the obligation induced by local custom of abstaining from eggs on Friday, when it happens to be a fast day.

"If the above explanation be the true one, and if there be 'several' dioceses in Ireland in which the obligation referred to had been abrogated before the rescript referred to had been issued, it is obviously the duty of those responsible for the *Directory* not to state absolutely there is an obligation to abstain from eggs on any fast day outside Lent; for, as I have already said, it can mean nothing else to those who have not other sources of information at hand, than that there is no exception; whereas there are, in reality, several.—Yours faithfully,

"CASSELIENSIS."

We are not sure that our correspondent's communication should not be published under the heading of *Correspondence*.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, vol. viii., Feb. 1872, page 223.

It requires no answer from us, for it is in itself a most accurate exposition of the question treated.

Prior to the Maynooth Synod, in *some* dioceses of Ireland it was unlawful to use eggs on Friday when a fast day fell on Friday. In other dioceses—Cashel, Limerick, &c.—this law, introduced in the first instance by custom, had been again abrogated by contrary custom. The bishops assembled at the Synod of Maynooth petitioned the Holy See for a dispensation in this law; and the Holy See granted the dispensation, excepting the Vigils of the Nativity, the Assumption, Saints Peter and Paul, and All Saints, when these Vigils fall on Friday. Now, as our correspondent writes, and as past pages of the I. E. RECORD teach, these exceptions do not in any way affect those other dioceses in which the permission existed independently of the special concession which is thus limited.¹

Hence this limitation does not affect the dioceses of Cashel, Limerick, or those others in which the law had been abrogated by custom prior to the Maynooth Synod. In those dioceses, therefore, it is lawful to use eggs, even on the four Vigils mentioned.

Our correspondent at the end of his communication complains of the manner in which our *Ordo* deals with this subject. For example, on the Vigil of All Saints it writes in parentheses “(Jejun. abstin. ab ovis),” making no reference to the many dioceses in which this prohibition does not exist. He writes: “It is obviously the duty of those responsible for the *Directory* not to state *absolutely* there is an obligation to abstain from eggs on any fast day outside Lent; for, as I have already said, it can mean nothing else to those who have not other sources of information at hand, than that there is no exception; whereas there are, in reality, several.’

No doubt it would be desirable that the *Ordo* would direct attention to the exception referred to. But we must not be too severe on the very reverend compiler of our *Ordo*. The exceptional Vigils do not fall on Friday every year, and the matter may easily escape his notice. Moreover,

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. i. (1880), page 747.

he may contend that he only publishes the exception made by Rome to its dispensation: and that it is not his duty, nor his province to interpret the dispensation, or explain the nature and extent of the exceptions which accompany the dispensation.

D. COGHLAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE O'CURRY MSS.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—At page 984 of this month's I. E. RECORD I find a reference to O'Curry's great *Glossary of the Irish Language*, of which it is said, 'that it was thought to have been lost until recently discovered among the MSS. in Clonliffe College.'

"With regard to that *Glossary*, it was secured for the Catholic University at the cost of some hundreds of pounds at the time of poor O'Curry's death. It was stated to me at the time, that after we had laid his body in Glasnevin, and before quitting the graveyard, an attempt was made by Trinity College to obtain possession of all his literary remains, including, of course, this *Glossary*.

"The *Glossary*, I heard, contains *sixty thousand* Irish words. This may be, and very probably is, an exaggeration; but the number is certainly exceedingly great, especially for such an ancient language.

"The manner in which O'Curry compiled it was very curious. He looked on it, I believe, as the great work of his life. Whenever in the course of his reading he came across an Irish word which he did not understand, he copied out the whole context. — *Defining the unknown word*. By collating passages, the meaning of several words was fixed. These memoranda were written on scraps of paper, the backs of envelopes, &c., and were pasted by him into books—afterwards put into alphabetical order; and, while I was rector of the Catholic University, Professor O'Looney was chiefly occupied for some years in copying out in alphabetical order the words and ancient Irish passages thus collected by O'Curry. There are several large volumes, both in Mr. O'Looney's handwriting, and O'Curry's original MSS. I understand they are with the rest of the library of the Catholic University in a separate place in Clonliffe, where, when the Jesuit Fathers got charge of the University College, Stephen's-green,

they were deposited for safe keeping, until the Catholic University takes her destined place at the head of Catholic Education in Ireland. Until I saw the notice in the I. E. RECORD for November, to which I have referred, I never heard it was supposed that these valuable MSS. were lost. They are in excellent custody, under the care of the V. Rev. President of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe.

“Kindly excuse me for troubling you with those lines. And believe me, Very Rev. dear Sir, with sincere respect, yours most faithfully,

“✠ BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK,

“*Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.*”

“ST. MEL’S, LONGFORD,

“*November 15th, 1890.*”

DOCUMENT.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE LEO XIII. TO THE PEOPLE OF ITALY.

VENERABLE BRETHREN AND BELOVED CHILDREN, HEALTH AND
APOSTOLIC BLESSING.

From the height of the Apostolic Throne, where Divine Providence has placed Us to watch over the salvation of all nations, We look often upon Italy, in whose bosom, by an act of singular predilection, God has established the See of His Vicar, and from which come to Us at the present time many and most bitter sorrows. It is not any personal offence that saddens Us, nor the privations and sacrifices imposed upon Us by the present condition of things, nor the outrages and scoffs which an insolent press has full power to hurl every day against Us. If only Our own person were concerned, and not the ruin to which Italy threatened in its faith is hastening, We should bear these offences without complaint, rejoicing even to repeat what one of Our most illustrious Predecessors said of himself: *If the captivity of my country did not every moment of each day increase, as to the contempt and scorn of myself I should joyfully be silent.*¹

But, besides the independence and dignity of the Holy See, the religion itself and the salvation of a whole nation are concerned, of a nation which from the earliest times opened its bosom to the Catholic faith and has ever jealously preserved it. Incredible it seems, but it is true: to such a pass have we come, that we have

St. Gregory the Great, Letter to the Emperor Maurice, Reg. 5.

to fear for this Italy of ours the loss even of the faith. Many times have We sounded the alarm, to give warning of the danger ; but We do not therefore think that We have done enough. In face of the continued and fiercer assaults that are made, We hear the voice of duty calling upon Us more powerfully than before to speak to you again, Venerable Brethren, to your Clergy, and to the whole Italian people. As the enemy makes no truce, so neither you nor We must remain silent or inert. By the Divine mercy we have been constituted guardians and defenders of the religion of the people entrusted to Our care, Pastors and watchful sentinels of the flock of Christ ; and for this flock we must be ready, if need be, to sacrifice everything, even life itself.

We shall not say anything new ; for facts have not changed from what they were, and We have had at other times to speak of them when occasion was given. But We now intend to recapitulate these facts in some way, and to group them into one picture, so as to draw out for general instruction the consequences which flow from them. The facts are incontestable, and have happened in the clear light of day ; not separated one from another, but so connected together as in their series to reveal with fullest evidence a system of which they are the actual operation and development. The system is not new ; but the audacity, the fury, and the rapidity with which it is now carried out, are new. It is the plan of the sects that is now unfolding itself in Italy, especially in what relates to the Catholic religion and the Church, with the final and avowed purpose, if it were possible of reducing it to nothing. It is needless now to put the Masonic sects upon their trial. They are already judged ; their ends, their means, their doctrines, and their action, are all known with indisputable certainty. Possessed by the spirit of Satan, whose instrument they are, they burn like him with a deadly and implacable hatred of Jesus Christ and of His work : and they endeavour by every means to overthrow and fetter it. This war is at present waged more than elsewhere in Italy, in which the Catholic religion has taken deeper root ; and above all in Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, and the See of the Universal Pastor and Teacher of the Church.

It is well to trace from the beginning the different phases of this warfare.

The war began by the overthrow of the civil power of the Popes, the downfall of which, according to the secret intentions

of the real leaders, afterwards openly avowed, was, under a political pretext, to be the means of enslaving, at least, if not of destroying, the supreme spiritual power of the Roman Pontiffs. That no doubt might remain as to the true object of this warfare, there followed quickly the suppression of the Religious Orders; and thereby a great reduction in the number of evangelical labourers for the propagation of the faith amongst the heathens, and for the sacred ministry and religious service of Catholic countries. Later, the obligation of military service was extended to ecclesiastics, with the necessary result that many and grave obstacles were put to the recruiting and due formation even of the secular Clergy. Hands were laid upon ecclesiastical property, partly by absolute confiscation, and partly by charging it with enormous burdens, so as to impoverish the Clergy and the Church, and to deprive the Church of what is necessary for its temporal support and for carrying on institutions and works in aid of its divine apostolate. This the sectaries themselves have openly declared. *To lessen the influence of the Clergy and of clerical bodies, one only efficacious means must be employed: to strip them of all their goods, and to reduce them to absolute poverty.*

So also the action of the State is of itself all directed to efface from the nation its religious and Christian character. From the laws, and from the whole of official life, every religious inspiration and idea is systematically banished, when not directly assailed. Every public manifestation of faith and of Catholic piety is either forbidden or, under vain pretences, in a thousand ways impeded. From the family are taken away its foundation and religious constitution by the proclaiming of *civil marriage*, as it is called; and also by the entirely lay education which is now demanded, from the first elements to the higher teaching of the universities, so that the rising generations, as far as this can be effected by the State, have to grow up without any idea of religion, and without the first essential notions of their duties towards God. This is to put the axe to the root. No more universal and efficacious means could be imagined of withdrawing society, and families, and individuals, from the influence of the Church and of the faith. *To lay Clericalism (or Catholicism) waste in its foundations and in its very sources of life, namely, in the school and in the family:* such is the authentic declaration of Masonic writers.

It will be said that this does not happen in Italy only, but is

a system of government which States generally follow. We answer that this does not refute, but confirms, what We are saying as to the designs and action of Freemasonry in Italy. Yes, this system is adopted and carried out wherever Freemasonry uses its impious and wicked action; and, as its action is widespread, so is this anti-Christian system widely applied. But the application becomes more speedy and general, and is pushed more to extremes, in countries where the government is more under the control of the sect and better promotes its interests. Unfortunately, at the present time the new Italy is of the number of these countries. Not to-day only has it become subject to the wicked and evil influence of the sects; but for some time past they have tyrannized over it as they liked, with absolute dominion and power. Here the direction of public affairs, in what concerns religion, is wholly in conformity with the aspirations of the sects; and for accomplishing their aspirations, they find avowed supporters and ready instruments in those who hold the public power. Laws adverse to the Church and measures hostile to it are first proposed, decided, and resolved, in the secret meetings of the sect; and if anything presents even the least appearance of hostility or harm to the Church, it is at once received with favour and put forward.

Amongst the most recent facts We may mention the approval of the new penal code, in which what was most obstinately demanded, in spite of all reasons to the contrary, were the articles against the Clergy, which form for them an exceptional law, and even condemn as criminal certain actions which are sacred duties of their ministry. The law as to pious works, by which all charitable property, accumulated by the piety and religion of our ancestors, under the protection and guardianship of the Church, was withdrawn altogether from the Church's action and control, had been for some years put forward in the meetings of the sect, precisely because it would inflict a new outrage on the Church, lessen its social influence, and suppress at once a great number of bequests made for divine worship. Then came that eminently sectarian work, the erection of the monument to the renowned apostate of Nola, which, with the aid and favour of the government, was promoted, determined, and carried out by means of Freemasonry, whose most authorised spokesmen were not ashamed to acknowledge its purpose and to declare its meaning. Its purpose was to insult the Papacy: its meaning, that, instead of

the Catholic faith, must now be substituted the most absolute freedom of examination, of criticism, of thought, and of conscience: and what is meant by such language in the mouth of the sects is well known.

The seal was put by the most explicit declarations made by the head of the government, which were to the following effect:—That the true and real conflict, which the government has the merit of understanding, is the conflict between faith and the Church on one side and free examination and reason on the other. That the Church may try to act as it has done before, to enchain anew reason and free-thought, and to prevail; but the government in this conflict declares itself openly in favour of reason as against faith, and takes upon itself the task of making the Italian State the evident expression of this reason and liberty: a sad task, which has just now been boldly re-affirmed on a like occasion.

In the light of such facts and such declarations as these, it is more than ever clear that the ruling idea which, as far as religion is concerned, controls the course of public affairs in Italy, is the realization of the Masonic programme. We see how much has already been realized; we know how much still remains to be done; and we can foresee with certainty that, so long as the destinies of Italy are in the hands of sectarian rulers or of men subject to the sects, the realization of the programme will be pressed on, more or less rapidly according to circumstances, unto its complete development.

The action of the sects is at present directed to attain the following objects, according to the votes and resolutions passed in their most important assemblies—votes and resolutions inspired throughout by a deadly hatred of the Church. *The abolition in the schools of every kind of religious instruction, and the founding of institutions in which even girls are to be withdrawn from all clerical influence, whatever it may be; because the State, which ought to be absolutely atheistic, has the inalienable right and duty to form the heart and the spirit of its citizens, and no school should exist apart from its inspiration and control. The rigorous application of all laws now in force, which aim at securing the absolute independence of civil society from clerical influence. The strict observance of laws suppressing religious corporations, and the employment of means to make them effectual. The regulation of all ecclesiastical property, starting from the principle that its*

ownership belongs to the State, and its administration to the civil power. The exclusion of every Catholic or clerical element from all public administrations, from pious works, hospitals, and schools, from the councils which govern the destinies of the country, from acclimical and other unions, from companies, committees, and families—an exclusion from everything, everywhere, and for ever. Lastly, the Masonic influence is to make itself felt in all the circumstances of social life, and to become master and controller of everything. Hereby the way will be smoothed towards the abolition of the Papacy: Italy will thus be free from its implacable and deadly enemy; and Rome, which in the past was the centre of universal Theocracy will in the future be the centre of universal secularization, whence the Magna Charta of human liberty is to be proclaimed in the face of the whole world. Such are the authentic declarations, aspirations, and resolutions of Freemasons or of their assemblies.

Without exaggeration, this is the present condition and the future prospect of religion in Italy. To shrink from seeing the gravity of this would be a fatal error. To recognise it as it is, to confront it with evangelical prudence and fortitude, to infer the duties which it imposes on all Catholics, and upon us especially who as Pastors have to watch over them and guide them to salvation, is to enter into the views of Providence, to do a work of wisdom and pastoral zeal. As far as We are concerned, the Apostolic office lays upon Us the duty of protesting loudly once more against all that has been done, is doing, or is attempted in Italy to the harm of religion. Defending and guarding the sacred rights of the Church and of the Pontificate, We openly repel and denounce to the whole Catholic world the outrages which the Church and the Pontificate are continually receiving, especially in Rome, and which hamper Us in the government of the Catholic Church, and add difficulty and indignity to Our condition. We are determined not to omit anything on Our part which can serve to maintain the faith lively and vigorous amidst the Italian people, and to protect it against the assaults of its enemies. We, therefore, make appeal, Venerable Brethren, to your zeal and your great love for souls, in order that, possessed with a sense of the gravity of the danger which they incur, you may apply the proper remedies and do all you can to dispel this danger.

No means must be neglected that is in your power. All the resources of speech, every expedient in action, all the immense

treasures of help and grace which the Church places in your hands, must be made use of, for the formation of a Clergy learned and full of the spirit of Jesus Christ, for the Christian education of youth, for the extirpation of evil doctrines, for the defence of Catholic truths, and for the maintenance of the Christian character and spirit of family life.

As to the Catholic people, before everything else it is necessary that they should be instructed as to the true state of things in Italy with regard to religion, the essentially religious character of the conflict in Italy against the Pontiff, and the real object constantly aimed at, so that they may see by the evidence of facts the many ways in which their religion is conspired against, and may be convinced of the risk they run of being robbed and spoiled of the inestimable treasure of the faith. With this conviction in their minds, and having at the same time a certainty that without faith it is impossible to please God and to be saved, they will understand that what is now at stake is the greatest, not to say the only interest, which everyone on earth is bound before all things, at the cost of any sacrifice, to put out of danger, under penalty of everlasting misery. They will, moreover, easily understand that, in this time of open and raging conflict, it would be disgraceful for them to desert the field and hide themselves. Their duty is to remain at their post, and openly to show themselves to be true Catholics by their belief and by actions in conformity with their faith. This they must do for the honour of their faith, and the glory of the Sovereign Leader whose banner they follow, and that they may escape that great misfortune of being disowned at the last day, and of not being recognised as His by the Supreme Judge who has declared that whosoever is not with Him is against Him.

Without ostentation or timidity, let them give proof of that true courage which arises from the consciousness of fulfilling a sacred duty before God and men. To this frank profession of faith Catholics must unite a perfect docility and filial love towards the Church, a sincere respect for their bishops, and an absolute devotion and obedience to the Roman Pontiff. In a word, they will recognise how necessary it is to cease from everything that is the work of the sects, or that receives impulse or favour from them, as being undoubtedly infected by the anti-Christian spirit; and they will, on the contrary, devote themselves with activity, courage and constancy, to Catholic works, and to

the associations and institutions which the Church has blessed, and which the Bishops and the Roman Pontiff encourage and sustain. Moreover, seeing that the chief instrument employed by our enemies is the press, which in great part receives from them its inspiration and support, it is important that Catholics should oppose the evil press by a press that is good, for the defence of truth, out of love for religion, and to uphold the rights of the Church. While the Catholic press is occupied in laying bare the perfidious designs of the sects, in helping and seconding the action of the sacred Pastors, and in defending and promoting Catholic works, it is the duty of the faithful efficaciously to support this press, both by refusing or ceasing to favour in any way the evil press; and also directly, by concurring, as far as each one can, in helping it to live and thrive: and in this matter We think that hitherto enough has not been done in Italy. Lastly, the teaching addressed by Us to all Catholics, especially in the Encyclicals "*Humanum genus*" and "*Sapientia Christianæ*," should be particularly applied to the Catholics of Italy, and be impressed upon them. If they have anything to suffer or to sacrifice through remaining faithful to these duties, let them take courage in the thought that the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence and is gained only by doing violence to ourselves; and that he who loves himself and what is his own more than Jesus Christ, is not worthy of Him. The example of the many invincible champions who, throughout all time, have generously sacrificed everything for the faith, and the special helps of grace which make the yoke of Jesus Christ sweet and His burden light, ought to powerfully animate their courage and to sustain them in the glorious contest.

So far We have considered only the religious side of the present state of things in Italy, inasmuch as this is for Us the most essential, and the subject which eminently concerns Us by reason of the Apostolic office which We hold. But it is worth while to consider also the social and political side, so that Italians may see that, not only the love of religion, but also the noblest and sincerest love of country, should stir them to resist the impious attempts of the sects. As a convincing proof of this, it suffices to take note of the kind of future, in the social and political order, which is being prepared for Italy by men whose object is—and they make no secret of it—to wage an unrelenting war against Catholicism and the Papacy.

Already the test of the past speaks eloquently for itself. What

Italy has become in this first period of its new life, as to public and private morality, internal safety, order and peace, national wealth and prosperity, all this is known to you by facts, Venerable Brethren, better than We could describe it in words. The very men whose interest it would be to hide all this, are constrained by truth to admit it. We will only say that, under present conditions, through a sad but real necessity, things could not be otherwise: the Masonic sect, with all its boast of a spirit of beneficence and philanthropy, can only exercise an evil influence, an influence which is evil because it attacks and endeavours to destroy the religion of Christ, the true benefactress of mankind.

All know with what salutary effect and in how many ways the influence of religion penetrates society. It is beyond dispute that sound public and private morality gives honour and strength to States. But it is equally certain that, without religion there is no true morality, either public or private. From the family, solidly based on its natural foundations, comes the life, the growth, and the energy of society. But without religion, and without morality, the domestic partnership has no stability, and the family bonds grow weak and waste away. The prosperity of peoples and of nations comes from God and from His blessings. If a people does not attribute its prosperity to Him, but rises up against Him, and in the pride of its heart tacitly tells Him that it has no need of Him, its prosperity is but a semblance, certain to disappear so soon as it shall please the Lord to confound the proud insolence of His enemies. It is religion which, penetrating to the depth of each one's conscience, makes him feel the force of duty and urges him to fulfil it. It is religion which gives to rulers feelings of justice and love towards their subjects; which makes subjects faithful and sincerely devoted to their rulers; which makes upright and good legislators, just and incorruptible magistrates, brave and heroic soldiers, conscientious and diligent administrators. It is religion which produces concord and affection between husband and wife, love and reverence between parents and their children; which makes the poor respect the property of others, and causes the rich to make a right use of their wealth. From this fidelity to duty, and this respect for the rights of others come the order, the tranquillity, and the peace, which form so large a part of the prosperity of a people and of a State. Take away religion, and with it all these immensely precious benefits would disappear from society.

For Italy, moreover, the loss would be more sensible. All its glories and greatness, which for a long time gave to it the first place among the most cultured nations, are inseparable from religion, which has either produced or inspired them, or certainly has given to them favour, help, and increase. Its communes tell us of its public liberties; of its military glories we read in its many memorable enterprises against the enemies of the Christian name. Its sciences are seen in its universities which, founded, fostered, and privileged by the Church, have been their home and theatre. Its arts are shown in the numberless monuments of every kind with which Italy is profusely covered. Of its institutions for the relief of suffering, for the destitute, and the working-classes, we have evidence in its many foundations of Christian charity, in the many asylums established for every kind of need and misfortune, and in the associations and corporations which have grown up under the protection of religion. The virtue and the strength of religion are immortal, because religion is from God. It has treasures of help and most efficacious remedies, which can be wonderfully adapted to the needs of every time and epoch. What religion has known how to do and has done in former times, it can also do now with a virtue ever fresh and vigorous. To take away religion from Italy, is to dry up at once the most abundant source of inestimable help and benefits.

Moreover, one of the greatest and most formidable dangers of society at the present day, is the agitation of the *Socialists*, who threaten to uplift it from its foundations. From this great danger Italy is not free; and although other nations may be more infested than Italy by this spirit of subversion and disorder, it is not therefore less true that even here this spirit is widely spreading and increasing every day in strength. So criminal is its nature, so great the power of its organisation and the audacity of its designs, that there is need of uniting all conservative forces, if we are to arrest its progress and successfully to prevent its triumph. Of these forces the first, and above all the chief one, is that which can be supplied by religion and the Church: without this, the strictest laws, the severest tribunals, and even the force of arms, will prove useless or insufficient. As, in old times, material force was of no avail against the hordes of barbarians, but only the power of the Christian religion, which entering into their souls quenched their ferocity, civilized their manners, and made them docile to the voice of truth and to the law of the Gospel;

so against the fury of lawless multitudes there will be no effectual defence without the salutary power of religion. It is only this power which, casting into their minds the light of truth, and instilling into their hearts the holy moral precepts of Jesus Christ, can make them listen to the voice of conscience and of duty, and, before restraining their hand, restrain their minds and allay the violence of passion. To assail religion, is therefore to deprive Italy of its most powerful ally against an enemy that becomes every day more formidable.

But this is not all. As, in the social order, the war against religion is becoming most disastrous and destructive to Italy, so, in the political order, the enmity against the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff is for Italy a source of the greatest evils. Even as to this, demonstration is not needed; it is enough, for the full expression of our thought, to state in few words its conclusions. The war against the Pope is for Italy, internally, a cause of profound division between official Italy and the great part of Italians who are truly Catholic: and every division is a weakness. This war deprives our country of the support and co-operation of the party which is the most frankly conservative; it keeps up in the bosom of the nation a religious conflict which has never yet brought any public good, but ever bears within itself the fatal germs of evil and of most heavy chastisement. Externally, the conflict with the Holy See, besides depriving Italy of the prestige and splendour which it would most certainly have by living in peace with the Pontificate, draws upon it the hostility of the Catholics of the whole world, is a cause of immense sacrifices, and may on any occasion furnish its enemies with a weapon to be used against it.

Such is the so-called welfare and greatness prepared for Italy by those who, having its destinies in their hands, do all they can, in accordance with the impious aspiration of the sects, to overthrow the Catholic religion and the Papacy.

Suppose, instead of this, that all connection and connivance with the sects were given up; that religion and the Church, as the greatest social power, were allowed real liberty and full exercise of their rights. What a happy change would come over the destinies of Italy! The evils and the dangers which we have lamented, as the result of the war against religion and the Church, would cease with the termination of the conflict; and further, we should see once more flourish on the chosen soil of Catholic Italy

the greatness and glory which religion and the Church have ever abundantly produced. From their divine power would spring up spontaneously a reformation of public and private morality; family ties would be strengthened; and, under religious influences, the feeling of duty and of fidelity in its fulfilment would be applied in all ranks of the people to a new life. The social questions which now so greatly occupy men's minds would find their way to the best and most complete solution, by the practical application of the Gospel precepts of charity and justice. Popular liberty, not allowed to degenerate into license, would be directed only to good ends, and would become truly worthy of man. The sciences, through that truth of which the Church is mistress, would rise speedily to a higher excellence; and so also would the arts, through the powerful inspiration which religion derives from above, and which it knows how to transfuse into the minds of men.

Peace being made with the Church, religious unity and civil concord would be greatly strengthened; the separation between Italy and Catholics faithful to the Church would cease, and Italy would thus acquire a powerful element of order and stability. The just demands of the Roman Pontiff being satisfied, and his sovereign rights acknowledged, he would be restored to a condition of true and effective independence; and Catholics of other parts of the world, who, not through external influence or ignorance of what they want, but through a feeling of faith and sense of duty, all raise their voice in defence of the dignity and liberty of the supreme Pastor of their souls, would no longer have reason to regard Italy as the enemy of the Pontiff. On the contrary, Italy would gain greater respect and esteem from other nations by living in harmony with the Apostolic See; for not only has this See conferred special benefits on Italians by its presence in the midst of them, but also, by the constant diffusion of the treasures of faith from this centre of benediction and salvation, it has made the Italian name great and respected among all nations. Italy reconciled with the Pontiff, and faithful to its religion, would be able worthily to emulate the glory of its early times; and from whatever real progress there is in the present age it would receive a new impulse to advance in its glorious path. Rome, pre-eminently the Catholic city, destined by God to be the centre of the religion of Christ and the See of His Vicar, has had in this the cause of its stability and greatness throughout the eventful

changes of the many ages that are past. Placed again under the peaceful and paternal sceptre of the Roman Pontiff, it would again become what Providence and the course of ages made it, not dwarfed to the condition of a capital of one kingdom, nor divided between two different and sovereign powers in a dualism contrary to its whole history; but the worthy capital of the Catholic world, great with all the majesty of Religion and of the supreme Priesthood, a teacher and an example to the nations of morality and of civilisation.

These are not vain illusions, Venerable Brethren, but hopes resting upon the most solid and true foundation. The assertion which for some time has been commonly repeated, that Catholics and the Pontiff are the enemies of Italy, and in alliance, so to speak, with those who would overturn everything, is a gratuitous insult and a shameless calumny, artfully spread abroad by the sects to disguise their wicked designs, and to enable them to continue without obstacle their hateful work of stripping Italy of its Catholic character. The truth which is seen most clearly from what We have thus far said, is that Catholics are Italy's best friends. By keeping altogether aloof from the sects, by renouncing their spirit and their works, by striving in every way that Italy may not lose the faith, but preserve it in all its vigour, may not fight against the Church, but be its faithful daughter, may not assail the Pontificate, but be reconciled to it, Catholics give proof by all this of their strong and real love for the religion of their ancestors and for their country. Do all that you can, Venerable Brethren, to spread the light of truth among the people, so that they may come at last to understand where their welfare and their true interest are to be found; and may be convinced that only from fidelity to religion and from peace with the Church and with the Roman Pontiff, can they hope to obtain for Italy a future worthy of its glorious past. To this We would call the attention, not of those affiliated to the sects, whose deliberate purpose it is to establish the new settlement of the Italian Peninsula upon the ruins of the Catholic religion, but of others who, without welcoming such malevolent designs, help these men in their work by supporting their policy; and especially of young men, who are so liable to go astray through inexperience and the predominance of mere sentiment. We would that everyone should become convinced that the course which is now followed cannot be otherwise than fatal to Italy; and, in once more

making known this danger, We are moved only by a consciousness of duty and by love of our country.

But, for the enlightening of men's minds, we must above all ask for special help from Heaven. Therefore, to our united action, Venerable Brethren, we must join prayer; and let it be a prayer that is general, constant, and fervent: a prayer that will offer gentle violence to the heart of God, and render Him merciful to Italy our country, so that He may avert from it every calamity, especially that which would be the most terrible—the loss of faith. Let us take as our mediatrix with God the most glorious Virgin Mary, the invincible Queen of the Rosary, Who has such great power over the forces of hell, and has so many times made Italy feel the effects of her maternal love. Let us also with confidence have recourse to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, who subjected this blessed land to the faith, sanctified it by their labours, and bathed it in their blood.

As a pledge meanwhile of the help which We ask, and in token of Our most special affection, receive the Apostolic Benediction, which from the depth of Our heart We grant to you, Venerable Brethren, to your Clergy, and to the Italian people.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 15th of October, 1890, the thirteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MARRIAGE. Conferences by Pere Monsabrè, O.P. Translated from the French, by M. Hopper. Benziger Brothers.

THE translation of these interesting conferences of the eloquent divine who has held the first pulpit of the French Church, at Notre Dame, since 1872, will be welcomed by English readers. The subject is one of the burning social questions of the present day. In nearly every review we find pages devoted to its discussion by men whom Pere Monsabrè styles "meddlers in philosophy and law," and who speak of the indissolubility of marriage as if it were a tyrannical law incompatible with the rights of modern society.

In all there are six conferences:—1. The Sanctity of Marriage; 2. The Conjugal Tie; 3. Divorce; 4. Legislation on Marriage; 5. Profanation of Marriage; 6. Celibacy and Virginity.

It is not necessary to go into each of these conferences in detail; suffice it to say, that each is treated in a masterly fashion. The errors of Protestantism, &c., on points of dogma are explained and refuted. If we would commend one before another, it would be the conference on divorce. In this Pere Monsabrè proves clearly that divorce is a "principle of decay for human society." To bear out this assertion he appeals to Roman history, and shows that so long as the Romans recognised the sanctity of the marriage tie they were conquerors; but when this tie was disrespected, and when Roman morals became corrupt, the barbarian hordes of the north swept the enervated soldiers of the empire before them, and became "conquerors of the world that divorces had corrupted." Morality, public order, and the harmony that should exist between families, all suffer when divorce is permitted. Add to all these evils the gross violation of the rights of children, who, perhaps at the time they need it most, are deprived of the fostering care of father and mother.

At the end of the book a chapter is devoted to a fuller refutation of certain errors of Protestants than could be given with advantage from a pulpit. The translation bears the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York.

1. GERMANY'S DEBT TO IRELAND. By Rev. W. Slang, D.D.
2. OFFICE OF THE DEAD, IN LATIN AND ENGLISH.
3. NEW TESTAMENT. Translated from the Latin Vulgate, with Notes. Burns & Oates.
4. THE KINGDOM OF GOD. By Rev. Charles M'Dermott Roe.

1. *Germany's Debt to Ireland* is a little brochure containing a short account of the lives of some eight Irish missionaries, who spread the light of faith in Germany. Though the mist of ages has shadowed the glorious work done by these Irish apostles, enough is still known of their missionary zeal and labours to cause their relics, even at the present day, to be venerated on many an altar beyond the Rhine.

2. This is a neat and clearly printed volume, and will be found useful by the pious faithful when attending an Office for the Dead.

3. Bound in limp cloth, and printed in well-defined type, this *New Testament*, published by Burns & Oates, is a marvel of cheapness.

4. We commend this little book of Father Roe's, to which the Bishop of Salford contributes a preface, for spiritual reading.

Books of this sort on spiritual matters, learned and exhaustive in their treatment of the subject, are often, as the Bishop of Salford remarks, "as dry as sawdust." Masters in the art of cookery can serve up even plain dishes in such a way as to invite dull appetites, and although Father Roe treats only some of the plain truths of salvation, yet his mode of treatment is so inviting, and so full of beautiful illustrations, that the reader is pleased, while being instructed.

1. FATHER CUTHBERT'S CURIOSITY CASE. By Rev. L. G. Vere. Catholic Truth Society.
2. MANUAL OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. NORBERT. By Rev. Martin Gendens.
3. NOVENA TO OUR LADY OF PERPETUAL HELP. By Father St. Omer.
4. INSTITUTIONS AND RULES FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF PRAYER. By An Irish Priest.

1. THE Catholic Truth Society has been doing a great deal of good by placing cheap and wholesome Catholic literature in the hands of our Catholic youth. This little volume of tales, taken from the experiences of a missionary priest, cannot fail to interest and improve those for whom it is intended.

2. Father Gendens gives in his *Manual* a concise history of the first of the "Third Orders." The rules of the Order, with an explanation of each, are clearly set forth. We have no doubt that the *Manual* will be most useful to all who have an opportunity of becoming members. The book bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning.

3. Of late years devotion to our Lady of Perpetual Help has rapidly increased. In many churches in which a copy of the miraculous picture is hung, numbers of the faithful can be seen presenting their petitions to her, who is always ready to receive them. In this little volume Father St. Omer, in addition to instructions and an appropriate example for each day of the Novena, gives us in the opening chapter a history of the miraculous picture, which is exposed for the veneration of the faithful in the Church of the Augustinian Fathers in Rome.

4. This brochure, besides setting forth the object and rules of the "Association for the Conversion of Great Britain," contains some valuable hints as to the treatment of Protestants preparing to be received into the Catholic Church. It bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning.

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